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he had acquired by his own arm (*svabhujōpārjita-Nakshisapura-chaturatitā*), to (a temple of) the Sun under the name *Tarunādityadēva*, which stood on the banks of the river *Kanavīrikā*. The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of *Sihavāhalaka*, on the south the village of *Rā[jyastha]la*, on the west the village of *Pēdhillaka*, and on the north the village of *Ambullaka* (*Ambullāka*). After the usual admonition to preserve this gift, and six imprecatory verses, lines 29-34 give the names of twelve witnesses—four *Brāhmanas*, four merchants, and four *Mahattaras*. They are followed by the name of the writer, which cannot be read with certainty, and this, again, is followed by the date *śrī-Valabhi-samvat 674 Māgha-suddha 6*, the numerals of which are ordinary decimal figures. The inscription, in line 36, ends with the signatures *sva-hastō=[tra] śrī-Va(ba)lavarmmanah ||* *sva-hastah śrī-Dhīka*, where (the second) *sva-hastah* is preceded by a mark which seems to represent the actual sign-manual of Dhīka. Who this Dhīka was, does not appear from the present inscription, but the grant B. makes it probable that he was a high official of the king Mahēndrāyudha (*Mahēndrapāla*), whose permission was necessary for the making of the grant.

B.—Plates of Avanivarman II. Yōga; [Vikrama]-samvat 956.

These are three plates, the second of which is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third are inscribed on one side only. They contain 68 lines of well-preserved writing in Nāgarī characters. The engraving is done carelessly, so that the text contains numerous mistakes, the correction of some of which, especially in two passages where proper names are concerned, is very difficult. The language is Sanskrit. Lines 1-45 contain twenty-four verses which, after glorifying the Sun, treat of the genealogy of the donor and of his and his ancestors' exploits, and two imprecatory verses are cited in lines 65-67, the rest of the text is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahāsāmanta* Avanivarman [II.], surnamed Yōga, of the Chālukya race (verse 2). In this race there were two 'great kings' (*mahā-muhī-pati*), the brothers Kalla and Mahalla (v. 3), the former of whom is eulogized in conventional terms (vv. 5 and 6). Kalla had a son, whose name cannot be made out with confidence (v. 7); and this chief had a son whose name ended with *dhavala*, and whose full name perhaps was *Vāhukadhavala* (v. 9). This last named chief destroyed (or defeated) in battle a certain Dharma, conquered kings who were well-known *rājādhirāja-paramśīaras*, and defeated a *Karṇāta* army (vv. 10 and 11). His son was Avanivarman [I.] (v. 12), and his son, again, was Balavarman (the donor of the grant A., above). Balavarman defeated a certain Vishadha (v. 16) from whom he took away a pair of big drums (*uru-dhakkā*); and, by slaying Jajjapa and other kings, 'freed the earth from the Hūna race' (v. 17). His son was Avanivarman [II.], also called Yōga (v. 18), who routed the armies of a certain *Yakshadāsa*¹ and other kings whose countries were invaded by him (vv. 19 and 20), and put to flight *Dharanivarāha* (v. 21).

In lines 45 ff. this *Mahāsāmanta* Yōga (i.e. Avanivarman II.), a feudatory of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Mahēndrapāladēva* who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Bhōjadēva*, informs his officials and others, as well as future kings, that, with the approval of the illustrious Dhīka,² he gave the village of *Ambulaka* (*Ambulaka*),³ which

¹ Verse 19 records that, after destroying the army of *Yakshadāsa*, Avanivarman took away from him the musical instrument (*tārya*) called *Sagarakeśhōbha*.—In my previous account of this inscription I suggested that *Yakshadāsa* may have ruled the Madra country; but this is wrong. As the engraver of the grant in several other places has engraved *m* instead of *y*, the actual reading *muddha-bhāmim* in line 36 must undoubtedly be altered to *yuddha-bhāmim*, not to *Madra-bhāmim*.

² The inscription, the text of which is not quite certain here, seems to indicate that Dhīka was an *antapāla* or 'frontier guard' of Mahēndrapāla's, and that Avanivarman II. was a subordinate of his (as his father Balavarman had been before him). See the end of the grant A.

³ This village (*Ambulaka* or *Ambullaka*) is mentioned also in the grant A.

belonged to the Nakshisapura eighty-four (*Nakshisapura-chaturasīti*) in the Saurāshtra *mandala*, to (a temple of) Tarunādityadēva, located near the river Kanavirikā in the vicinity of the village of Jayapura¹ The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of Viyaraka, on the south the village of Jayapura, on the west the villages of Sēnduvaka and Kōrinthaka, and on the north the village of Vavulika. After the usual admonition to preserve this gift and two imprecatory verses, the inscription, in line 68, ends with the date *samvat* 956 *Māgha-sud* 6, the numerals of which here also are ordinary decimal figures.

The Chālukya chiefs mentioned in the preceding are not known from other inscriptions. The large Bilhari inscription, in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 266, mentions a *Chaulukya* Avanivarman whose daughter Nohalā was married by the Kalachuri Chēdi king Yuvarāja I Kēyāravarsha. That Avanivarman may have been a contemporary² of Avanivarman II Yōga of our grant B, but—even assuming that the terms *Chālukya* and *Chaulukya* might be used synonymously³—he cannot be identical with him, because his father and grandfather were Sadhanva and Simhavarman (not Balavarman and Avanivarman).

For Balavarman, a feudatory of Mahēndrāyudha (Mahēndrapāla), the grant A furnishes a date in about A D 893. We therefore may assume that his grandfather Vāhukadhavala (?) lived about the middle of the 9th century A D, and was almost certainly a feudatory of Mahēndrapāla's predecessor Bhōjadēva (Mihira) of Kanauj, for whom we possess dates from A D 843 to A D. 881. Now in the inscription No 77 of my *Southern List* this Mihira (Bhōjadēva) is stated to have been defeated by the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta Dhruvarāja II. Thus at any rate would show that he was at war with the Rāshtrakūtas, and I believe that such a war is actually referred to in the account of Vāhukadhavala's (?) exploits related in the grant B. In my opinion, the Karnāta army which is said to have been defeated by him can only have been an army of the Rāshtrakūtas. As regards (the king) Dharma who is stated to have been destroyed (or defeated) by the same chief, I know of no king Dharma who could have been a contemporary of his, excepting the well-known Pāla king Dharmapāla, and I see no reason why Dharma should not be identified with that Pāla king, who at one time or another undoubtedly was at war with the rulers of Kanauj.

Balavarman himself defeated a certain Vishadha, and by slaying Jajjapa and other kings 'freed the earth from the Hūna race'. Who Vishadha was, it is impossible to say. Wars with Hūna kings are frequently mentioned in Indian inscriptions of the Middle Ages,⁴ and we know of a Hūna princess, Āvalladēvi, who was married by the Kalachuri Karna in the 11th century, but in recording the name of Jajjapa our grant B for the first time discloses the name of an individual Hūna king, who must be placed in about the last quarter of the 9th century.

The kings or chiefs mentioned as opponents of Avanivarman II. Yōga, for whom we have a date in about A D 899, are Yakshadāsa and Dharanivarāha. The former is unknown to us. The latter I do not hesitate to identify with the Chāpa *Mahāsāmāntādhipati* Dharanivarāha, known to us from his Haddālā plates⁵ which were issued from Vardhamāna (or Wadhvān in

¹ This village was granted to the same temple of the Sun by the grant A.

² A daughter of the Kalachuri Yuvarāja I, Kundakadēvi, was married by the Rāshtrakūta Amoghavarsha III Baddiga, for whom we now possess dates in A.D. 937 and 939.

³ In Nos 354 and 356 of my *Northern List* certain chiefs are described as both Chālukyas and Chaulukyas.

⁴ See my note on the grammarians' *ajayaj=Jatō Hūdan* in *Nachrichten d. K.-Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1903, p. 305 ff. The Pāla Dēvapāla humbled the pride of the Hūnas (*Ep Ind* Vol. II p. 163, v. 13), according to the Khārda plates of the Rāshtrakūta Kakkarāja II. Amoghavarsha of A D 972 this king fought battles with the lord (or lords) of the Hūnas (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 265, l. 32), the Paramāra Utpala (Muñjarāja) took away the life of the Hūnas (*ibid.* Vol. XVI p. 28, l. 41), his younger brother Sindhurāja conquered the king of the Hūnas (*Ep Ind* Vol. I p. 235, v. 16), etc.

⁵ See my *Northern List*, No 353.

Kāthiāvad) in A D 914, and in which he is represented as a feudatory of a *Rājādhirāja* Mahīpāladēva whose proper identification, as will be seen below, can no longer offer any difficulty

The place Nakshisapura, the nine villages mentioned in connection with the two grants, and the river Kanavirikā I have not, I regret to say, been able to identify. The main point of general interest connected with these localities is, that the Nakshisapura group of eighty-four, which was held by the two donors, according to the inscription B belonged to the Saurāshtra *maṇḍala*. The name Surāshtra we know to denote the southern part of Kāthiāvad, and since the two chiefs Balavarman and Avanivarman II describe themselves as feudatories of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahēndrāyudhadēva or Mahēndrapaladēva (of Kanauj), it follows from these inscriptions that towards the end of the 9th century A D. the kingdom of Kanauj extended as far south as, and included, the province of Kāthiāvad. Moreover, it becomes quite certain now that the *Rājādhirāja* Mahīpāladēva, who in the Haddāla plates of A D 914 is mentioned as the overlord of the Chāpa *Mahāsāmantādhīpati* Dharanivarāha, must be identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahīpāladēva of Kanauj (whose Asmī inscription is dated in about A D 917), the successor of Mahēndrapaladēva, and cannot have been one of the Chūdāsamāis of Gurnār-Junāgadh.

In the grant A the king, known to us from the grant B and other inscriptions as Mahēndrapāla, is called Mahēndrāyudha. This name of course at once recalls the names Indrāyudha and Chakrāyudha, the former denoting a king who according to the *Haritamsa-Purāna* was ruling the north in Śaka-samvat 705 = A D 783-84, and the latter another king, to whom the sovereignty of Mahōdaya (Kanauj) was given, after the defeat of Indrarāja (i.e., in my opinion, Indrāyudha), by the Pala Dharmapāla, and who was defeated by Nāgabhatta,¹ the grandfather of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj. It may also be mentioned that in Rājasēkhara's *Karpūra-mañjarī*² a certain merchant is represented as having gone to 'Kanauj, the capital of Vajrāyudha, the king of Pañchāla'. That story would seem to show that in the opinion of Rājasēkhara, who was Mahēndrapāla's *guru*, a name with the somewhat unusual ending *āyudha*, such as Vajrāyudha, was a suitable or characteristic name of a Kanauj king. Most probably Mahēndrapāla himself was known to Rājasēkhara also by the name Mahēndrāyudha.

The date of the grant A, *śrī-Valabhī-samvat 574 Māgha-suddha 6*, is by a long way the earliest date in which we find the technical expression *Valabhī-samvat*. In the inscriptions of the Valabhī kings themselves the year of a date is ordinarily preceded by only *sam*, rarely by *samvat*, and hitherto the earliest inscription containing the term *Valabhī-samvat* was the Vērāval inscription of the temple-priest Bhāva-Bihaspati of *Valabhī-samvat 850* (No 503 of my *Northern List*). In the Mōrbi plate of Jāmkha (*ibid* No 502) of the year 585 of the same era the number 585 in line 19 is preceded by simply *samvat*, while in line 17 the year is described as a *Gauṇtu* (i.e. Gupta) year. — It is curious that in Kāthiāvad we should find the Gupta-Valabhī, Vikrama and Śaka eras employed in dates of the same period and in almost the same localities.

A.—PLATES OF BALAVARMAN, VALABHI-SAMVAT 574.

TEXT.³

First Plate

1 Om⁴ [||*] Jayaś=ch=ābhyndayaś=cha || Svasti [||*] Nakshisapurāt=parama-bhattāraka-mahārāj[ā]dhi-

¹ Of Nāgabhatta Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has discovered in the Jōdhpur State a stone inscription dated in about A.D 815 (*samvat* 872).

² See Dr. Sten Konow's edition, pp 74 and 266

³ From a photograph supplied by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha


⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

- 2 rāja-parāmēśvara-śrī-Bhōjadēva-pād[ā*]nudhyāta-paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-para-
 3 mēśvara-śrī-Mahēndrāyudhadēva-pāda-prasādākshata-¹ samadhigata-pañchamah ā ś a v d a -
 (bda)-mahāsāmantaś=[Ch]ā-
 4 lukyānvaya-prasūta-śrī-²Avanīvarmma-suta-śrī-Va(ba)lavarmma sarvvān=ēva rāja-
 rājanya-īājasthāniy-ōparik-āmā-
 5 tyā-[chā]tabhata-bhatta-[da]ndavā(pā)śika-dand[ō]ddharanika-³drangika-mahattara-chāru-⁴
 chāra-bhata-hastyaśvārōbha(ha)ka-prabhritih |⁵
 6 yuktaka-nyuktakām svān=ā(a)nyām[ś=cha] yathāsamva(ba)dhyamānakān=
 samannvo(bō)dhayaty=astu vah samviditam yathā padma-pattē⁶
 7 sthita-jala[va] taralā śrī drishta-nashtañ=cha jivitam⁷ | ⁸ Padmapatra-jalavimdu-
 chamchalam jivitavyam=akhlās=cha sampadah |
 8 ity-avētya jagatah sthiti[m*] nripāḥ kim dhanāḥ kuruta dharmmam=anumdyah⁹
 || Pallavāgra-jalavimdu-chamchalē klēsa-
 9 jala-parivēsthitē bhavē | yō na chintayati karma-satpatham tasya janma
 bhavat=īha nibphalam¹⁰ || ēvam sarvvam=adhruva-
 10 m=ālō[kya] dharmmē matih sthāpyatām || Tan=mayā ¹¹svabhujōpārjita-
 Nakshisapurachaturasitika-pratīva(ba)ddhō Jayapur-ā-
 11 bhudhanō grāmā¹² Māgha-śuklapaksha-shashthyām¹³ upōpya(shya) gandha-dhūpa-
 pushya(shpa)-dīpa-snāna-vilēpan-ōpalēpana-[sanmā ?]-¹⁴
 12 rjana-khaṇḍasphutita-sudha-kūrchchak-ādi-śuśru(srū)shā-kritē sva-mātāpitrōr=ātmanaś=
 cha¹⁵ aḥik-āmushm[i*]ka-punya-yaśō-
 13 bhividdhayē bhagavatah sarit-Kanavirikā-tat-āvasthita-Sahasradīditēh śrīmatas=
 Taru[nā]dityadēvāya¹⁶ bhakti-bhā-
 14 vita-manasā¹⁷ udā[ā*]tisarggēna dharmmadāyō nīśrīstah pratipāditaś=cha || Yasya
 pūrvvatah Sihavāhalaka-grāma-
 15 simā maryād[ā*] [i*] dakshinatah Rā[jyastha]la-grāma-simā maryādā |
 aparatah Pēdhullaka-grāma-simā [ma*]ryādā | utta-
 16 ratah Amvullaka-¹⁸grāma-simā maryādā | ēvam chaturāghāta(ta)n-ōpalakshitah
 sa-bhōgabhāgah sa-hirany[ā*]dānah
 17 sa-dandadaśāparādhaḥ sa-simāparyantah s-ōdra[m*]gah sa-vrikshamālākulaḥ
 sa-parikarah chōllakavainivai-
 18 gikakōshyadī-sahitah¹⁹ āchātābhatapravēśa-varjitatō²⁰ bhūmichchhidra-nyāyēna
 dharmmadāyō nīgrī(sri)shtah ||
 19 Asya bhūmjitō bhōjāpayatah kṛishataḥ karshāpayatō vā asmad-vamśajair=anyair=
 vvā bhōktrībhūh

¹ Read, probably, -prasādīkṛita-² Read -sry³ Instead of this word which I do not remember to have met with elsewhere, I should have expected here, next to *dandapāśika*, as in other grants, -*chaurōddharanika*-⁴ It is just possible that the two *aksharas chāru* were struck out in the original, and that the intended reading therefore is -*chāra-bhata*-⁵ Read -*prabhritin=nyuktaka-nyuktakān*=⁶ Read -*pattā sthita-jalavat=taralā śrīr*=⁷ Read *jivitam*⁸ Metre of this verse and of the next Rathōddhatā — Read *Padmapatra*-⁹ This of course cannot be right, but the actual reading does not suggest to me a suitable conjecture¹⁰ Read *nīshphalam* ¹¹ Originally *svabhū* was engraved, but the sign for *dh* has been struck out¹² Read *grāmō*¹³ Read -*shashthyām*=¹⁴ Read -*sammāryana*-¹⁵ Read =*ch*=¹⁶ Read, in accordance with the preceding, ¹⁷*dēvasya*¹⁷ Here and in other places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed¹⁸ Read *Ambullaka*-, in line 54 of the grant B the name is spelt *Amvullaka*-¹⁹ This term, the reading of which is quite clear in the photograph, I am unable to explain. The word *chōllak* occurs above, Vol III p 267, l. 23, and Prof Hultzsch draws my attention to Vol VI p 88, note 9²⁰ One would have expected here *achātābhatapratīśah*, and some other term ending with *varjitah* (like, e.g., *pūrvvudatta dēvabrahmadāya varjitah*)

20 pratishê[dhō] na karaniyah pālayitavyaś=cha || yataḥ sām[ā*]nyam bhūmidana-
phalam=avēty=āyam=asmad-dā-

Second Plate.

- 21 yō=numantavyō smat-prīty=ābhyarthanayā cha pālaniya ita || Tathā ch=ōktam
[bha]gava-
22 tā vyāśē(sē)na¹ Vyāśēna || ²Yān=iha dattāni purā narēndrah dānāni dharm-
ārtha-yaśa-
23 s-karāni | nirmūlyā-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhubh punar=śdadita ||
24 ³Shashtar=vvarsha-sahasrāni svarggē tisthatu bhūmidah | [ā]chchh[ē]ttā ch=
ānumantā cha [tāny=ē]-
25 va narakē vasēt || Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājanah⁴ Sāgar-ādibhah |
yasya yasya yadā [bhū]-
26 mis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || ⁵Shashtar=vvarsha-sahasrāni ⁶shashtu=vvarsha-
śatāni [cha] | [gavām kōta-prodānē]-
27 na bhūmi-harttā na śudhyata || Vimdhya-ātaviśhv-atōyāśu(su) śushka-kōtara-
vāsnah | [kṛishnāhayō hi jā]-
28 yantē bhūmi-dāyam haratt(nti) yē || Sva-dattām para-datt[ām*] vā .ya[tn]ād=
raksha narādhipa | mahim mahibh[ritām śrēshtha]
29 dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam || ⊙ || Ava(tra) sākshī vra(brā)hmana-Dēhada-suta-
Bhāvah | tathā vrā(brā)hmana-[Kau ?]-
30 nara-suta-Nāgēśvarah || tathā vrā(brā)hmana-Jajjaka-suta-Harih || tathā
vrā(brā)hmana-Bhā[skara]-suta-
31 Vāsudēvah || tathā vapik⁶ Nōgha-suta-Isuvah | tathā vanik⁶ Nāga-suta-
Pā[ha]llah || ta-
32 thā ⁷van-Jēulla-suta-Nannakah | tathā vanak⁸ Samgama-suta-Dēuthah || tathā
śa(ma)hattara-Dram[g]iya-
33 suta-Sihah | tathā mā(ma)hattara-Gōvāsa-suta-Ajainah | tathā mahattara-Gōvāsa-
suta-Mēha[rī]pa[ka]-
34 h | tathā mahattara-Dhūra-suta-Kapṭhakah || Lakhitam ch=aitan=mi(ma)yā kula-
putraka-⁹Datta-suta-[Dhā ?]-
35 [r]ādī[tyē]n=ēta || ⊙ || Śri-Valabhi-samvat 574 Māgha-śuddha 6 || ⊙ ||
36 Sva-hastō=[tra] śri-Va(ba)lavarmmanah ||  ¹⁰ sva-hastah śri-Dhika¹¹ || ⊙ ||

B.—PLATES OF AVANIVARMAN II. YOGA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 956.

TEXT.¹²

First Plate

- 1 Om¹³ [||*] Jayaś=ch=ābhy[u*]dayaś=cha || Jayati¹⁴ jagatām prasūtar=viśv-ātma
sahaja-bhūshanaṁ nabhasah | drutaka-
2 nakasadrīśa-dāśasatamayūkha-māl-ārchatā¹⁵ Savitā || [1*] ¹⁶Āst=īha sārō va(ba)hir=
amtarā cha chchhidrah pari-

¹ Read, probably, *oldavyāstna*.

² Metre Indravajrā

³ Metre of this verse and the rest: Ślōka (Anushtubh) — Read *shashtim varsha*.

⁴ Read *rājadhik Sagar*.

⁵ Read *shashtim varsha*.

⁶ Read *vapig-N*.

⁷ Read *vapig-N*.

⁸ Read *vanik-Sam*.

⁹ The same word occurs e.g. in *Ind Ant* Vol. XII. p. 161, line 69

¹⁰ This mark, which does not look like a letter, apparently represents the signature of Dhika.

¹¹ One would have expected -*Dhikasya* See line 52 of the grant B

¹² From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

¹³ Denoted by a symbol

¹⁴ Metre: Ārya.

¹⁵ Read -*māl-dhātah*

¹⁶ Metre Indravajrā.

- 3 tō na vipatrasātah¹ | bhēdyah parair=n=aiva mahīpatīnām Vā(chā)lukya-
nām=āpara-tumga-[vam]śah |(1) [2*] ²Va(ba)bhūva-
4 tuti(s=ta)[tra] mahā-mahīpati mah[ā*]-matī Kalla-Ma[ha]lla-samjñtau | yayōh
sītā kīrttir=upāgamad=gu-
5 naih parām prasiddhih(m) satata[m*] sunirmalaih || [3*] ³Saubhrātrañ=cha
yayōr=āśi(si)d=anyōnyam=avibhūta(nna)-
6 yō[h*] ||(1) kalavappapamāmyātam⁴ Rāma-Lakshmanay[ō]r=iva || [4*] Madhyē⁵
nripānām suvibhūyi(śh)itānām
7 rarāja Kallah kula-kī[r*]tti-yu[kta]h | kā[m*]tyā mahatyā sthūrayā śrīyā
va(cha) kalpadrumānām=1-
8 va pārijāta[h] || [5*] Rājya[m]⁶ ma[chra ?]⁷ mahīpatan gunagan-ālamkārabhūtē
sati kshinā[rā]tu-pa-
9 rākram-ān[v]ita-tanau nīrbhūta⁸ śāsata | lōkānām=abbavan=manō ratu-yuta[m*]
dharmma-pra-
10 [dh]ana[m] sadā tushtr=[vva(bba)ndhu]janasya gaunya-janitā dānañ=cha
satyattīsha(?)⁹ || [6*] ¹⁰Tasmān=mahīś[ā*]d=vī-
11 tatōkavīrtti¹¹ lakshmi-nīdhānam śaranam gunānām ||(1) śauryasya bhūmīr=
vvasatur=mmatinām
12 rājairabhāma(?)¹² tanayā(yō) va(ba)bhūva || [7*] ¹³Valgattayaraggamātuga-
mattamātamga-duggamān | yach-cha-
13 ndadandatasrastāh śātrātō=śīrīyan=vana || [8*] Ajani¹⁴ tatō=pi śrīmām[ngā ?]-
hukadhavalō¹⁵
14 mahāvu(nu)bhāvō yah | dha[r*]mmam=avann=api nityam ranōtyamō(?) |
ninasadramam¹⁶ |(1) [9*] ¹⁷Rājādhirā-
15 ja-paramēśvara-bhūmmā[th]ān=yas=tān=api svabhūja-vīrya-vāśād=vīrya[y]ē |
16 nūstramēanībhayavilū[ji]ripūttimāgaur=avjair=ivē kshiti-talam

Second Plate, First Side

- 17 samarē puvinya || [10*] ¹⁸Kunta[thā ?]śāsi[ha]si-pra[oh]ura-nara-karī-prājā(jya)-
valgat-turamgam

¹ Read *vipatrasādīkha*, i.e. both *vi-pattra-sādīkha*, 'without leaves and branches,' and *vipattra-sādīkha*, 'whose branches protect from misfortune' A bamboo (*vamsa*) has leaves and branches But the Chālukya race (*vamsa*) is a different kind (*apara*) of *vamsa*, one that has no leaves and branches, i.e., in the other sense of the adjective, it is a race the branches of which protect from misfortune Similarly the other epithets in the verse suggest other differences between the two kinds of *vamsa* The word *apara* of the last Pāda is practically equivalent to *apūrta*, which is employed in a similar verse above, Vol III p 298, line 6 of the text *Apara* is used in the same way (not in the sense 'before which no other excels') in the verse in *Ind. Ant* Vol. XII p 193, line 10

² Metre Vamsastha

⁴ Read *kuladharmma-samāyātām*

⁶ Metre Sārdūlavikrīdita

⁸ Read, probably, *nīrbhūtikam*

¹⁰ Metre Indravajrā

¹² I am unable to give the name of the chief, concealed in this corrupt passage The verse would be right if we were to read *Rājendra-nāmā*, but I am not sure about this conjecture

¹³ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) — Read the verse *Valgat-turamgamat=tumga-matta-mātamga-durggamāt, yach-chandadandatas=trastāh śātrātō=śīrīyan=vana* || For *chandadanda* see above, Vol VI p 10, v 2u

¹⁴ Metre - Āryā

¹⁵ Here again I cannot give confidently the name intended in the original The right reading may possibly be *śrīmām=Vāhukadhavalō*

¹⁶ Read *ranōdyatō=nnasād=Dharmam* The name at the end of the verse undoubtedly is *Dharmam*

¹⁷ Metre Vasantatīlakā — Read the second half of the verse *nūstramēanībhayavilū=ripūttimāgaur=abjair=iva kshiti-talam samarē pravīdhya* ||

¹⁸ Metre Sragdharā — Read *Kuntapradāsībhastā*

- 18 Karnnâṣṭam śai(śai)nyam=âjô(jau) bhayarahita-manâ bhûrîśô=bhu(nu)praviśya |
 êkâki khadga-
 19 yashtyâ drutam=atasitayâ¹ yô=rîmûddhi-pravâha[m] vâh-ârûdhô=vagâdham kamala-
 20 vanam=iva śrattyâ-khêda² lulâva || [11*] ³Tasmâd=amjâyata sutô svaṇivarmma-
 nâmâ saurya-pratâ-
 21 pa-vinay-âdi-gunantapêta⁴ | sannâbavad=bh[rî*]śam=imâm=avatâ dharitrim=
 anvarthatân=nyam=a-
 22 nîyata yêna nâma |(II) [12*] ⁵Avaniva[r*]mmaṇi ya[tra] sukarmmani
 vyathita-śâtravamarmmani varmmmani(?) [I]
 23 yuvati-nirmita-narmmani bhûpatô(tau) na janatâbhir=aśa[r*]mmaṇi śa[m*]kîtam ||
 [13*] Tasya⁶ sūnur=aṇa=fha
 24 sukarmâ mûtra-va(ba)ndh[u]janamtabhira-⁷śa[r]mmâ | kirtitô vidita-śâtravamarmâ
 yô janair=abhi-
 25 dhayâ Va(ba)lavarmmâ || [14*] ⁸Satatam=avitath-ôktih snâna-jâpy-âdi-śû(śi)lah
 pranayîsatasahasrâ-
 26 dhîna-vistîrṇasampat | bhriṇjasura-⁹vihit-âśô yah sad=ârabhya vâ(bâ)lyâtvi(t=Tri)-
 nayana-charan-â-
 27 rechhâśîlavân=samprajâtam(h) |(II) [15*] Prathita-karituramgam śâtanîstrimśa-pânih¹⁰
 Viśadham=avaśa-
 28 m=îśah sâdhu jîtvâ samîkê [I*] sthîrataram=urudhakkâ-yugmam=âśu dradhîyan¹¹
 śruti-sukha-
 29 dam=akhinnô yô=grahîn=ma[m*]dra-nâdam || [16*] Chatura-turaga-durggân=samyati
 dhvasta-śatru[h*] sphuta-
 30 m=iha jagatîśân¹² Jajjap-âdîn=nihatya | prasabham=abhîmanaskô yô vyadhatta
 [ksh]itîśô
 31 bhuvanam=dam=ahinô Hûna-vamśêna hînam || [17*] Kuvalayadala-nêtrah
 sannat-âmsasthâlâ-¹³
 32 kah | prakatam=Ava[n]livarmmâ [n]âma tasy=[â]tmaj[ô]=bhût | prithula-
 katir=udârah kshâma ma-
 33 dhyas=tathâ yô vidita iha jagatyâm Yôga-nâmn=âparêna || [18*] Samgrâmê¹⁴
 Yâkshadâśa[m*] va(ba)la-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 34 m=a[kh]îlam=api¹⁵ dhvamśayîtvâ pravîrô yah samjagrâha tûryam patutara-
 nîdam Sâgarakṣôbha-
 35 nâma | yasy=âlamkâra-bhûtâm¹⁶ jita-ripu jagrihuh pattayô=pi pratîśah
 samkha-[chchha]tra-dhvajadi-¹⁷
 36 n=ahamahamîkayâ mu(yu)ddha-bhûmim praviśya || [19*] Kôdanda-dhvasta-dhârâ-
 sara-kara-nakharâ vi[kra]m-âva(ba)ddha-
 37 chittê lîlabhim(nu)-ânyaśê(śê)nâ-samadagajaghatâ-tumbhatumgasthâlîkê¹⁸ | yasmin=
 â[kra]mya bhûmim

¹ Read =atasitayâ yô=rîmûddha-

² Metre Vasantatilakâ — Read Tasmâd=ajâyata

³ Metre Drutavilambita

⁴ Metre of verses 15-18 Mâlinî

⁵ Read dradhîyân=

⁶ Read sannat-âmsasthâlîkah pra^o

⁷ The syllable pi was originally omitted and is engraved in the margin

⁸ Read bhâtân=

⁹ Read -tumga-kumbhasthâlîkê | yasminn=

¹⁰ Read srasta-khêdam

¹¹ Read -gunair=upêtah

¹² Read -bandhujanat-âhita-

¹³ Read -pânir=

¹⁴ Metre of verses 19 and 20 Sragdharâ

- 38 [sthi]tavarati hi nṛjā¹ sīghavad=Yakshadāsa-[kshō]nīp-ādyaiskumragair=ra² ripu-
nīvabaiḥ dūrataḥ sam-
39 prañśē || [20*] ³Vjōmnā yāmtam=adhukam mṛgay[ā*]-priyō jah satva⁴ na
muñchati sa kim Dharanivarāhaḥ [i*] maty=ē-
40 ti [vō]mpurūhayā⁵ sahaś(s)=aṇa jasya dūrān=nanāmā⁶ matimām Dharanivarāhaḥ
|| [21*] ⁷Khadga-khamdita-dhanda[ra]m⁸
41 runda-mundaigha-⁹manditam | yatī=ājibh[ā*]jī yatī[ti] sasapānai¹⁰ anāmganam ||
[22*] ¹¹Narapatim=amum muktva
42 kālē kalan satī sa[m*]piatī trijagatī paritātum śaktō na kaśchid=ap=īha
mām | su[ja]na-nīva[ho] ma-
43 tv=ētīva nṇatīkamavi[kra]ma¹² śarana-manasam śrīmantam yam samāśrayad=
u[chehhi]jita[m*] || [23*] Tēna¹³ piava(cha)ndamarūda[bhra]-
44 chalā[m*] vi[bhūtīm ?] [padmash ?]itām vū(bu)kanikā-ta[ra]lātan=āśū[n]¹⁴ |
vidy[u*]dvilāsa-va(cha)palāñ=cha vichī[m*]tya la-
45 kshim prāvartiyata sphutim=ayam kshītadāna-dba[r]mmah || [24*] Sa cha
mahāsāmanta-śrī-Yōga ēvam=u[kta ?]vān patha¹⁵
46 ¹⁶sapramn=ēv=ābhīsamvadhyakām svān=anyāms=[cha] gāmibhāvi-bhūpālamś=cha
samanuvō(bō)dhayaty=astu
47 vah samviditam yathā=āsmābhīh pratāpapranata-samastāsāmanta-śō(mau)līmāl-āchita-
charanayū-
48 galasya śāśadharakaranīkar-āmalaśa[h*]pravaha-dhavalita-dhaiāvalayasya
samhitābhya-
49 dhikapradān-ānandita-ramdivrind-ōpagīyamāna-samastagunaganasya paramabhāttāra-
50 ka-mah[ā*]rājādhurāja-paramī(mē)śvara-śrī-Bhōjadī(dē)va-pādanu d h y ā t a p a r a m a
51 bhāttāraka-mahār[ā*]jādhurāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Mah ē m d r a p ā l a d ē v a - p r a s ā d¹⁷

Third Plate

- 52 pāda-prasād-āvāpta¹⁸ tanti(nm)yukta-tam[tramdra?]pālā¹⁹-śrī-Dhika-pratava(ba)ddhais=
ta-
53 d anumatyā cha Śau(sau)rāshtramandal-āntahpātī-Nakshisapurachaturā(ra)śīti-
prati-

¹ Read *nṛjām sīghavad=*² Read *-ādyaiḥ kumragair= ita ripu-nīvabaiḥ=*³ Metre Vasantatilakā — The general meaning of the verse clearly is that a certain Dharanivarāha, for whose identification see above, p 3 f, was put to flight by, or fled before, Aravindarman. But I am not sure about every detail of the verse — The first words of the verse perhaps are either *vjōmnā-āpi yāmtam=* or *vjōmna prayāmtam=*⁴ Read *sattvam*⁵ I cannot correct this⁶ Read *=nanāsa matimām=*⁷ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)⁸ Read, probably, *-dandāram* (in the sense of 'elephant')⁹ Read *-munda-ugha-*¹⁰ Read *śastra-pānu*¹¹ Metre Harinī¹² Read *Trivikrama-rīkramam*¹³ Metre Vasantatilakā¹⁴ Read *-lālāms=tath=āsūn*¹⁵ Read *yathā(?)*, but the words *ēvam=uktārān yathā* would be quite out of place here.¹⁶ Read *sarvtrān=ēv=ābhīsamvadhyamānakān=stān=anyāms=ch=āgāmibhāvi-*¹⁷ These two *akṣaras* (the first two syllables of the word *prasāda*) are quite out of place here. In agreement with the preceding adjectives one would have expected *-Mahēndrapālādērasya*, but the writer proceeds as if the whole preceding passage, commencing with *pratāpapranata*, were a single compound, qualifying *Mahēndrapālādēra-*¹⁸ Here, in my opinion, some words have been omitted. As the text stands, we do not learn from it what the chief Yōga had received from Mahēndrapāla.¹⁹ The two *akṣaras* in brackets are quite doubtful. I can only suggest that the intended reading may possibly be *-tadamatpā'a-*

- 54 va(ba)ddha¹-Amvulak-ābhudhāna-grāmah sa-vrikshamālākulaḥ sa-simāparyan[t*]ah
 55 sa-bhōgabdhāgah sa-hiranyādānaḥ sa-dandadaśāparādhaḥ sābhajamānavēśhtikah²
 56 sakala-rājakiyānām=ahastaparakshēpanima(ya) ā-chamdr-ārksa(rkk)-ārnava-kshuti-
 57 samt-par[vv]ata-sama-
 58 kālīnah³ ih=arva Jayapura-grām-ābhyāsē Kanavirikā-sam-ūpakanthā nivish[t*]a-
 59 Ta[ru]nā-
 60 dityadēvāya khandasphutata-suka(dhā)-dugdha-kā[r]chchaka snapana-vilēpana-pushpa-
 61 dhūpa-dīpa-t[ai]la-nē(nai)vē-
 62 dya-dārik-ādy-upakritayē m[ā*]tāpitrōr=ātmanas=ch=[ai]hik-āmushmika-punya-yaś[ō]-
 63 bhuvriddhayē bhūmichchidra-
 64 nyāy[ē*]na pravī(t)ipādītas=tad=ayam svadha[r*]mmadāya-nir̥thi(rvvi)śēpra(sha)ḥ
 65 pālāya(yi)tavyō snuna(ma)ntavyas=cha || yaśya(sya) ch=ā-
 66 ghātānāni pūr[vv]atō Viyāraka-grāma simā | dakshinatō Jayapura-grāma-
 67 sinā(mā) || aparatah Sē-
 68 nduvaka-Kōrinthaka-grāma-simā | uttaratah Vavulika-grāma-simā | tad=ē[na]m
 69 chaturāghātāno(na)-pari-
 70 kshipta-grāmam bhūmijātō bhōjayatah ksha(kri)shatah karsha[ya]taḥ pratidīśa-
 71 tē(tō) rā(vā) na kaischa[n=ā]lp=āpi paripam-
 72 thanā vyāsē⁴ vā kāryah | yatah sāmānyasānapalam=avity=āemat-prītyā pālāniya
 73 ita(ta) || Tathā d(ch)=ō-
 74 ktam Vyāsē(sē)na | ⁵Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājani(bh)h Śa(ba)gar-
 75 ādibhiḥ [i*] yasra⁷ yanyā yadā bhūmīsusa tasya ta-
 76 rā palam || ⁸[Y]ān=iha dahā[na]⁹ purā narēndrar=ddānāni¹⁰ |
 77 mmārāgrasaskarāni | nirmālyavāna-prati-
 78 māni tāni kō nāma śā(sā)dhuh pūnar=ādādita ||
 79 Samvat 958 Māgha-śudī 6 [i*]

No 2 — VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF PURNAPALA,

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1099

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE, GÖTTINGEN

About the year 1840 the stone, which bears this inscription, was taken by Captain T. S. Burt from a tank at Vasantgadh¹¹ in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, and the inscription was published in *Journ. As Soc Beng* Vol. X. p. 664 ff, from a very unsatisfactory transcript prepared by Pandit Kamalākānta. For a long time the stone seems to have been lost sight of; but it has lately been rediscovered by my indefatigable friend, Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur, and is now deposited at the town of Sirohi. I re-edit the text from impressions which have been kindly sent to me by Mr. Ojha.

¹ Read *ddh-Ambulak*. In line 16 of the grant A. the name is spelt *Amvullaka*.

² Read *sōtpadyamānavēśhtikah* (or *ēśhtikah*, which occurs often elsewhere).

³ Read *kālīna*.

⁴ Read *vyāsēdhō*.

⁵ Read *sāmānyam dāna-phalam=avity=*.

⁶ Metre *Ślōka* (Anushtubh).

⁷ Read *yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs=tasya tasya tadā phalam*.

⁸ Metre *Indravajrā*.

⁹ Read *dattāni*.

¹⁰ Read *ni dharmm ārtha-yasas-karāni | nirmālyavāna-vānta*.

¹¹ Vasantgadh (Basantgadh) apparently is situated to the east of Mount Ābā, but I do not find it on the map of the Rājputāna Agency. At or near the same place an important inscription of the time of king Varmalāta, of the [Vikrama] year 682, has lately been discovered.

The inscription contains 23 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2' broad by 1' 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. At the upper proper right corner part of the stone is broken away, so that between about 15 and 2 aksharas are missing at the commencement of lines 1-9. Otherwise the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty nearly throughout. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{16}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters generally differ little from the ordinary Nāgari, but they include a few signs which are peculiar to the earlier northern inscriptions. The letter *b* everywhere is denoted by a sign of its own, and the secondary *ā* is often written by a superscript line, once (in *Trashtuh=prasādāt*-, l. 13) we have the sign of the *upadhāniya*, and once (in *bhāryām*, l. 12) the conjunct *ry* is made up of the full sign for *r* and the secondary form of *y*. Between verses 32 and 33 and at the end of the text a conch-shell has been engraved, and between verses 33 and 34 a circular ornament. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *asy=ānayaō=pi* and *nagar=ānayaō=pi* in lines 8 and 13, the whole is in verse. Both the language and the verses often are incorrect, and as a piece of literary composition the inscription is worthless. Here, to show how very limited was the author's knowledge of grammar, I need only point out forms such as *nāma*, l. 5, *vēsmam*, l. 9, *vēsmam*, l. 14, and *vyōmē*, l. 21 (for *nāma*, *vēśma*, *vēśmabhūh*, and *vyōmni*), from passages regarding the reading of which there cannot be any doubt. And what liberties were taken by him, simply for the sake of the metre in the spelling of words, may be seen from instances like *Pūrnāpāla*-, l. 7, *samdhī*-, l. 19, *svapāna*-, l. 15 (for *Pūrnāpāla*-, *samdhī*-, *sōpāna*-), etc.¹

The object of the inscription is, to record that a queen named Lāhini, a younger sister of the Paramāra Pūrnāpāla and widow of a king Vīgraharāja, at Vata² (Vata-nagara, Vata-pura) restored an ancient temple of the Sun, and restored or founded a tank (*vāpī*), apparently the very tank where this record has been found. And the inscription is divided into three parts, the first and second of which give the genealogies of Lāhini and Vīgraharāja, while the third glorifies the town Vata and the pious work executed there by the widowed queen. The whole is introduced by two verses, in one of which (so far as it is preserved) the author pays homage to Mahēśvara (Śiva), Prāchētasa (the poet Vālmiki), and Vānī (the goddess of eloquence), while in the other he invokes the protection of the god Hari (Vishnu).

Verse 3 relates that through the anger of (the sage) Vasishtha there was produced a youth or prince (*humāra*) from whom the Pramāra (or Paramāra) family took its origin.³ In his lineage there was Utpalarāja; from him sprang Āranyarāja, and from him Adbhutakrishnarāja. His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son) was Mahipāla, and from him sprang Dhandhuka. To Dhandhuka there was born from his wife Amritadēvi Pūrnāpāla, who ruled the Arbuda territory (*bhū-maṇḍalam=Arbbudasya*).⁴ In his reign, his younger sister Lāhini was married by king Vīgraha (Vīgraharāja).

Vīgraharāja's genealogy, in verse 12, commences with a twice-born named Yōta, who by his bravery acquired the title of king (*bhūpa*). In his lineage there was the king (*nripa*) Bhavagupta, who, after restoring the temple of 'the Sun dwelling at Vata' (*Vata-vāsi-bhānu*), reigned at Vata. In his lineage, again, there was Saṅgamarāja, who ruled Badari in Vamśāratha. From him sprang Durlabharāja; from him, Chacha, and from him, Vīgraharāja, who, as stated

¹ The author's mistakes have been more fully pointed out in the notes on the text. The inscription emphatically teaches us that the mistakes which may be found in an inscription need not necessarily be ascribed to the writer or engraver.

² In line 9, verse 13, the word is used in the plural (*Vatēshu*), and in the inscription of Varmalāta, mentioned above, the place appears to be called *Vatākarasthāna*.

³ See e.g. *Ep Ind* Vol II p 190, verse 13. In the present inscription we have the name *Pramāra* in verse 3, and *Paramāra* in verse 10. The name is written *Pramāra* also in the unpublished Bhārunda inscription of Pūrnāpāla of the [Vikrama] year 1102, of which I possess impressions.

⁴ In the Bhārunda inscription mentioned in the preceding note Pūrnāpāla is said to rule the *Arbuda-maṇḍala*. The inscription actually has *śrīmarbuda-maṇḍalam prādātā*.

The town of Vata (Vata-nagara, Vata-pura) is glorified in verses 20-25¹. Here it will be sufficient to say that it is stated to have been founded by the sage Vasishtha, that it was situated on a river named Sarasvati, and that its inhabitants are described as devoted to the worship of the Sun. That the queen Lāhni restored there an ancient temple of the Sun and restored or founded a tank, has been already mentioned.

The Pramāra or Paramāra chiefs mentioned in this inscription ruled the Arbuda-mandala, i. e. a tract of country called after Arbuda, the modern Mount Âbū. They are probably closely connected with the Paramāras of Chandrāvati, mentioned, e. g., above, Vol VIII. p. 201. Regarding Vīgraharāja and his ancestors I cannot offer any remark.

TEXT 3

- ² By the northern system Chitrakūṭa is listed for 20° 30' N, 82° 30' E.

² By the northern system Chitragbhāṇa located ...

* From impressions supplied by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. Below "Ed" denotes the text in *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol X p 671, I quote from it only a few passages to show what that text says.

* About 15 or 16 *akṣharas* are broken away at the commencement of the line. Ed. has *P-aṇamya Hari-*
putra[ś]na kaviṇā Mātrīśarmmana | suh[ri]ddhātātārām Vānīm, but this, with the exception of the word

Me're -arddālavikridita — *subjoined* for the ... (nushtabb)

* Mr. of verses 88 Upendrasara. In the same way, for the sake of the, are for, got, vidar

formed on the analogy of *bāndhutā*, *janatā*, etc. and *Pramaratā* seems to have been

- ²¹ Ed has *Vallabharāṇa-bhāṣa*=*Chārḍ=pr.*

- vijitya lōkān || [15*] ¹Dvijhvaripuvāhanō lalanakāntarāmānvitah || kulōchchaya-
kritōnnatir=vividhritachārulakshmi-
- 11 vapuh || svapaurushadhritāvanu=balanivishtachakrō rāhān || babhūva nri-arōttamah
sa nararūpadhri=Mādhavah || [16*] ²Prōtphullasitakamala-mukhām karatala-
sukumārapamkaja-nibhā[ng]im || Śriyam=iva kulajām rājūi-Lāhīnim=ūdha-
- 12 vām³ sah || [17*] Bhāryām⁴ sa ch=āvāpya gunaiḥ samētām chitt-āpsitām=vai⁵
bubhujē cha bhōgam || s=āpi priyam prāpya patin=ta rēmō yadyach=Chbach=
Indrēna samam vaiēmō⁶ || [18*] Asmin=mrītō bharttari daiva-yōgād=bhrātur=
griham s=āpi gatā viyuktā || āvāsītā vai nagarō Vatē=smin=daivāt=pra-
- 13 hīnē bahusāh kramēna || [19*] || Nagar-ānvayō=pi⁷ || || Taptam tapam⁸
Vārunin=āpi yatra nyagrō[dha-sakt-ā]śrama māpavasya⁹ || sthānō=rkka-Bharggau
svanatō¹⁰ Vasishthō mukti-pradau sthāpitavān=varishthah || [20*] Tadvad=Vaṭ-
ākhyam nagaram vanē=smin¹¹ Tvashtuh=prasādāt=kritavām¹²
- 14 n=Vasishthah || prākāra-vapr-ōpavanais=tadā[g]aiḥ prāsāda-vēśmah¹³ sughanam
sutumgaiḥ || [21*] ¹⁴Śrutamantr-ōdam=akshōbhyam shadawgāvaritta samkulam ||
vēd-ānnavam dvijāḥ samyag=yatra tīrtv=āpy=agarvītā[h] || [22*] ¹⁵Lōhaur=
ddharmma paraiḥ svakarmma-nirataih sadbhūḥ sad=āvāsitam ||
- 15 vṛtyartham¹⁶ [cha sa ?]māgataih pratidīśam nityam vāmgbhur=vṛitam || [pan]-
rālah¹⁷ panikājanair=vyasaniḥ sū(śū)rur=jjanaiḥ samkulam || Imdra-sthānam=
iv=āparam Vata-puram kshōni-talē samsthitam || [23*] ¹⁸Svar-udgatā yatra
sarit=Sarasvatī svapāna-pamkt=iva¹⁹ nrinām
- 16 nūmajjatām || supunyapushpōdakaphēna-vāhīni dvij-āśramānām janānovadhishtitā²⁰ ||
[24*] Yē²¹ sarvām=pālayantē nagarahita-ratāḥ²² nūmajjatāḥ prāsūtāḥ ||
dēvān=viprān=yajantē kanakadhanamahivastaratnādī-dānaih || khyātir=yēśhām cha
nityam tri(tri)bhuvana-
- 17 valayē sad-gunair=ēva nītā || tē=smin=paurāḥ samastāḥ sakalajana-hitā Bhānarō
bhaktamantah || [25*] ²³S=ātr=āgatā Lāhīni-nāma-rājūi bharttur=vyōgādhi-
nupiditāmgī || asmin=purē vipra-janaiḥ samētya tṛptā [tu] tīśhām [va]chanat=
prabuddhā || [26*] Bhā-
- 18 nōr=griham daiva-vaśād=vibhagnam Vāsishtha-pauraiḥ sukritam yad=āsīt ||
vaināśī²⁴ sarvām saha jivitēna jñātvā griham kṛitam=āśu Bhānōh || [27*]

¹ Metre Prithvī

² This apparently is intended for an Āryā verse, but it is quite incorrect. Ed. omits the whole of it.

³ Read vān=sah

⁴ Metre of verses 18-21. Indravajrā

⁵ Read -āpsitām vai, or, perhaps, -āpsitām va

⁶ Read varēna

⁷ Instead of these words and of the first half of the following verse Ed. has Vasishtharājō=pi atr=āśīd=atō=yam Vasishtharājōvayō=pi (jātamatrapā Vārunināpi) atra nyagrōdhasy=āśramah

⁸ Wrong for tapō.

⁹ The intended reading may be -Mādhavasya, but I am not sure about the meaning of the verse. Some legend, which is unknown to me, seems to be referred to

¹⁰ Read sva-natau, or, perhaps, sva matau

¹¹ Read =smin=Iva

¹² Read =kṛitavān=Iva

¹³ Wrong for vēśmah, which would not have suited the metre

¹⁴ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

¹⁵ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

¹⁶ Read vṛtyartham — The sa in the following brackets seems to be engraved below the line

¹⁷ There is hardly any doubt here about the actual reading, but the text must be incorrect. I cannot suggest a satisfactory emendation. Ed. has paurānair=ganikājanair=

¹⁸ Metre Vamāsthā

¹⁹ Wrong for svapāna-pamktir=iva, which would not have suited the metre

²⁰ Read janān=iva nishthitā

²¹ Metre. Sragdharā

²² Read -ratā

²³ Metre of verses 26-30. Indravajrā

²⁴ Wrong for vindāī (or vāindāīkam), which would not suit the metre

- ¹Suśiṣhta-samdhim ruchira[m] supādam śail-śeṣtakam cha sthira-simgha-karnnam² || yadvad=Dhumādris=śikharaś=cha tadvat=kṛtvā
- 19 mukētam Vata-vāsi-bhānōh || [28*] Lōka-prap=aishā sukritā cha vāpi suśiṣhtasamdhī-ghatitōtpalā³ cha || sōpāna-pamktyā suśubhē(bhā) subaddhā nīrē(érē)ni-bhūt=ēva divaukasasya || [29*] Dévaiḥ samastair=ri(n)shubhīś=cha juṣtā pāpāpahā vyāpya jagat=sthitā yā || jīrnuō-
- 20 dhṛtā⁴ Lāhīni-punyahētōh Sārasvatī śēsha-janasya vāpi || [30*] Nīshpādyā⁵ sukritam kṛtvā⁶ artham datvā⁷ punah-punah || vaināśikam=idam ch=ānya[j*]=jūātvā lōkasya charppitā⁸ || [31*] ⁹Yāvad=gaur=llōka-dh[ā*]trī pravahati [pa ?]rutō¹⁰ yāvad=arkō=ntarikshē || yāvad=vichyas=sa-
- 21 mudrē pavana-vidhunitāh¹¹ samtātāh prōchchhalanti || yāvad=vyōmē¹² suśighram pracha[la ?]ti mihira-śyamda(da)nasy=aika-chakram || vāpy-ōkau tāvad=āstām=¹³ udukara-sadrisau śrēyasē kārakasya || [32*] || ¹⁴Krit=ēyam Hari-puttrēna Mātrīśarmma-dvījanmanā || śastir=llōka-hitā-
- 22 rthāya Lāhinyās=cha¹⁵ hit-aishinā || [33*] ¹⁶Āśich=cha Nāgāt=sthapatēs=tu Durggah || Durggārkkatō Dēuka-sūtttradhārah || asy=āpi sūnuh Śivapāla-nāmā || yēn=ōtkrit=ēyam¹⁷ suśubhā prasastāh || [34*] ¹⁸Navanavatir=ih=āsīd-Vikramāditya-kālē || jagati
- 23 daśaśātānām=agratō yattra pūrnā [I*] prabhavati Nabha-māsē sthānakē Chittrabhānōh || Mrigaśirasī śāsāmke kṛishna-pakshē navamyām || [35*]

No 3 — ALUPA INSCRIPTIONS AT UDIYAVARA.

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D., HALLE (SAALE)

The ancient royal family of the Ālupas is one of those whose early history is wrapped in obscurity—'carent quia vate sacro' as Horace (*Carm* IV 9) expresses it. All that was until recently known regarding them will be found on page 309 of Dr Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. A few additional records of them were published by Mr Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The Ālupas or Ālupas are referred to in inscriptions of the two Western Chalukya kings Pulakēśin II¹⁹ and Vinayāditya, of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III,²⁰ and of the Kādamba Jayakēśin I, and the poet Bilhana mentions them in connection with his patron Vikramāditya VI. They are thus proved to have existed as a ruling family in the period from the seventh to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era.

As regards the name Ālupa, Dr Bhandarkar suggested that it 'seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar coast'²¹. This is very improbable, because Ālupāy (Alwey) is situated in Travancore, while the inscriptions of the Ālupas are

¹ Ed omits this verse

² Read *-simghakarnnam* — This word *simghakarna* apparently is a technical term, relating to architecture

³ Read *-ghatitōpalā*; the preceding *samdhī* for the sake of the metre stands for *samdhī*,

⁴ Read *dhṛtā*

⁵ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) |

⁶ Observe the hiatus

⁷ Read *datvā*

⁸ Read *ch=ārppitau*

⁹ Metre Bragdhārā

¹⁰ Read *puratō(?)*

¹¹ For the sake of the metre for *-vidhānītāh*

¹² Wrong for *vyōmni*, which would not have suited the metre

¹³ This *āstām* is wrongly used here for *śāstām* (from *śa*) or *śyātām* (from *as*)

¹⁴ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

¹⁵ The name of the queen is written here with (the dental) *n*

¹⁶ Metre. Indravajrā

¹⁷ *Utkṛtā* wrong for *utkṛtā*

¹⁸ Metre Mālinī. — Ed omits the last Pāda of the verse and has instead of it *sa* 1099

¹⁹ See now above, Vol. VI p 10

²⁰ See below, p 16 and note 7.

²¹ *History of the Dekkan*, p. 51, note 3

found in South Canara, Kadûr and Shimoga. The original meaning of the word Âlupa or Âluva is probably 'a ruler,' from the Diavidian root *âl*, 'to rule'

A few individual names of kings are preserved to us. The Sorab plates of Vinayâditya were issued at the request of Gunasâgar-Âlupendra's son Chitravâha-Mahârâja, who was in possession of the district (*vishaya*) of Edevoal in the N.E. of Banavâsi in North Canara.¹ According to the Harihar plates of Vinayâditya, which are dated two years after the Sorab plates, another village in the district (*bhôga*) of Edevoal, forming part of the Vanavâsi-mandala, was granted at the request of Âluvarâja,² i.e. perhaps Chitravâha-Mahârâja. The same two princes (Gunasâgara and Chitravâha) may be meant in an inscription at Kigga in the Koppa tâluka of the Kadûr district,³ which states that, when Âluarasa, whose second name was Gunasâgara, was ruling the Kadamba-mandala,—Âluarasa, (his) great queen and (his son) Chitravâhana made a grant to a local temple.⁴ Another inscription (Kp 37), which is on the other face of the same stone, is dated while some Chitravâhana was ruling Ponbuchechu,⁵ the modern Humcha.⁶ Finally, an inscription at Mâvali in the Sorab tâluka of the Shimoga district states that in the time of Prabhûtavarsha Gôundarasa, i.e. the Râshtrakûta king Gôvinda III, a certain Chitravâhana ruled the Âluvakhêda six-thousand, while Râjâdityarasa ruled the Banavâsi-mandala.⁷

If the Chitravâhana of the first Kigga inscription was really the same person as the Chitravâha of the Sorab plates, it would follow that the Âlupa or Âlua prince Gunasâgara was governor of the Kadamba-mandala, i.e. the Banavâsi province, in or immediately before the time of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya, and that Gunasâgara's son Âluvarâja Chitravâha or Chitravâhana (I) granted two villages in the district of Edevoal, which formed part of the Banavâsi province, during Vinayâditya's reign. Consequently Chitravâhana I. seems to have succeeded his father Gunasâgara in the government of Banavâsi. In the time of Gôvinda III, however, the Banavâsi-mandala had been taken from the Âlupas and was entrusted to Râjâditya, while the Âluvakhêda six-thousand was administered by a second Chitravâhana, who on the strength of his name may be assumed to have belonged to the Âlupa family. To judge from the Mâvali inscription, he proved troublesome and had to be coerced by the force of arms. That Chitravâhana, whom the second Kigga inscription mentions as residing at Humcha, may or not be identical with this Chitravâhana II, but must be distinct from Chitravâhana I, whose capital was most probably Banavâsi. If this identification is correct, Ponbuchechu, the modern Humcha, would have been the head-quarters of the Âluvakhêda six-thousand, which in a later record is mentioned as Âlvakhêda among the boundaries of the Poysala kingdom.⁸

Mr Rice's volumes contain many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient Âlupas. These are the Changâlvas,⁹ Kongâlvas,¹⁰ Nâdâlvas,¹¹ Sântaras,¹² and the rulers of Kalasa and Kârkala.¹³

In the course of a tour in 1901, Mr H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., discovered a number of archaic Kanarese pillar inscriptions of the Âlupas at Udiyâvara near Udipi in the South Canara

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 147. A facsimile of the Sorab plates has since appeared in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. p. 92 of the Translations.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p. 302, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI Dg. 68.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI Kp. 38.

⁴ A further remark on the same inscription will be found below, p. 21, note 3.

⁵ The Kanarese text has *punduvâle* for *Ponbuchechu=ale* in the Roman text.

⁶ See p. 17 below.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII Sb. 10, with Plate facing p. 3 of the Roman texts.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI Cm. 160, line 5.

⁹ *Id.* Vol. IV Introduction, p. 16, Vol. V p. viii, Vol. IX p. 19.

¹⁰ *Id.* Vol. V p. vii, Vol. IX p. 18.

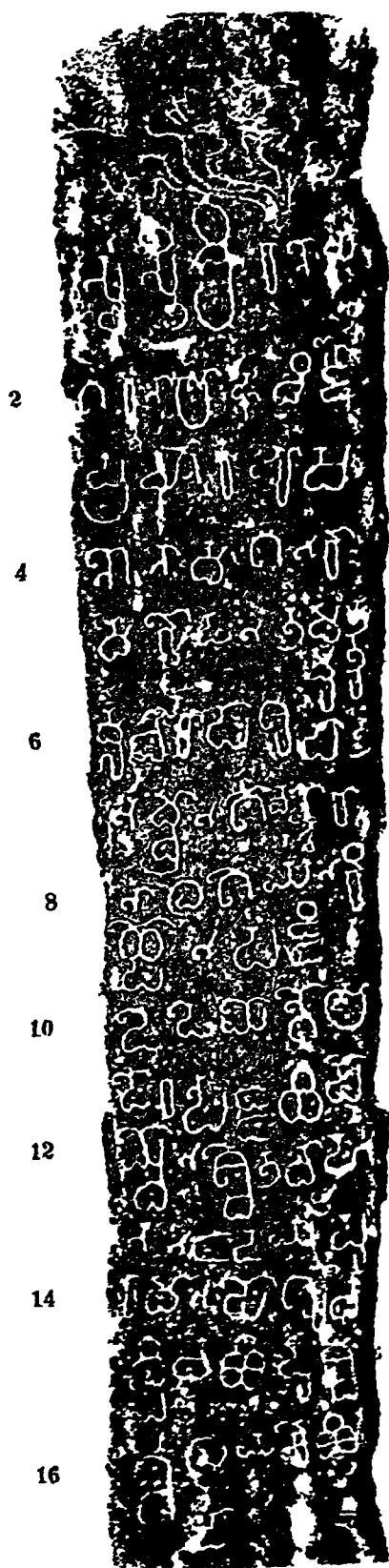
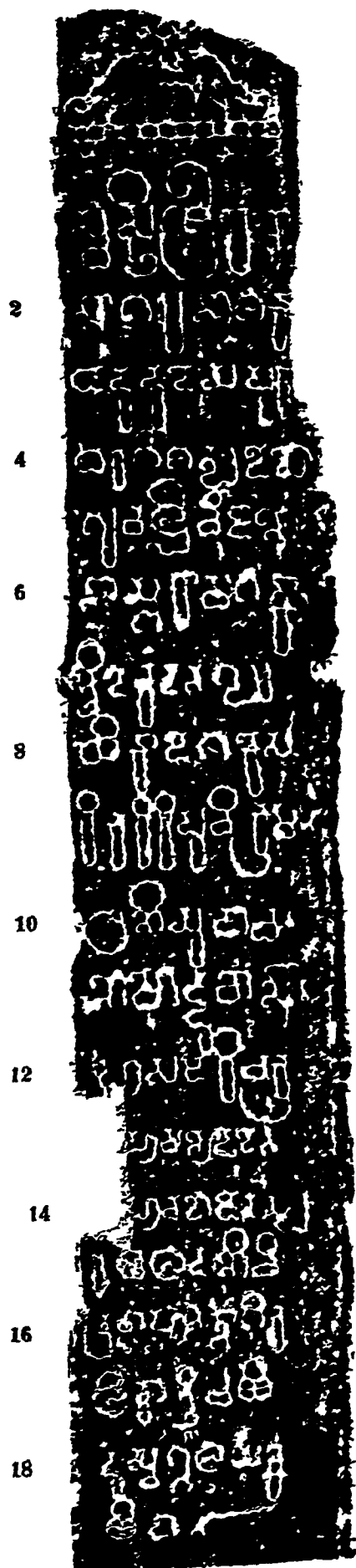
¹¹ *Id.* Vol. V. p. vii.

¹² *Id.* Vol. VI p. 10, Vol. VII p. 17, Vol. VIII p. 6.

¹³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. p. 19. Compare *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 458 and note 2. Compare above, Vol. VII p. 109 ff. and Vol. VIII p. 124 ff.

I — Scale one-sixth

II — Scale one-fifth



Collotype by Gebr Plettner, Halle.

district Of these records I now edit the eight most complete and important ones. Regarding some difficult points in them I have consulted my old friends Venkayya and Krishna Sastri, whose remarks proved of much assistance in unravelling the meaning of these enigmatical ancient documents

The first five Udiyâvara inscriptions are on Virakals, *i.e.* stones set up as memorials of deceased heroes; the remaining three refer to grants of tolls. The three first inscriptions must all belong to the same period; for Nos I and II mention a certain Ranasâgara, and Nos. II and III one Śvêtavâhana. These two names and, in addition to them, Chitravâhana in No I look like those of Alupa princes, among whom we have already found a Gunasâgara and two Chitravâhanas. As the alphabet resembles that of the Mâvali inscription,¹ we may identify the Chitravâhana of No I. with Chitravâhana II., who ruled the Âlupakhêda six-thousand in the time of Gôvinda III. Consequently Nos I.-III. must be assigned to about A.D. 800. From the first few lines of No I. we learn that Chitravâhana II seized Udiyâvara in the course of a war with Ranasâgara, who seems to have been a rival claimant to the throne. Nos II and III. refer to the storming of Udiyâvara by Śvêtavâhana, and No II records the death, on this occasion, of a follower of Ranasâgara. From this it may perhaps be concluded that, after the time of the inscription No I, Ranasâgara succeeded in ousting Chitravâhana II, but that, later on, he was in his turn defeated by Śvêtavâhana, who may have been a near relative of Chitravâhana II.

The remaining Udiyâvara inscriptions date from the reigns of the two Âlupa, Âluva or Âlva kings Prithvisâgara (Nos IV.-VI) and Vijayâditya (Nos. VII and VIII) *alias* Mâramma (No. VII.). It is impossible to say at present how these two princes were connected with Chitravâhana II., Ranasâgara and Śvêtavâhana. But, as the alphabet of their inscriptions agrees with that of Nos I.-III, they must be assigned to about the same period.

In each of the eight subjoined inscriptions Udiyâvara is referred to by one of its older names Udayâpura (Nos. V. and VIII), Udayapura (Nos II, III, VI, VII.) or Udeyapura (Nos I. and IV.). In the three last it is mentioned together with Patî (No VI.), Pombuḷcha (No VII) or Ponvuḷcha (No. VIII). Patî and Pombuḷcha are known to have been ancient names of the modern Humcha in the Nagar tâluka of the Shimoga district.² This Humcha seems to have been the capital of the Âlupa kings. For an inscription at Kigga is dated while Chitravâhana (II) was ruling Ponbuchi.³

I.—Inscription of Chitravâhana (II.) and Ranasâgara.

This inscription (No 94 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyâvara. It records that a follower of Chitravâhana (II) met with his death when the 'lord of the earth' (*viz* Chitravâhana) occupied and entered Udeyapura (Udiyâvara) 'during the trouble of Ranasâgara,' *i.e.* in the course of a war with the latter.

TEXT.

- 1 Svastî śrî [||*] Rana-
- 2 sâgaranâ śam(sam)ka-
- 3 ṭadul=Udeyapuram
- 4 dhareg[i]śan=pade-po-
- 5 guvalli Vijana-
- 6 nâygarâ magan=Kâ-

¹ See above, p 16 and note 7.

² See above, Vol VIII. p 126.

³ See p 16 above.

- 7 lñde kadan-aggha-
 8 lī kâlega-kêsa-
 9 ri kariripu-vikraman
 10 anyu[1*] dâva-
 11 nam=odduvon=sâ-
 12 hasad=ari-chakra-
 13 [vyû*]haman=odedon
 14 [â*]havad=ode[da]n=pa-
 15 ra-[ba]lad=anī Chī-
 16 travâhanarggâgi ka-
 17 h-kânti eri-
 18 da svarggâlayakk=ê-
 19 rñdon [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail 'Prosperity' When during the trouble of Ranasâgara¹ the lord of the earth² occupied and entered Udeyapura,—Vijananâya's³ son Kâltide, (*who was*) eminent in war, a lion in battle, brave as a lion, applying a cattle-rope⁴ to the array (of *his enemies*), breaking the body of bold hostile armies, breaking in battle the array of the enemy's forces, ascended to the abode of heaven, having fought⁵ (*with*) the splendour of a hero on account of Chitravâhana.

II.—Inscription of Ranasâgara and Śvêtavâhana

This inscription (No 108 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar lying near a well in the back-yard of Râghavêndrabhatta's house at Udîyâvara and commemorates the death in battle of a follower of Ranasâgara. He fell while Udayapura (Udîyâvara) was entered by Śvêtavâhana, whom I take to have been the victorious opponent of Ranasâgara. The dead warrior is described as a zealous devotee of the 'lord of Paṭṭi,' and he and his two immediate ancestors as adherents of the 'Pâśupata lord.' Paṭṭi (or Pombuchcha) is the modern Humcha.⁶ It may be concluded from the present inscription that this town was the seat of the head of a Śaiva maṭha.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasth sri [11*] Rana[sâ]-
 2 garanâ âlu Viñjan
 3 Pra[hâ]rabhûsha-
 4 nanâ magan Kâ-
 5 makôdan tammuttu-
 6 mûvarâ Pâśupâ(pa)tam
 7 namvrân g=ôva[do]râ

¹ I.e. 'the trouble caused by Ranasâgara'

² *Pa* probably the Chitravâhana mentioned in l. 15 f

³ *Nâya* is a *tadbhava* of *nâyaka*

⁴ With *dâvanam=oddu* compare *dâvani kattu*, 'to tie cattle in a row to a long rope fastened by two pegs,' in Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*. Compare above, Vol VIII p 134, and *Ep Carn* Vol. VI Introduction, p. 19, note 1. *Dâvani* is a *tadbhava* of *dâmant*, 'a long rope to which calves are tied by means of shorter ropes' (Monier-Williams)

⁵ Here and in the four next inscriptions *eri* is the same as *ri*, 'to strike, to stab'

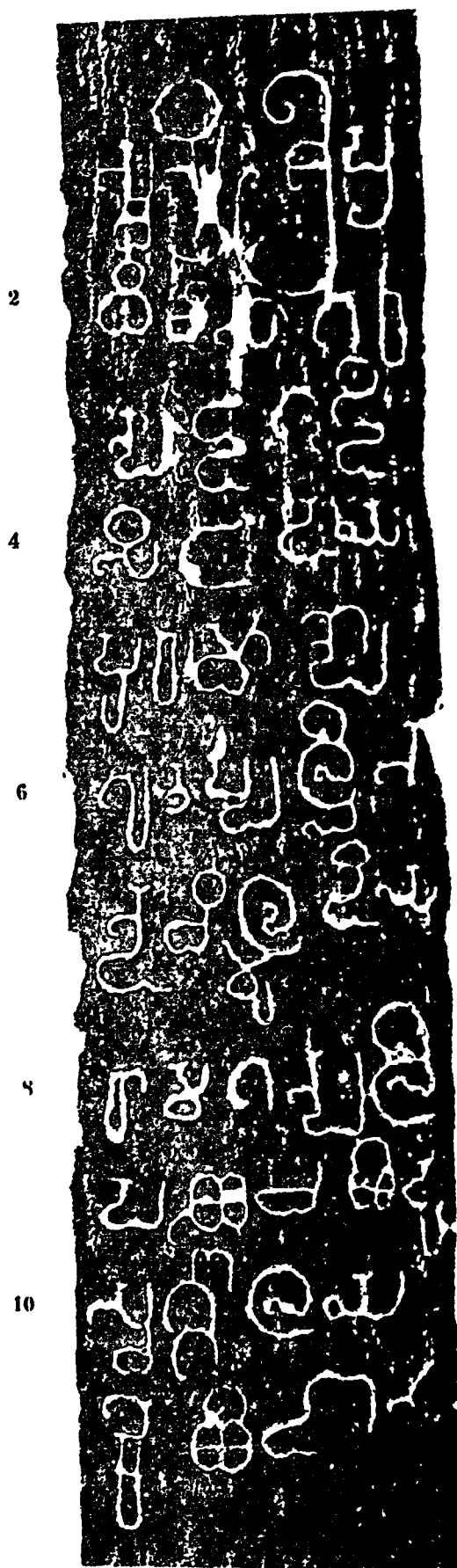
⁶ See p 17 above

⁷ As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *namvrân* is meant for the Tamil *nambirda*, 'lord' (literally 'our lord'), read *nambirda*.

III — Scale one third



IV. — Scale one-fourth



- 8 nâlageyan ki(ki)-
- 9 lpon Pattu-
- 10 odehyong=¹ôâ(va)-
- 11 doran=patt-a^hi-pâ-
- 12 yvon Śvêtavâha-
- 13 nan Udayapu-
- 14 ramân poguva-
- 15 lli eridu śva(śva)-
- 16 rgga(rggâ)layakk=êri-
- 17 [don] [||*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvêtavâhana was entering Udayapura,—Ranasâgara's servant, Viñja Prahârabhûshana's son Kâmakôda, who pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Pasupata lord of those three persons themselves,² (and) who seized, destroyed and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of Patti, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*)

III.—Inscription of Śvêtavâhana.

This inscription (No 105 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the same house as the preceding inscription and commemorates the death of another hero on the same occasion.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrî [||*] Pândyavi-
- 2 llarasarâ maga-
- 3 n=Dêvu sâdu(dhu)-priyan=a-
- 4 sâdu(dhu)jana-varjtan=Śvê-
- 5 tavâhanar=Udaya-
- 6 puramân=poguvalli
- 7 eridu svarggâlaya-
- 8 kk=êrîdon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvêtavâhana was entering Udayapura,—Pândyavillarsa's son Dêvu, (*who was*) beloved by the good (and) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*)

IV —Inscription of Prithivîsâgara

This inscription (No 103 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the south-west corner of the court-yard of the Śambhukalla temple at Udiyâvara. It forms the memorial of a warrior who was killed when Prithivîsâgara stormed Udayapura (Udiyâvara) after his coronation.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrî [||*] Pri-
- 2 thivîsâgara-

¹ Read *odeyong*—

² *Le* the Pâsupata priest whose adherents Kâmakôda, his father Prahârabhushana (and his grandfather) Viñja were I owe this explanation to Dr Fleet With *tammuttu-mûvar* compare *tammut-ayvar* and *tammut-aruvâr* in Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, p 241 Dr Fleet has noted the similar expression *tammutt-irôbar* or *tammutt-irôddor*, above, Vol VI. p. 161, note 7

- 3 n=pattam gatti-
- 4 si Ud[e]ya-
- 5 puramân-po-
- 6 gutappalli Na-
- 7 ndavilmudiya-
- 8 rā magan=Pali-
- 9 paṇe eṇḍu
- 10 svarggālaya-
- 11 kk=ēṇḍon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Prithivīsāgara, having had (*himself*) crowned, was entering Udayapura,— Nandavilmudi's son Palpaṇe, having struck down (*his enemies*), ascended to the abode of heaven

V.—Inscription of Prithivīsāgara.

This inscription (No 101 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple and records that another follower of the Ālupa king Prithivīsāgara fell at the storming of Udayapura (Udayāvara).

TEXT.

- 1 Svasta śi [||*] Pṛithu(thi)visāgara
- 2 śrīmad-Ālupēndra dushta-bhaya-
- 3 nkaragge ishta-bhṛityan=appa Po-
- 4 lokku Priyachelva [U]da[yā]-
- 5 puraman pugutappa-
- 6 lli āha[pa](va)-ra[nga]ḍu=urn-
- 7 bhataṛa [e]ṇḍu Priyache-
- 8 lva chelva-śanpanna¹ ka(kha)la-
- 9 [ṇa*]na-varjṇtan dhareṇi(gi)-
- 10 [śa*]nge ōvadora pata-
- 11 [t]iya aḷḍu suralō-
- 12 kakke ēṇḍan [i*] Keleyna
- 13 Vāi[e]ṇṇayan nṛṇṇida [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Polokku Priyachelva, who was the beloved servant of Prithivīsāgara, the glorious Ālupēndra, the terror of the wicked, was entering Udayapura,— (*this*) Priyachelva, (*who was*) endowed with beauty (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the world of the gods, having struck down great warriors on the stage of battle (*and*) having destroyed the foot-soldiers² of those who were not attached to the lord of the earth: (*His*) friend Vāleṇṇaya set up (*this memorial stone*)³

VI — Inscription of Prithivīsāgara.

This inscription (No. 102 of 1901) is engraved on another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. It opens with the name and *birudas* of the Ālupa or Āluva king

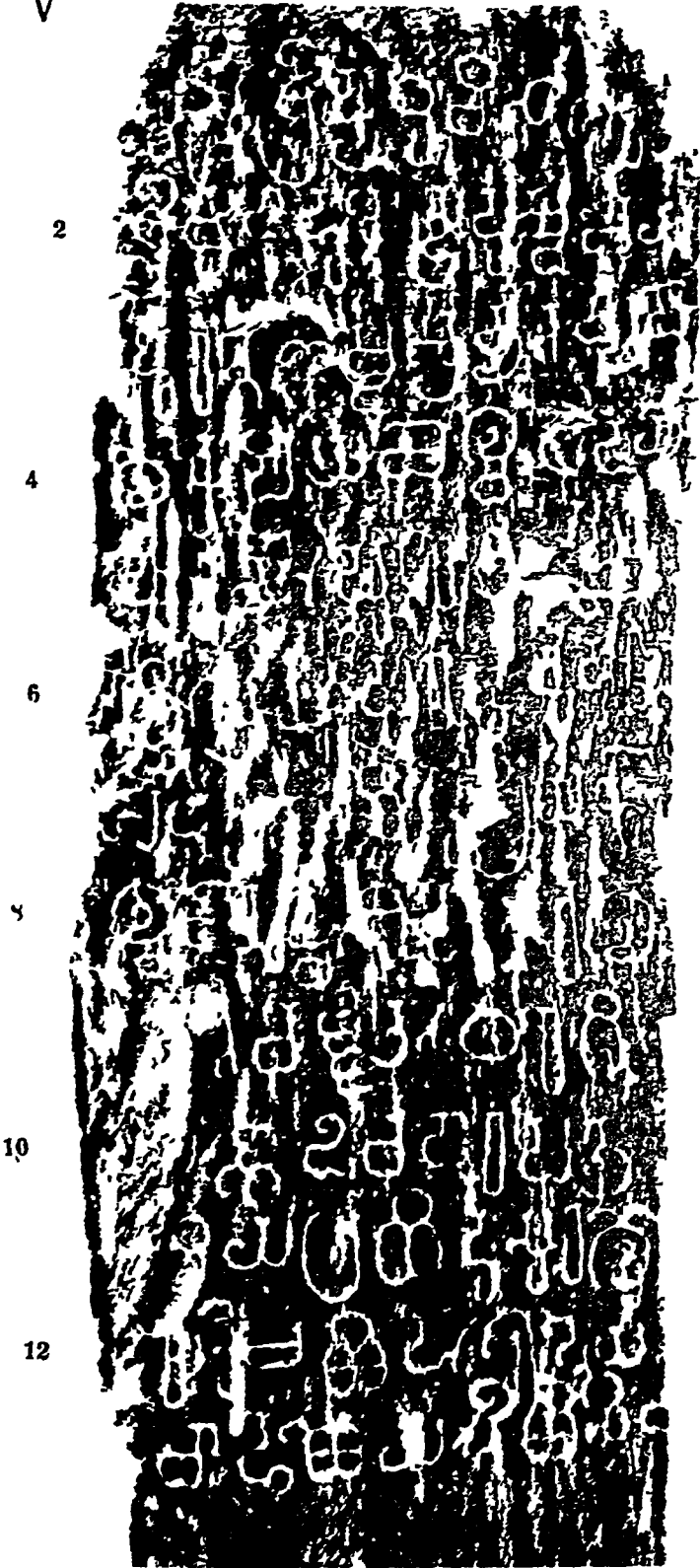
¹ Read *-sannanna*

² As Mr Krishna Sastri suggests, *patai*, is perhaps a *tadbhava*, used collectively, of *padāṭi*

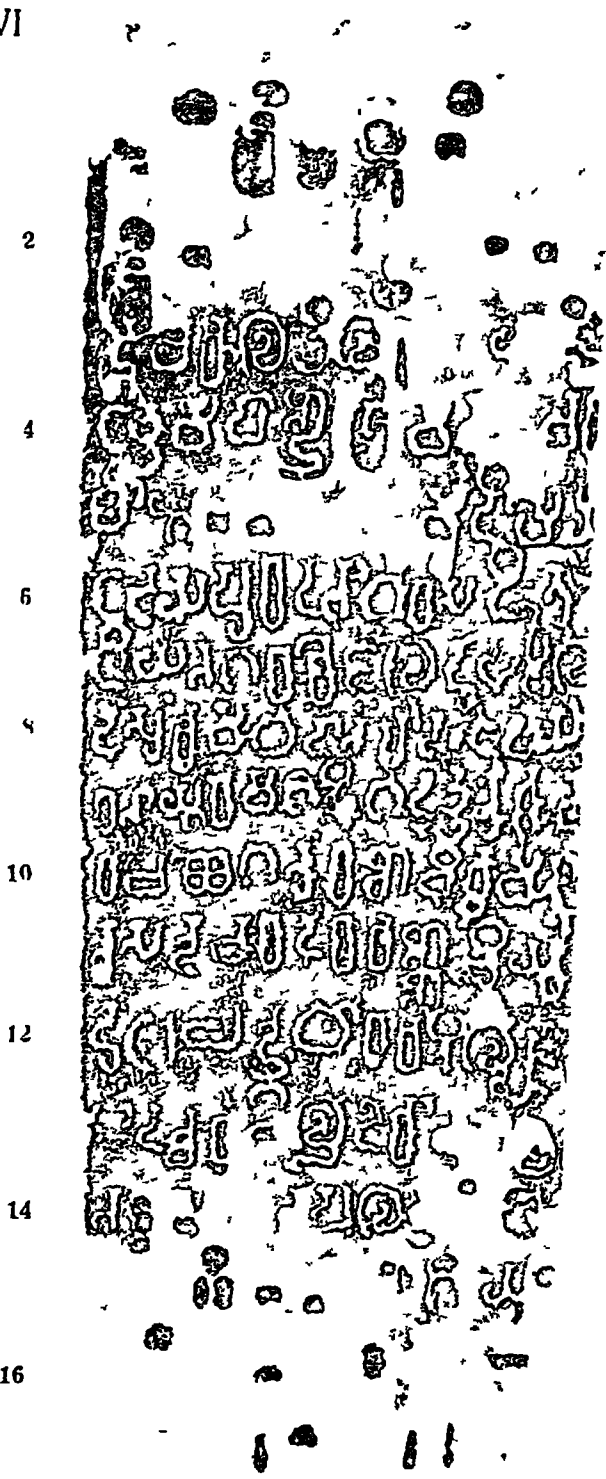
³ I.e. the Ālupa king Prithivīsāgara

⁴ Itai Bahadur Venkayya would prefer to take *ere* as synonymous with the Tamil *ṇṇa*: and to translate "Keleyna set up (*this stone representing*) a chief (*with*) a sword (*in his hand*)"

V



VI



Scale one-fourth

Prithivisāgara, who claimed descent from the lunar race and bore the surnames Udayāditya and Uttama-Pāndya, and records that he confirmed a previous grant of tolls to the two cities (*nagara*) of Udayapura (Udiyāvāra) and Patī. The last is evidently the same as Patti, the modern Humcha¹ The imprecatory passage at the end of this inscription and of the two next ones (VII and VIII) mentions two sacred places Vāranāśī and Śivavallī. The former is of course the modern Benares Regarding the second, Mr Krishna Sastri contributes the following information —

“The Shivalī (Śivallī) sect of Brāhmanas in South Canara take their name from this place In the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol III p 610, we are told that the town Oodipī (Udipī), ‘considered the most sacred spot in the Canarese country,’ is ‘formed of parts of Badagabett, Moodanāmbore, Poollore and Shivalī villages’ In the *Madras Postal Directory* Shivalī figures as a village served by the Udipī post office”

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pṛidhu(thi)vīsāgara
- 2 śrīmad-Ālupēndra Sōmavamśō-
- 3 dbhava kulatilakan Udayāditya
- 4 Uttama-Pāndya śrīmad-Āluvara[sa]-
- 5 r-B[ō]ygavarmara nātu-mudimeyu[!]
- 6 Udayapurada nā(na)gara-sahitam Pa-
- 7 ṭiya nagarakke jaladūlam sthala[du]-
- 8 lam sumkam=ardha-dāna kâdar [!*] Udaya[pu]-
- 9 ranāygara magan=[S]imgadattanu[m] Ku[mâ]-
- 10 ra Ereganum Ranavikrama[nâtha]-
- 11 nu Sandavaradara Kannachiyu[m] [!*] [I]-
- 12 du a(â)chandrathâ(tâ)rakam nūpu[d=a]ke(kke) [!*]
- 13 Idan=vakram-illâde kâdu salū[po]-
- 14 n=²aśvamêdhada pa(pha)la-prâpti aku(kkum) [!*]
- 15 Idan=aḥivon=Vārana(nâ)śiyum Sī(śī)va-
- 16 valliyuman=aḥida pamcha[ma]-
- 17 ha(hâ)pâtaka-sam(sam)yuktar=appar [||*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! During Bōygavarma's headmanship of the district,³ Prithivisāgara, the glorious Ālupēndra, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the ornament of (*his*) family, Udayāditya Uttama-Pāndya, the glorious Āluvarasa, confirmed the gift of one half (*of*) the tolls both on water and on land to the city of Patī, together with the city of Udayapura. (*The recipients of this gift were*)⁴ Udayapuranāyga's⁵ son Sngadatta; Kumāra Erega, Ranavikrama[nâtha],⁶ and Sandavarada's (*son*) Kannachi. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who without fraud confirms and grants this, shall be the acquisition of the fruit of a horse-sacrifice He who destroys this, shall be covered with the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys Vāranāśī and Śivavallī.

¹ See p 17 above

² See Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, § 183, 8

³ As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *nātu-mudime* is the equivalent of the Tamil *nāttu mudumai*, 'the headmanship of a district' Compare *Ep Carn* Vol VI Kp 38, where *Kundavarmmarasam mudime geye* (this is the reading of the Text in Kannada characters, p 323) has to be translated by 'while Kundavarmmarasa was headman'

⁴ The words *idd padedor* may be supplied from VII 1 10, and VIII.1 10f

⁵ See above, p 18, note 3

the god Krishna. In the verse following we find Indrarâjadêva (III.), the royal grantor of the charters, compared to the god Upêndra (Vishnu). In verse 4 we are informed that the god Brahman sprang from the water-lily in the navel of Vishnu, from Brahman his son Atri, from Atri the Moon, and from the Moon the dynasty of the Yadus, where Krishna was born. In the next verse we are told that there arose king Dantidurga in the Sâtyaki branch of the Yadu dynasty, to whom of herself repaired the goddess of sovereignty of the Châlukya family. This means that Dantidurga was the first Râshtrakûta king who defeated the Châlukyas and made himself master of their dominions. From verse 6, if we notice the *double entendre* clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga first reduced the lowermost, i.e. southern, country, then turned his arms against the *Madhyadêśa*, and finally conquered the city of Kâñchî. According to an inscription in the Daśavatâra cave at Elurâ,¹ Dantidurga subdued the rulers of Kâñchî, Kalinga, Kôsala, Śrîśaila, Mâlava, Lâta, Tanka, and so forth. If we are right in understanding verse 6 as we have done, Dantidurga first gained victories in the South and conquered the kings of Śrîśaila, Kalinga, and so forth, then turned to the central part of India and subjugated the princes of Kôsala, Mâlava, Lâta, and so forth, and finally came back again to the South and vanquished the lord of Kâñchî.

Verse 8 tells us that after Dantidurga his paternal uncle Krishnarâja (I.) came to the throne. The next verse makes mention of his son Nirupama(-Dhruva), but omits the name of his elder brother Gôvinda II, probably because the author of the inscription wanted to give a direct genealogy of the royal grantor, with reference to whom Gôvinda II. was a collateral prince, while he mentioned the name of Dantidurga as the latter was the founder of the dynasty. But by no means can this omission be taken as favouring the view that Gôvinda II. did not reign. I have elsewhere adduced reasons for dissenting from this view,² and in support of my position may now be stated the incontrovertible fact that the Dhulâ copper-plate grant³ of Gôvinda II's nephew and feudatory Suvarnavarsha-Karka distinctly refers itself to his reign, and gives the date Śaka 701, when we must consequently suppose Gôvinda II. to have been alive and wielding supremacy. Verse 10 informs us that Nirupama(-Dhruva) won two white parasols in battle, one from the lord of Kôsala and the other from the king of the North. Who these princes were we have no means to determine. But it looks tempting to identify the king of the North either with the Indrâyudha mentioned in the Jaina *Harivaṃśa*, or with Chakrâyudha, the ruler of Kanauj and contemporary of Dharmapâla of the Pâla, and of Gôvinda III. of the Râshtrakûta, dynasty.⁴

Verse 11 says that from Nirupama(-Dhruva) sprang Jagattunga(-Gôvinda III.), who, in his turn, begat Śrîvallabha(-Amôghavarsha I.). The next verse tells us that Amôghavarsha

¹ *Arch Surv West Ind* Vol V p 88

² *Journ Bo Br R A S* Vol XX p 133 f

³ Above, Vol VIII p 183.

⁴ In an unpublished grant of Amôghavarsha I in the possession of my brother Prof S. R. Bhandarkar, two princes of the names of Chakrayudha and Dharma are mentioned as having gone to the Himâlayas to do homage to Gôvinda III who had gone thither on an expedition of conquest. It can hardly be seriously doubted that Dharma is Dharmapâla, the second prince of the Pâla dynasty, and that Chakrayudha is the same as the Chakrâyudha of the Bhîmagpur grant, whom Dharmapâla restored to his lost throne. Prof Kielhorn (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss zu Göttingen*, 1905, p 303) has already identified this Chakrâyudha with the Chakrâyudha of the Gwalior inscription, who was conquered by Nâgabhata. Nâgabhata again was a contemporary of Gôvinda III (*Journ Bo Br R A S* Vol XXI p 422, note 2). We have thus four princes, viz Gôvinda III, Nâgabhata, Chakrâyudha and Dharmapâla, who were contemporaries. We know from Râshtrakûta records that Gôvinda III reigned from A.D. 791 to 813. We must, therefore, suppose Dharmapâla to have flourished about this time. As this synchronism was not known before, it was but right to assign Dharmapâla to A.D. 861, the date of the Pathârî inscription referring itself to the reign of the Râshtrakûta prince Parabala (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss zu Göttingen*, 1901, p 525 f). But now we see that this date would be rather too late for Dharmapâla. Besides, there is nothing to show that this Parabala is, as a matter of fact, identical with Parabala, the father-in-law of Dharmapâla.

I. raised the glory of the Ratta sovereignty immersed in the ocean of the Chalukyas and thereafter assumed the epithet Viranārāyaṇa. If we read between the lines, we cannot fail to notice that the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty had been shaken by the Chalukyas of Vēṅgī to its very foundations in the early part of Amōghavarsha's reign. The Chalukya contemporary of Amōghavarsha I was Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II,¹ who, in an Eastern Chalukya record, is represented to have fought, during twelve years, by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Gangas and the Rattas. The latter can be no other than the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēd, and it thus appears that Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II was a powerful king. We can, therefore, very well understand that he might have for a time eclipsed the glory of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Amōghavarsha I, however, was by no means slow to retrieve his lost reputation, and seems to have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the Chalukyas, whom, as verse 13 informs us, he destroyed, just as a man burns chick-pea plants, the stalks of which have been pulled out by the root. That he inflicted a severe defeat on the Eastern Chalukyas can also be seen from the Cambay and Sānglī charters,² in which he is said to have gratified the god Yama with unprecedented morsels of cakes which were the Chalukyas. Verse 13 incidentally gives us the information, if my interpretation is correct, that the Chalukyas whom Amōghavarsha I vanquished had devastated Stambapura, which is the same as Tāmralūpta, identified with the modern Tamlūk, the head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name of the Midnapur district, Bengal.

From Śrīvallabha(-Amōghavarsha I), who was a comet of destruction to the Chalukya family (v 14), sprang Kṛṣṇnarāja (II), whose fights with the Gūrjaras used to be still remembered by old men, as we are informed in verse 15. I have elsewhere pointed out that the Gūrjaras, with whom the Rāshtrakūṭas were often at war, ruled over Northern India and had their capital at Mahodaya or Kanauj, and consequently the Gūrjara prince defeated by Kṛṣṇnarāja II. (A D 888-911) must have been Mahēndrapāla (A D 899-907), the patron of the poet Rājasekhara.

Kṛṣṇnarāja II. had a son of the name of Jagattunga (v 16), who married Lakshmi, the daughter of Ranavīgraha, the son of Kokkalla of the Harhaya, i.e. Kalachuri, dynasty (vv. 17-19). It is worthy of note that Ranavīgraha is here called *Chēd-īśvara*, i.e. lord of Chēdi. The same fact is hinted by a verse in Jahana's *Sūktimuktāvalī*, quoted by Dr. Bhandarkar in his paper on the Karhād plates of Kṛṣṇa III,³ which purports to say that of rivers the Narmadā, of kings Ranavīgraha, and of poets Surānanda were the ornaments of Chēdi. The name Ranavīgraha does not occur in the list of the names of the Kalachuris of Chēdi. From a Ratanpur inscription,⁴ however, we learn that Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was a ruler of Tripurī, and the others lords of *mandalas*, i.e. minor chiefs. If this statement deserves any credence, Ranavīgraha, being a ruler of Tripurī, i.e. of Chēdi, and not of a *mandala*, was the eldest son, and the successor of Kokkalla. But from the Benares copper-plate inscription⁵ it appears that Kokkalla was followed by his son Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavalā. We may, therefore, suppose that Ranavīgraha and Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavalā were one and the same prince.

The issue of the marriage of Jagattunga with Lakshmi was Indrarāja (III), whose epithets Ratta-Kandarpadēva and Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa are mentioned in verses 20 and 21. The next verse contains a *double entendre*, and so far as its mythological sense goes, it does not present any difficulty. But the historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name of Upēndra by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indrarāja III. But who this Upēndra was, and how the epithets *kṛta-*

¹ *Ind. Ant* Vol XX p 100² Above, Vol. IV p 280³ Above, Vol VII p 43, *Ind. Ant* Vol XII p 252 f⁴ *Ep Ind* Vol I p 33⁵ *Id.* Vol II p 301

Gôvardhan-ôddhâra and *hél-ônmûlita-Mêru*, used in connection with the kings Upêndra and Indrarâja respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upêndra referred to Mahîpâla of the Prathâra dynasty of Mahôdaya, for whom I then contended that the Bhâgalpur grant of the Pâla dynasty gave the other name Ohakrâyudha.¹ But I have stated above that, beyond all doubt, Dharmapâla and Chakrâyudha, whom he re-instated on the throne, were contemporaries of the Râshtrakûta prince Gôvinda III.² Chakrâyudha cannot, therefore, be identified with Mahîpâla, who was a contemporary of Indra III., the great-great-grandson of Gôvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajî,³ the word *Mêru* in the expression *hél-ônmûlita-Mêru* signifies Mêra or Mêhra, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary Mêhra king of North Kâthiâwâd by Indrarâja III. Prof. Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that *Mêru* probably is Mahôdaya,⁴ i.e. Kanauj, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanauj by Indrarâja III. specified in the Sânglî charter. With regard to the other expression, viz. *kṛita-Gôvardhan-ôddhâra*, no interpretation has been proposed, and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse.

In the preamble of the prose passage preceding the formal part of the inscription, the *P. M. P. Śrîman-Nityavarshanarêndradêva*, i.e. Indrarâja III., is spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of the *P. M. P. Śrîmad-Akâlavarshadêva*, i.e. his grandfather Kṛishna II. This indicates that Jagattunga, the father of Indrarâja III, did not come to the throne. The same may be concluded from the statement of our inscriptions that the battles of Kṛishnarâja II. were remembered and described by old men in Indra III.'s time. This shows that hardly a generation had passed since the occurrence of that event, and that consequently there was no Râshtrakûta sovereign intervening between Kṛishna II. and Indra III. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that the Khârêpâtan grant of Rattarâja,⁵ in setting forth the Râshtrakûta genealogy, takes the succession direct from Kṛishna II. to Indra III. and refers to Jagattunga only further on as the father of Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga. But our conclusion is placed beyond all doubt by the Dêôlî and Karhâd plates of Kṛishna III,⁶ which distinctly speak of Jagattunga as having died without obtaining the sovereignty.

The composer of our inscriptions was Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nêmaditya. There can hardly be a doubt that he is identical with Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nalachampâ*, of the Śândilya gôtra, and the son of Nêmaditya (var. *leot. Dêvâditya*).⁷ Another *Śândilya-kavi-ohakravartin* Trivikrama was the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhâskarabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of king Bhôja of Dhârâ. The oldest mention of Trivikrama is in Bhôja's *Sarasvatikanthâbharana*, while he himself quotes Bâna. The authorship of a *Madâlasi-champâ* is also attributed to this Trivikrama.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grants, Pâtaliputra from where the grantee of No. II emigrated is obviously Paṭnâ, the principal town of the district of the same name in Bengal, and Mânyakhêta, the capital of the royal grantor, is Mâlkhêd in the Nizam's Dominions Kurundaka, where Indrarâja III had repaired for his *paṭṭabandha*, was first identified by Mr A. M. T. Jackson with Kurundwâd at the junction of the Krishnâ and Pañchagangâ in the Southern Marâtha country.⁸ In No. I. the village granted is Umvarâ (or Umbarâ) near Kammanijja in the country of Lâṭa, and the boundaries specified are Tôlêjaka to E, Môgalikâ to S., Samki to W, and Javalakûpaka to N. Umvarâ, as was first pointed

¹ Above, Vol. VII p 32.

² *History of Gujarat*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I Part I. p. 130

³ See above, Appendix to Vol. VIII. p 16, note 2.

⁴ Above, Vol. III p 298

⁵ Weber, *Berlin Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 1205.

⁶ See above, p 26, note 4.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV. p 288, Vol. V p 193.

⁸ *History of Gujarat*, p 130, note 3.

out by Dr. Bhandarkar, is the modern Bagumrā, with the prefix *bag*.¹ Tōlājaka and Mōgalikā cannot be identified, but Samkī and Javalakūpaka are Sankī, one mile S W of Bagumrā, and Jolwa, one and a half mile N. of Bagumrā. In No. II. the village granted is Tenna near Kammanijja, and the boundaries specified are Vāradapallikā (or Bārada²) to E, Nāmbhitāṭaka to S, Valisā (or Baliśā) to W., and Vavviyana (or Babbiyana) to N. They have been identified with Ten, Bārḍoli, Nadida, Wanasa and Baben respectively. Kammanijja, in the vicinity of which lay both the villages granted, is Kāmrej. All these villages are to be found in the Nausārī division of the Baroda State. The Bagumrā grant of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva II. mentions Trennā, both as a village and a territorial division, and speaks of the village of Trennā as having been bestowed upon a certain Brāhmana by his grandfather Dhruva I. (A.D. 834-35). "The explanation of its being given away again by the present record," as Dr Fleet has rightly said, "is, no doubt, to be found in the statement, made in the present record, that Indra III gave away four hundred villages which had been confiscated by previous kings; this was evidently one of them."³

TEXT³ OF No. I.

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति⁴ [॥] स⁵ वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति⁶
- 2 विबुधवन्धुर्विध्यविस्तारिवक्ष्यलविमलविलोलल्लौस्तुभः कंसकेतुः । मुखसरसिज-
रङ्गे यस्य नृ-
- 3 त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ [२*] स⁷ जयति
भुजदण्डसंययश्रीः समर-
- 4 समुद्रतदुर्हरारिचक्रः । अपहृतवलिमण्डलो⁸ नृसिंहः सततसुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराज-
देवः ॥ [३*]
- 5 अस्ति¹⁰ श्रीनाथनाभिस्फुरद्[र]सरसाम्भोजजन्मा स्वयंभू(१)स्तस्मादग्निः सु-
तोभृदमृतकरपरिस्त्र-
- 6 न्द¹¹ इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्माद्[श्री] यदूनां जगति स बह्वधे यस्य तैस्तैर्वि-
लासैः शाङ्गैर्गोपाङ्गनानान्न-
- 7 यनकुवलयैरर्चमानश्चचार ॥ [४*] [त]वान्वये¹² विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीद-
न्तिदुर्गानृप-
- 8 तिः पुरुषोत्तमीभूत् । चालुक्यवशजलधेः¹³ स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शंखचक्र[कर]-
लाञ्छन-

¹ Journ Bo Br E A S Vol XVIII p 256.

² Ind Ant Vol XXXI. p 396

³ From inked estampages supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

⁴ The : is not well-formed.

⁵ Metre. Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁶ Metre Māhri

⁷ Read विबुधवन्धु⁰.

⁸ Metre. Pushpitāgrā

⁹ Read 'वलि'

¹⁰ Metre. Sragdharā.

¹¹ Read 'परिष्वन्द'.

¹² Metre : Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

¹³ Read 'वंश'.

- 9 माजगाम ॥ [५*] कृत्वा]स्वदं हृदयहारिजघन्यभागे स्वेरं पुनर्धदु यिमर्य
च मध्यदे-
- 10 श [1*] यस्यासमस्य [सम]रे वसुधाङ्गनायाः कांचीपदे प[द]मकारि करेण
भूयः ॥ [६*] आ' सेतोः सानुव-
- 11 प्रप्रवलकपि[कुलो]सूनफुल्ल[नव]झाटा [कैना]साद्वयानीचनय[र]गगगपुरो-
नादितान्तात् ।
- 12 यस्याङ्गां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिल[नो]लिमालायमानामानन्दरुतमाङ्गयनि-
तललुठञ्जा-
- 13 नवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जित्वा' जगन्निजभुजे[न पु]नर्लिङ्गीयोः स्वर्गं विज्रतु-
मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तत्रा-
- 14 भवत्परमधानि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*] दि-
कुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र-
- 15 भगलीलाय[म]ानघनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्तिः । श्रीराट्टकृत्कुलशैलमनकरिणोऽम्भ्या-
दभू-
- 16 त्रिरुपमो निरवयवशौर्यः ॥ [९*] कीर्तिः' कुन्दरुचः' ममस्तभुवनप्रम्यानपुभः
सितो लक्ष्म्याः
- Second Plate; First Side*
- 17 लक्ष्म्याः' पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णैन्दुविम्बद्युति' । एकं कंषितकोमले-
श्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु-
- 18 नर्येनोदीचनराधिपाद्यश इव श्वेतातपत्र' रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्यास्तेभ्ये अग-
तुङ्गो जन्म सम्मानि-
- 19 त[द्विज]ः । सोपि श्रीवल्लभ सूनं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ [११*] निमग्नां
[य]श्चलुक्वाक्षी¹⁰ रट्टराज्यश्रि-
- 20 यं पुनः [1*] पृथ्वीमिवोद्धरन्धीरो¹¹ धीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ [१२*] सम्मूलोन्मूलित-
स्तम्बान्दण्डेनानी-¹²
- 21 तकाण्टकः । ¹³योद्धहृदिपिणश्चण्डचलुक्वांश्चणकानिव ॥ [१३*] ¹⁴[उद्यैयत्तु]वयकुल-
कन्दलकालके-

¹ Metre Sragdhara

² Read 'प्रवल'.

³ Metre Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse

⁴ One of the two circles of the *visarga* has been omitted.

⁵ The repetition of this word is superfluous

⁶ Corrected by the engraver from 'श्वेतातपत्र'.

⁷ Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next two verses

⁸ 'नीरो' is also possible

⁹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁰ Read 'लक्ष्म्या'.

¹¹ Metre: Śāradāvarikrīḍita.

¹² Read 'विम्ब'.

¹³ Read 'क्याक्षी'.

¹⁴ Read 'दृष्टदृष्टि'.

18
20
2
4

[illegible][illegible]

- 22 तोस्तस्मादक्ष्णचरितोजनि क्ष्णराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैर[स]क्ष्णने[न]
कीर्त्तिः परिभ्र-
- 23 मति यस्य शशाङ्कान्तिः ॥ [१४*] ^१उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नजालजटिलं व्याकृष्टमी-
दृग्धनुः (i) क्रुष्टेनोप-
- 24 रि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि से[न्द्र]चापवलये यस्ये-
25 त्य[म]द्वागमे^२ ग[र्ज्ज]ङ्गूर्ज[र]सङ्गरव्यतिकरं जीर्णी जनः श[न्स]ति^३ ॥ [१५*]
अजनि^४ जनि-
- 26 तभङ्गो वैरिह[न्द]स्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्तुंग[दे]वः । ध्व[ज]सरसि-
27 जशंखप्रोक्षसच्चक्रपाणिर्विभवविजितविष्णुर्वल्लभो वीर[ल]क्ष्म्याः ॥ [१६*] ^५[आ]-
सीत्कीप्य-
- 28 थ हैहयान्वयभवो भू[प]ः ^६[स]हस्रार्जुनो गर्ज्जङ्गु[र्ज]यरावणोर्जितलसद्दोर्हण्ड-
कण्डू-
- 29 हरः । विश्रान्तैः श्रवणेषु नाकसदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः सान्द्रसुधा-
रसेन लि-
- 30 खितैर्व्याप्ताः ककुब्भित्तयः^७ ॥ [१७*] वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशोः कीकृल्लभूपा-
त्मजो^८ राजा श्रीर-
- 31 णविग्रहः समभवच्चेदीश्वरः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरंभिमण्डनसुषः सर्वोपि
पृथ्वीप-
- 32 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ [१८*] ^९सकलगुण-
गणाब्धेर्विष्फुरद्वा-^{१०}
- 33 मधाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुसुदेन्दुः
सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 34 हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्तुंगदेवः ॥ [१९*] चतुरदधितटा[न्त]ख्यातशौर्थ्योय
ताभ्यामभवदरि-
- 35 घरदो रट्टकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकल-
जनशरण्यः पु-
- 36 शलावण्यराशिः ॥ [२०*] ^{११}मदनममृतविन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च विम्ब^{१२} नवनलिनमृणालं
चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां

^१ Metre. Śārdūlavakṛīḍita.

^२ Read शसति.

^३ Metre. Śārdūlavakṛīḍita; and of the next verse

^४ The first *sa* is not well-formed and looks almost like *śa*.

^५ The letter *tma* is not well-formed.

^६ Read °गणाब्धेर्विष्फुर°.

^७ Read °मद्वागमे

^८ Metre Mālīnī.

^९ Read ककुब्भित्तय.

^{१०} Metre Mālīnī, and of the next two verses

^{११} Read °विन्दु°.

^{१२} Read विम्ब.

- 37 च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्जन्मनिर्माणेष्वैरणुभिरिव चकार स्पष्ट[म]ानन्दि वेधाः
 ॥ [२१*] देवो^१
 38 'यश्चतुरन्वुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रामन्निजविक्रमेण समभूत्' श्रीकीर्त्ति-
 नारा-
 39 यणः [१*] श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः स[म] विद्विषां दैन्यं
 वक्ताकुची मनांसि च भ-
 40 यं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ [२२*] 'कृतगोवर्धनोद्धारं' [हे]लोन्मूलितमेरुणा ।
 उपेन्द्र-
 41 मिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२३*] 'सकलजननमस्यः सोय
 क्त[त्वा] नमस्या-
 42 श्रुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान् । उपरि पर[श]रामस्यैककुग्रामदान-
 43 स्फुरितगुणगरिष्णुस्यागकीर्त्या वभूव^२ ॥ [२४*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
 धिराजपरमेश्वर-
 44 रश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
 45 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव यथासंवध्य-^३
 46 'मानात्राद्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकानियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादी-
 47 न्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्यखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीप-
 48 द्दवन्धाय^४ कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्य-

Third Plate.

- 49 यशोभिह्वये (i) लक्ष्मणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसत्रज्ञचारिणे^{१०} राणपभट्टसुताय
 50 प्रभाकरभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गतकम्मणिज्जसमीपे उम्बरानामग्रामः यस्य पृ-
 51 र्वतः तोलेजकं दक्षिणतो भोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकीग्राम उत्तर[तो]
 जवलकूपकमे-
 52 वसाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितः सोद्वंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशा[प]राधः सोत्पद्यमान-
 53 पिष्टिकः^{११} सधान्यहिरण्यादेयोभ्यन्तरसि[द्धा] पूर्वदेवब्रह्मदायरहितः^{१२} शकनृप-
 काला-
 54 तीत[सं]वत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु^{१३} षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु [यु]वसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने

^१ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita^२ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)^३ Read 'संवध्य'^४ This *md* appears to have been first inadvertently omitted and then engraved quite close to the rim^५ Read 'वन्धाय'^६ Read 'ब्रह्म'.^७ Read 'रम्भु'^८ Metre Mālinī^९ Read समभूद्धी°.^{१०} Read वभूव.^{११} Read 'सत्रज्ञ'.^{१२} Read 'पिष्टिकः'.^{१३} The inner stroke of *sh* in *shva* is wanting

- 55 श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवे¹ तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन्यामान्
 56 अन्यान्यपि² पूर्वपृथ्वीपालवि[लु]प्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुम-
 लक्षैस्सा-
 57 ह्यैः सह विप्रेभ्यो विमुच्य³ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथि[सं]तर्पणार्थम(१)-
 58 द्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोऽस्योचितया⁴ ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुञ्जतो [भो]जयतः क्षयतः
 59 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदप्यपि परिपंथना कार्या [॥*] तथा-
 गामिभिरस्म-
 60⁵ हंश्चैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयमस्मद्ब्रह्मदायो-
 नुमन्त-⁶
 61 व्यः [॥*] यश्चाज्ञानाक्षोपयति स पंचभिर्महापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च
 भगवता व्यासेन ॥ ष-
 62 ष्टि⁷ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२५*] सा-
 63 मान्योयं⁸ धर्मसेतुनृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्मा-
 विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
 64 भूयो भूयो [य]ाचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*] श्रीचिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य
 स्रुतना कृता प्रशस्तेयं श्री [॥*]

TEXT OF No. II.

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति । स वीव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
 [का]न्तेन्दुकलया कम-
 2 लंकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति¹⁰ विबुधवन्धुर्व्विन्ध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविलोललक्ष्मी-
 स्तुभः कंस-
 3 तुः¹¹ । सुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृत्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्म[र]भरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते
 कटा-
 4 क्षाः ॥ [२*] स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समरसमुद्धृत[दु]र्जरारिचक्रः ।
 अपहृतवलिम-¹²

¹ Read °वन्धोत्सवे.² Read °न्यान्यपि³ Read °बलि°⁴ Read °ब्रह्म°⁵ Read °द्व्योदका°⁶ Read °क्षयतः°⁷ Read °गामिभिरस्म-⁸ Read °हंश्चैरन्यैर्वा°⁹ Read °नुमन्त-°¹⁰ Read °व्यः°¹¹ Read °ष-°¹² Read °ष्टि°¹ Read °न्यान्यपि² Corrected by the engraver from °द्व्योदका°³ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)⁴ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh), this verse was left incomplete for want of space⁵ Read °कंसकैतु°⁶ Read °वलि°⁷ Read °वलि°⁸ Read °वलि°⁹ Read °वलि°¹⁰ Read °वलि°¹¹ Read °वलि°¹² Read °वलि°

- 5 ण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥ [३*] अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभि-
स्फुरदुरसरसांभोज(1)-
- 6 जन्मा [स्व]यंभूस्तस्मादन्निः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्पन्द¹ इन्दुस्ततोपि । त[स्मा]-
हंशो यदूनां
- 7 जगति स ववृधे यत्र तैस्तैर्विलासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्ग[नानां] नयनकु-
वलये-
- 8 रच्यमानश्चचार ॥ [४*] तत्रान्वये विततसात्यक्रिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-
नृपतिः
- 9 पुरुषोत्तमीभूत् । चालुक्यवशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीयं श[स्व]चक्रकरलांक-
- 10 न[म]जगाम ॥ [५*] कत्वास्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यदेशे स्वैरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्द्य
च मध्यदेशं ।
- 11 यस्यासम[स्य] समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः ²काञ्चीपदे पदमकारि करेण भूयः
॥ [६*] आ सेतोः सा-
- 12 ³नुवप्रप्रवलकपिकु[लो]लूनफुल्लवज्जादा ⁴कैलासाङ्ग[वा]नीचलचरणरणनपुरो-
- 13 न्नादितान्तात् । यस्याज्ञां भूमिप्राप्ताः करमुकुलमिलन्मौ[लि]मालायमा-
नामानमैर-
- 14 त्तमाङ्गैरवनितललुठज्जानवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जित्वा जगन्निजभुजेन पुनर्जि-
गीषोः स्वर्गं
- 15 विजेतुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । (1) तत्राभवत्परमधाम्नि पदे पितृव्यः
श्रील्लणराजनृप-
- 16 तिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*] दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्रभंगलीलायमानघनविस्तृत-
[का]न्तकी-

Second Plate; First Side

- 17 तैः [१*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिणोस्तस्मादभून्निरूपमो निरवद्यश्रीर्यः
॥ [२*] कीर्त्तैः कु-
- 18 न्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णै-
- 19 न्दुविम्बद्युति⁵ । एकं कं पितकोसलेश्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु[न]र्येनोदीचनरा-
धिपाद्य-
- 20 श इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्मात्क्षेमे जगत्पुङ्गो जन्म सम्मानि-
तद्विजः । सीपि श्रीवल-

¹ Read °परिस्पन्द.

² Read °हवानी°

³ Read काञ्ची°.

⁴ Read °विम्ब°

⁵ Read °प्रवल°.

१ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥
 २ अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ३ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ४ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ५ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ६ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ७ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ८ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ९ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १० द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ११ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १२ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १३ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १४ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १५ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 १६ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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- 21 भं सूनुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ [११^{*}] निमग्नां यश्चतुक्थाक्षी^१ रट्टराज्य-
त्रियं पुनः [१^{*}] पृथ्वी[मि]वोद्धर-
- 22 न्धीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ [१२^{*}] ^२समूलोन्मूलितस्तस्वान्दण्डेनानीतकण्टकः ।
योद्धह्वे-^३
- 23 पिणश्चण्डचतुक्थाक्षणकानिव ॥ [१३^{*}] उच्चैश्चतुक्थकुलकन्दलकालकेतोस्तस्मादल-
24 णचरितोजनि क्षणराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैरसहज्जनेन कीर्त्तिं परि-
25 भ्रमति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥ [१४^{*}] उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नजालजटि[लं]
व्याकृष्टमी-
- 26 दृग्धनुः कृडे[नो]परि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि
सेन्द्रचापव-
- 27 लये यस्येत्यमव्दागमे^४ गर्ज्जङ्गूर्जरसंगरव्यतिक[रं] जीर्णी जनः शन्यति^५
॥ [१५^{*}] अ-
- 28 जनि जनितभगो वैरि[ह]न्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्तुंगदेवः ।
ध्वजसर-
- 29 सिजशखप्रोक्षसच्चक्र[पाणि]र्विभवविजितविष्णुर्व्वक्षभो वीरलक्ष्म्याः ॥ [१६^{*}]
आसीत्कोप्यथ
- 30 हैहयान्वयभवो भूपः सहस्रार्जुनो गर्ज्जङ्गूर्ज्यरावणोज्जितलसद्दीर्घण्डकण्डूह-
31 रः [१^{*}] विश्रान्तैः श्रवणेषु ना[क]सदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाचरैः सिद्धैः^६
सान्द्रसुधारसेन लिखि-
- 32 तैर्व्याप्ता. ककुब्भित्तयः^७ ॥ [१७^{*}] वंशे तस्य सपत्नवशपरशोः कोकलभूपा-
त्मजो राजा [श्री]-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 33 रणविग्रहस्तमभवच्चेदी[श्च]रः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरन्ध्रिमण्डनमुषः राव्वीपि^८
पृथ्वीप-
- 34 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ [१८^{*}] सकलगुण-
गणाब्धेर्व्विष्णुरक्षाम-^९
- 35 धाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुक्कुलकुसुदेन्दुः सुन्द-
रीचित्तहारी

^१ Read °क्वाक्षी.

^४ Read °मव्दागमे.

^७ Read ककुब्भित्तयः.

^२ Read °सन्ना°

^५ Read शसति

^८ Read सर्व्वीपि

^३ Read °दह्वे°.

^६ Read सिद्धे

^९ Read °गणाब्धेर्व्विष्णुर°

- 36 हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्तुङ्गदेवः ॥ [१८*] चतुरदधितटान्तख्यातशौर्योय
ताभ्याम[भ]व-
- 37 दरिघरद्वो रट्कन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां 'सवाल-
जनशरणः पु-
- 38 ख्यलावखराशिः ॥ [२०*] देवो 'यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वभरामाक्रा-
मन्निजविक्रमेण स-
- 39 मभूत् श्रीकीर्तिनारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं
विद्विषां
- 40 दैन्य वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ [२१*] कृतगो-
वर्षनोद्धारं हेलो-
- 41 न्मूलितमेरुणा [१*] उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२२*]
सकलजनममस्यः^४
- 42 सोय कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारानां^५ उपरि परशुरामस्यैक-
- 43 कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्त्यागकीर्त्या बभूव^६ ॥ [२३*] स च परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराज-
- 44 परमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानिव 'यथासंवध्यमानकात्राट्टपतिविषयपति-
ग्राम-
- 46 कूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
श्रीमान्य-
- 47 खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवाय^७ कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया माता-
पित्रोरात्म-
- 48 नक्षैहिकासुषिकपुण्ययशोभिहृदये (i) लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसन्नद्धाचा-^८

Third Plate.

- 49 रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गत[श्रीवेन्न]पभट्टसुताय सिद्धपभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गत-
कम्पणिज्ज-
- 50 समीपे तेन्ननामग्रामः [१*] यस्य पूर्वतो वारडपल्लिका [१*] दक्षिणतो
नाम्भोतटकं [१*] पश्चिमतो वली-

^१ Read सकल°

^४ Read जनमस्य .

^७ Read 'सवध्य°.

^२ Read 'रज्जु°.

^५ Read 'हारान् ।.

^६ Read 'वन्धो°.

^३ Read समभूषी°.

^६ Read वभूव°.

^८ Read 'सन्नद्ध°.

- 51 शा [1*] उत्तरतो वव्वियणग्रामः [1*] एवमा[घा]टचतुष्टयोपलक्षितस्रोद्वंगः
सपरिकर[ः] सदण्ड-
- 52 दशापराधः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहि[र]ण्या[दे*]योभ्यन्तरसिद्धा शकनृप-
कालातीतसंवत्सर-
- 53 शतेष्वष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्स-¹
- 54 वे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामानन्यान्यपि पूर्व-
पृथ्वीपालवि-
- 55 लुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुमलक्षैस्साहैः सह विमुच्य ²वलि-
चरुवैचदेवाग्नि-
- 56 ह्योत्रातिथिसंतर्पणार्थम(1)द्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया ³ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या
- 57 भुंजतो भोजयतः क्षपतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि
परि-
- 58 पत्न्या कार्या [1*] तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्त्रहंश्चैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं
भूमिदानफल-
- 59 भवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषीयम[स्त्र]ब्रह्मदायीनुमन्तव्यः⁴ [1*] यश्चाज्ञानाल्लोपयति
स पंचभिर्भहा-
- 60 पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादु[क्तं] च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आ[च्छे]-
- 61 त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकौ वसेत् ॥ [२४*] अ[ग्ने]रपत्यं पथमं⁵
सुवर्णं भूर्व्वेणवी सूर्यसुताय [गा]-
- 62 वः [1*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥
[२५*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुनृपाणां
- 63 काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वनितान्माविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो
याचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*]
- 64 श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन [ने]मादित्यस्य सूनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्त्यभिन्द्रराजा-
त्रिसेविना ॥ [२७*] श्रीः [॥*]

TRANSLATION OF No. II.

Om. Hail !

(Verse 1.) May he (Vishnu), the water-lily (*springing from*) whose navel was made (*his*)
abode by Vēdhas (Brahman), protect you, and Hara (Śiva) whose head is adorned by the beauti-
ful crescent of the moon !

¹ Read 'वन्धो'.² Read वलि°.³ Read ब्रह्म°.⁴ Read 'अदब्रह्म'.⁵ Read प्रथमं.

(V 2) Victorious is (Krishna), (*who is*) the comet (*of destruction*) to Kāma (and *is*) the friend of the gods, on whose chest, extensive as the Vindhya (*mountain*), dangles the pure Kaustubha, (*and*) on the stage of whose lotus-like face dance the side-glances of Lakshmi, with the pupils (*of her eyes*) languid through excess of love¹

(V 3) Ever victorious is the king Indrarāja (III), whose long arms (*were made her*) refuge by the goddess of Wealth, who has rooted out in battles the circle of (*her*) enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (*and who is*) the lion (*is* the best) among men, just as Upēndia (Vishnu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (*were made her*) support by (*the goddess*) Lakshmi, who held up in battles (*his*) discus bearing spoils and difficult to resist, who carried off Bah and (*his*) legions (*to Pātāla*), (*and who was*) a man-lion (*in his fourth incarnation*).

(V 4) The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the wide and blooming water-lily springing from the navel of (Vishnu) the lord of Śrī, of him was born (*his*) son Atri, (*and*) of him again (*is* of Atri) the Moon that overflows with rays of nectar. From him there grew on earth the lineage of the Yadus, amongst whom (*at one time*) flourished (Vishnu) the wielder of the Śarunga (bow) (*in his eighth incarnation as Krishna*), who was worshipped by the lotus-eyes of cowherdesses with every kind of flirtation.

(V 5) In that family there arose the illustrious king Dantidurga, born in the great Sātyaki branch, the best of men, whose hand (*bore*) the (*auspicious*) marks of the conch and discus, (*and*) to whom of herself came the goddess of wealth of the Chālukya family, just as (*in that family*) there arose Parushōttama (Krishna), who prolonged the line of Sātyaki,¹ who (*held*) the conch and discus in (*his*) hands as (*his peculiar*) characteristics, (*and*) to whom of herself came (*the goddess*) Lakshmi from the ocean.

(V 6) The hand (*is* the prowess) of this (*prince*), matchless in battle, having (*first*) established itself on the beautiful lowermost region of the earth, and having again overcome in a gentle manner at its own will the central region (*Madhyadīpa*), again established itself in the province of Kāñchī, just as the hand (*of a lover*), after (*first*) establishing itself on the hips of a woman, attractive to the heart, and pressing again gently at its will (*her*) waist, again establishes itself on the region (*below the waist*) where the girdle (*is worn*).

(V 7) His orders, forming a wreath on (*their*) crests with which came in contact (*their*) hands (*joined*) like buds, (*all*) kings respect with (*their*) heads slightly bent (*and*) with (*their*) knees rolling about on the surface of the earth, from Sētu (Rāmēśvaram), where the blossoming *lavanga* (trees) are destroyed on the declivities of mountain-tops by hosts of powerful monkeys, as far as the Kailāsa (*mountain*), the outskirts of which resound with the jungling anklets on the moving feet of Bhavāni.

(V 8) When that king, after conquering the world by his own arm, had gone to heaven as if to conquer (*it*), being desirous of a fresh victory,—(*his*) paternal uncle, the illustrious king Krishnarāja (I.), of well-known prowess, occupied his position of supreme majesty.

(V 9) Nirupama, of spotless valour, springing from that (*king*), whose fame, solid, extensive and bright, diverted itself in the form of the lines of sandal-painting on the faces of the beauties, (*was*) the quarters, (*and*) who adorned the mountain (*consisting of*) the family of the glorious Rāshtrakūtas.

(V 10) From the hand of the trembling lord of the Kōśalas was snatched away by him in battle one white (*regal*) parasol, which was the white (*auspicious*) water-pitcher for the setting out of (*his*) fame, bright as the *kunda* (flower), on a journey over the whole world, (*and*) which

¹ "Patr of Yuyudhāna (a warrior in the Pāṇḍu army who acted as the charioteer of Krishna and belonged to the Vrishni family)."—Monier Williams' Dictionary

was the toy-lotus, resplendent as the disc of the full moon, on the palm of the hand of Lakshmi, another again (*was snatched away by him*) from the king of the northern (*country*) as if it were (*his*) glory

(V 11) From him obtained birth Jagattunga, who honoured the twice-born, he in his turn begat as son the king of kings Śrivalabha.

(V 12) This (*prince*), possessed of fortitude, on raising again the glory of the Ratta kingdom, drowned in the ocean of the Chalukyas, became (*i.e.* assumed the epithet of) Viranārāyana, just as (Vishnu), again uplifting the earth, drowned in the ocean, became Viranārāyana (*i.e.* the heroic Nārāyana)

(V 13) Having, by means of punishment, put down obnoxious persons, he destroyed the fiery Chalukyas, (*his*) enemies, who had completely devastated (*the city of*) Stamba,¹ just as (*a gardener*), after removing the thorns by means of a stick, burns chick-peas, the stalks of which have been plucked out with the roots

(V 14) From him who was the comet of destruction to the plantain tree, (*viz*) the high family of the Chalukyas, was born Krishnarāja (II), of spotless life, whose fame, bright as the moon, wanders about, though constantly drunk by the people by means of the cavities of (*their*) ears

(V 15) On the advent of clouds, when there is a heavy downpour of rain (*and*) when the circular rainbow (*appears in the sky*), the old men thus describe the event of *his* fight with the roaring Gūṛjara:—"Thus did (*he*) in anger draw (*his*) bow, studded with a series of gems darting forth rays; thus did (*he*) discharge arrows at the heads of the warriors of (*his*) enemy"

(V 16) From him was born the illustrious Jagattungadēva, who caused the destruction of the multitude of (*his*) enemies, who surpassed the beauty of Madana, who was the beloved of the goddess of Heroism, (*the palm of each of*) whose hands (*bore the auspicious sign of*) a discus shining by means of (*the marks of*) a banner, a lotus and a conch, (*and*) who (*thus*) by (*his*) greatness excelled Vishnu.

(V 17.) There was a king (*named*) Sahasrārjuna, sprung from the Haihaya lineage, who relieved the itching sensation² of the powerful and shining long arms of the roaring and invincible Ravana, (*and*) the letters (*setting forth*) whose fame and name, finding a resting-place in the ears of the gods, (*and*) written by the Siddhas with the dense fluid of nectar, covered the walls of the quarters.

(V. 18) In the dynasty of him who was an axe to the families of (*his*) enemies, there arose the renowned illustrious king Ranavīgraha, the son of king Kokkalla (*and*) the lord of Chēdi, into whose circle (*of feudatory princes*), pilferer as he was of the ornaments of the wives of (*his*) enemies, entered every enfeebled lord of the earth on the destruction of (*his*) partisans, just as the moon, destitute of (*all*) the digits, enters the disc of the sun at the end of the (*dark*) fortnight

(V 19) From him who was the receptacle of a collection of all virtues (*and*) the abode of resplendent majesty, there was born a daughter (*named*) Lakshmi, possessed of lotus-like hands, [just as from the ocean, which is the abode (*of the sun*) of intensely gleaming rays, there sprang Lakshmi, possessed of a lotus in (*her*) hand], Jagattungadēva, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*viz* Lakshmi, the daughter of Ranavīgraha), just as Hari, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*viz* the goddess Lakshmi).

¹ The same as Tāmralipta, *i.e.* Tamlūk, see p 27 above

² [Compare Śīsupālavadhā, I. 48.]

(V. 20.) From these two sprang Rat̥ṭa-Kandarpadēva, whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was a grinding-stone to (his) enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, who was a refuge to all men, (and) who was a store of merit and beauty, [just as from (Hari and Lakshmi) sprang the god Kandarpa (i.e. Cupid), whose prowess is known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who is a grinding-stone to (his) enemies, who abides in the minds of beautiful women, who is a refuge to all persons, (and) who is a store of heavenly beauty]

(V. 21.) This king, overrunning, by means of his own valour, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, became (i.e. was known as) Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa, just as the god (Vishnu), covering, with his stride, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, was known as Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa, on hearing of whose birth, the lustre of the faces, the minds, and the heads of (his) enemies, whose understanding was bewildered, simultaneously experienced dejection, fear, and the cavity of the hands folded (as a mark of) servitude

(V. 22) This Indrarāja (III), having uprooted Mēru (Mahōdaya?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (his) defeating (king) Upēndra who had saved Gōvardhana, just as the god Indra, who uprooted (Mount) Mēru with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (his) vanquishing (the god) Upēndra (Krishna) who had uplifted the Gōvardhana (mountain).¹

(V. 23) This lord of the earth, entitled to obeisance from all men, on founding many endowments to temples and *agrahāras* (to Brāhmanas), to be respected (by all), became, in point of fame for charity, superior to Paraśurāma, the greatness of whose merits shone by the gift of a single insignificant village.²

(Ll 43-56) And he, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous Nityavarshanarēndradēva, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous Akālarashadēva, being well, commands all the lords of provinces (*rāshṭra*), lords of districts (*viśaya*), chiefs of villages, leading persons, officials, employes, functionaries, etc., according as they are concerned.—

"Be it known to you that by Me, who resides at the capital of Mānyakhēṭa (and) who has come to Kurundaka for the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet,—for the enhancement of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (My) parents and Myself—with heartfelt devotion—eight centuries of years increased by thirty-six having elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, on the seventh (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Phālguna in the Yuva-samvatsara—having, on the completion of the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet, ascended the *Tulāpuruṣa*,³ and having, without coming down from the pan, given away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, Kurundaka and other villages, and four hundred villages besides, that had been confiscated by previous kings,—was bestowed to-day, by pouring water from the hand, for the sake of the *Bali*, *Charu*, *Vaiśadēva*, *Agnihōtra* and *Atithisantarpana*,—upon Siddhapabbatta, of the Lakshmana *gōtra*, a student of the Vāji-Mādhyandina (*śākhā*), (and) the son of Śrī-Vennapabbatta who had come from Pātaliputra,—the village of the name of Tenna in the vicinity of Kammanijja situated in the country of Lāta, defined by the four boundaries, viz to the east Vāradapallikā, to the south Nāmbhitataka, to the west Valiśā, (and) to the north the village of Vavviyana,⁴ together with the royal share,

¹ There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is intended to yield two meanings, one mythological and the other historical. The first is clear, but the historical sense is by no means evident; see above, p. 27 f.

² There is here a play on the word *ku*, which means both 'the earth' and 'insignificant.'

³ "Gift of gold, etc., equal to a man's weight"—Monier-Williams' *Dictionary*

⁴ According to No I 1 49 ff.—"upon Prabhākaraḥ, of the Lakshmana *gōtra*, a student of the Vāji-Mādhyandina (*śākhā*), and the son of Rānapabbatta,—the village of the name of Umvarā in the vicinity of Kammanijja situated in the country of Lāta, defined by the four boundaries, viz to the east Tōlējaka, to the south Mōgalikā, to the west the village of Samki, (and) to the north Javalakūpaka."

- 14 सुचिरं हत्वा चकार स्थितिं ॥ [३*] ^१मातङ्गदानक्षतदीनचे-
 15 ष्टः ^२सवर्द्धितानेकविशालवंशः । विन्ध्येश्वरो विन्ध्य
 16 इवाचलश्रीः श्रीवर्द्धनस्तस्य सुतो बभूव^३ ॥ [४*] ^४तस्या-
 17 ऋजः सकलवैरिविनाशदक्षो जातो महा-
 18 गुणनिधिर्जयवर्द्धनाख्यः । लक्ष्मीप्रगाढ-
 19 परिरभणपोडिताङ्गं दृष्ट्वा दिवं यमगमत्परु-
 20 षेव कीर्त्तिः ॥ [५*] परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादा-
 21 नुध्यातः, सकलविध्याधिपतिः महाराजाधिरा-
 22 जपरमेश्वरश्रीजयवर्द्धनदेवः कुशलो

Second Plate, Second Side

- 23 कटेरकविषयीयखट्वाकायां ब्राह्मणा[न्*]^६ सपूज्य प्रति-
 24 वासिनोन्यांश्च कुटुम्बिन^७ (i) समाहर्त्तसन्निधादप्रसुखां^८
 25 यथाकालाध्यासिनः सर्वराजपुरुषां^९ विषयपतीं-
 26 श्च समाज्ञापयति [॥*] विदितमस्तु भवता^{१०} यथास्माभिर-
 27 यं ग्रामः सन्निधिः सोपनिधिः सर्व्वकारादान-
 28 समेतः प्रतिपिहचाटभटप्रवेशः सदृशा-
 29 पराधः सर्व्वपीडाविवर्जितः चट्टुह्निहप्रतिष्ठि-
 30 तश्रीमदादित्यभट्टारकाय अधिष्ठानविज्ञप्तिकया
 31 ^{११}कात्तिक्यामुदकपूर्व्वमाचन्द्रार्कग्रहसमकालोप-
 32 भोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिहृदये ता-
 33 ^{१२}भ्रशसनेन प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत^{१३} समुचितभो-

Third Plate, First Side

- 34 गभागादिकं भक्ता^{१४} सुखं वस्तुव्यं ॥ तथा चोक्तं धर्म-
 35 शास्त्रे ॥ ^{१५}बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
 36 भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [६*]
 37 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आ-

^१ Metre Indravajra

^२ Read सवर्द्धिता°.

^३ Read बभूव.

^४ Metre Vasantatilaka The simile here is विरलमतिकारिका ; compare श्रीनियोगाद्गदितुमिव गतेत्यन्वुधिं यस्य कीर्त्तिं in the Śāhityaprakāśa, 7th uḷḷāsa, śloka 241 For this parallel quotation I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda Sastri, M A

^५ Read ब्राह्मणान्

^६ Read कुटुम्बिन..

^७ Read °प्रसुखान्

^८ Read °पुरुषान्

^९ Read भवता

^{१०} Read कर्त्तिक्या°

^{११} Read ताव°.

^{१२} Read इत्यवगत.

^{१३} Read सुखा.

^{१४} Read वपु°

- 38 च्छेत्ता चानुतन्ता¹ च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [७*] स्वद-
 39 तां परदता² वा यो हरेत वसुधरां । स विष्टा-
 40 यां कर्मिभूता³ पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [८*] इति क-
 41 'स्वलदताम्बुविन्दुलेलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-
 42 जीवितं च रुक्लमिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा⁴ न हि पुर-
 43 जैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [९*] श्रीश्रीवर्धनदेव-
 44 स्य पाद[पद्मोप]जीविना⁵ । श्रीमहाचण्डपालेन लि-

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 45 खितं शासनं शुभम् । [१०*] प्रवर्द्धमानविल-
 46 यराज्ये सस्व⁶ ३ कार्त्तिके [के ?] दिन ३० [११*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) *Om. Hail! From Śrīvardhanapura.*

(Verse 1) (*There was*) king Śrīvardhana (I), the lord of the family of her⁹ who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāsa mountain, (*and*) famous on (*this*) earth (*as*) the ornament of the Śailavamśa. His son Prthuwardhana, formerly having drawn the sword with his own arm, at once overcame the Gaurjara country by (*his various*) attacks.

(V. 2.) King Sauvardhana, who was born in his family, begat three sons of his own, who in due course acquired the glory of heroism on the circle of the earth. One of them, possessing valour, having killed the Paundra king who was skilled in rending up (*his*) powerful enemies, took the whole of that country.

(V. 3.) The third of them,¹⁰ of white (*i.e.* pure) character, the vanquisher of foes, having forcibly killed the self-conceited (*and*) cruel king of the Kāśis, took Kāśī (*from him*) His son, known by the name of Jayavardhana (I.), the best of kings, having killed the lord of the Vindhya, took up his residence in the Vindhya for a long time

(V. 4) His son was Śrīvardhana (II.), the lord of the Vindhya, who possessed immovable (*permanent*) wealth like the immovable Vindhya mountain itself, who banished poverty by gifts of elephants, (*and*) who augmented the prosperity of various (*other*) big families.

(V. 5) His son, skilled in destroying all (*his*) enemies (*and*) a treasury of great virtues, was called Jayavardhana (II.). The goddess of Wealth so closely embraced him that the goddess of Fame, as if (*jealous of her cowife*), out of anger ascended to the heavens¹¹

¹ Read चानुतन्ता.

² Read कसलदताम्बुविन्दु⁹.

³ The words in brackets are very common in inscriptions; see e.g. *Ind Ant* Vol. IV p 210, note 8.

⁴ Read सवत्

⁵ I take *drōṇīya-vamśa* to stand for *drōṇīya-vamśa* in accordance with Pap VI. 3. 63, and to mean the

Gaṅgā-vamśa

¹⁰ Literally, 'another than the two'

¹¹ The idea is that he was very wealthy, and that his fame reached up to the heavens

² Read परदतां

³ Read सुदाहृत.

⁴ Read कर्मिभूता.

⁵ Read बुद्धा.

(L 20.) The devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of his parents, the lord of the whole Vindhya, the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Jayavardhanadēva, being in good health, having worshipped the Brāhmanas in (the village) Khaddikā in the district (*vishaya*) of Kaṭāraka, issues a command to the inhabitants and other householders (*as well as*) revenue collectors, receivers of public property and so forth, as they are appointed from time to time, (*and*) to all state officers and provincial governors

(L. 26.) "Let it be known to you that this village is given by Us, with hidden treasures (*and*) deposits, together with (*the right of*) taking all the dues, with the prohibition for the regular or irregular forces to enter (*the village*), with (*the fines leviable on*) the ten offences,¹ free from all troubles, to (*the temple of*) the holy Āditya-bhattāraka (*i.e.* the Sun-god) set up at Chattullīha, at the request of the residence (*viz* Śrīvardhanapura, l. 1), on the Kārttiki (*tithi*), with libations of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the planets endure, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves, by (*this*) copper-plate charter. Knowing this, let (*all*) live happily, enjoying (*their*) due portion of rights, *etc* And it is thus enjoined in the *Dharmasāstra*."—

[Here follow four of the customary imprecatory verses]

(V. 10) (*This*) auspicious charter was written by the illustrious Mahāchandapāla, who subsisted on the lotus-feet of the illustrious Śrīvardhanadēva

(L. 45.) The year 3 of the augmenting and victorious reign, the 30th day of Kārttika.

NO 6—MALIYAPUNDI GRANT OF AMMARAJA II

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D ; HALLÉ (SAALÉ)

This interesting record of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first published in 1905 by Messrs. A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 164 ff, with seven photographic Plates. The original copper-plates had been "discovered by Mr Venugopal Chetti in the Rāmalingēśvarasvāmi temple at Madanūr, a village about 10 miles from Ongole, Nellore district." I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions supplied by Rāi Bahadur V Venkayya, to whom the original plates were kindly forwarded at my request by Mr Butterworth, and who contributes the following remarks on them :—

"These are five copper-plates, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by about $4\frac{3}{8}$ ". The first and last plates bear writing only on their inner side and have raised rims about $\frac{3}{8}$ " high only on their engraved side. The three remaining plates, which bear writing on both sides, have rims of the same height projecting on both sides.² Through holes ($\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter), bored on the left margin of each plate, is passed a circular ring, which appears to have been cut and re-soldered before the plates came into my hands. The ring measures $5\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter and is a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. Its ends, which are slightly thinner, are secured in the upper part of an expanded lotus flower of eight petals. To the lower part of the same lotus, which is fashioned into a rim-like projection, is soldered a circular seal, which measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is nearly $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. It bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvandāmku[śa]* in the centre, in characters similar to those of the inscription. Below

¹ These were probably killing (murder), theft, wrong action (adultery), slander, harsh language, untruthfulness, incoherent conversation, uncivility, atheism and perverse behaviour, enumerated as *daśadhā pāpakarma* in the *Śukranīti*, *adhyāya* 3, *śloka* 6

² The high rims are responsible for the fact that some symbols at the beginning and the end of lines have not come out well in the ink-impressions.

the legend is an expanded lotus flower, and above it a running (?) boar facing the proper left. In front of the boar is an elephant goad, and behind its tail a crescent."

The alphabet is of the same Telugu type as in other grants of the same dynasty and period. No distinction is made between secondary *ô* and *au*, and secondary *i* and *û* is often written as *i* and *u*. Final *k* occurs in line 32, *t* in ll. 8, 30 and 51, *n* in ll. 10, 18, 24, 37, 39, 52, and *m* in ll. 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 51, 54, 55 and 60. The *jihvāmūliya* is used in ll. 42, 51, and the *upadhmanīya* in ll. 10, 41, 43, 46 and 51.

The following orthographical irregularities deserve to be noted. Against one of Pāṇini's rules (VIII. 4, 49) the *sh* of *varsha* is doubled in ll. 8 and 11, but not in ll. 13, 18, 25 and 40. Some spellings are due to the Telugu pronunciation. Thus we find *yētad* (l. 57) for *ētad*, *yuttara* (ll. 54 f and 57, but not in l. 59) for *uttara*, *rakshanāyayiva* (l. 47 f) for *rakshanāy-aiva*, *aruha* (l. 50) for *arha*, *krishṣa* (l. 39) for *krishna*. Dental *n* is employed instead of lingual *n* in *Kiranapuram* and *krishna* (l. 43), *punya* (ll. 49, 50), *ābharana* (ll. 49, 53), *ganēsa* (l. 50), *yuttarāyana* (l. 54 f). The vowel *ri* is replaced by *ri* in *riṣhna* (l. 43), *śadriśô* (l. 52) and *kritvâ* (l. 56). The palatal sibilant is improperly used in *śamha* (l. 50) for *samgha* and *śadriśô* (l. 52) for *sadriśô*.

The language is Sanskrit prose, interspersed with 20 Sanskrit verses. In ll. 56-60 some names of villages, tanks and fields appear in their Telugu forms. At the end of the record the usual imprecatory verses and the names of the *Ājñapti*, composer and writer are missing.

As the inscription records a grant to a Jaina temple, it opens with an invocation of the Jaina religion (v. 1). Ll. 3-41 contain the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty down to *Samastabhuvanāśraya Vijayāditya* (VI) or *Ammarāja* (II), the date of whose coronation is given in the same two verses (13 f) as in his *Padankalūru* grant.¹ The genealogical portion contains two passages of historical importance, the first (ll. 13-16) describing the reign of *Vijayāditya* III, and the second (ll. 22-32) the accession of *Chālukya-Bhima* II.

The *Pithāpuram* inscription of *Mallapadēva* reports that *Vijayāditya* III. slew *Mangirāja*, burnt *Chakrakūta*, terrified *Sankila*, residing in *Kiranapura* and joined by *Krishna*, restored his dignity to *Vallabhendra*, and received elephants as tribute from the king of *Kalinga*.² The slaying of *Mangi* is referred to also in three other inscriptions.³ The second of them adds the burning of *Kiranapura*, and the third states that the king, having terrified *Krishna* and *Sankila*, completely burnt their city. Hitherto we did not know who *Mangi* and *Sankila* were. Verse 3 of the *Maliyapūṇḍi* grant calls the former 'the king of the great *Nodamba-rāshtra*' and the second 'the lord of the excellent *Dā[ha]la*.' Thus *Mangi* seems to have been one of the *Pallavas* of *Nolambavādi*⁴ and *Sankila* an early chief of *Dahala* (or *Chēdi*). While two of the above-mentioned inscriptions couple the name of *Sankila* with that of *Krishna*, the *Maliyapūṇḍi* grant (v. 3) states that *Sankila* was 'joined by the fierce *Vallabha*.' The *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 169, note 5) correctly conclude from this that *Sankila*'s ally *Krishna* was a *Vallabha*, i. e. a *Rāshtrakūta*. Hence my former identification of this *Krishna* with the *Paramāra* king *Krishnarāja*⁵ must be wrong, and he may be identified, as was done by Dr. Fleet,⁶ with the *Rāshtrakūta* king *Krishna* II. The latter is known to have been connected with the *Chēdi* family, being the son-in-law of *Kokkalla* (I) and the brother-in-law of *Śankula*.⁷ I feel no hesitation in identifying *Sankila* of *Dahala* with *Śankuka* (or *Śankaragana*) of *Chēdi*, the son of *Kokkalla* I, but am unable to identify *Kiranapura*, where *Sankila* resided according to the

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p. 16.

² Above, Vol. IV p. 239 f.

³ Above, Vol. V p. 126, verse 5, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII p. 213, text line 16 f, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I p. 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol. IV p. 226 and notes 7 and 8).

⁴ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 332 f.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 102.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV p. 227.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 263.

Pithāpuram inscription and Krishnarāja according to the Maliyapūṇḍi grant (v. 15) In two grants the burning of this Kiranapura,¹ the residence of Krishna and Sankila,² is attributed to Vijayāditya III. himself. Verse 15 of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant informs us that this feat was in reality performed by a military officer named Pāṇḍaranga It is perhaps worth noting that another Rāshtrakūṭa prince named Krishnarāja is mentioned in a grant of A.D 888.³ Between the slaying of Mangi and the victory over Sankila the Maliyapūṇḍi grant mentions that Vijayāditya III. 'defeated the Gangas who took refuge on the peak of Gangakūṭa' As suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p 169, note 3), this statement may or may not be a mere variant of one in the Pithāpuram inscription, according to which the king burnt Chakrakūṭa.⁴ He is elsewhere said to have 'defeated the unequalled Gangas'⁵ Finally the new grant reports that Vijayāditya III bore the surname Parachakrarāma (l. 14)

The Maliyapūṇḍi grant gives a vivid description of the struggles that took place after the death of Vikramāditya II. Five years passed in continual wars between the rival claimants, among whom Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtanda and Kanthikā-Vijayāditya are mentioned by name Then Rājabhīma (or Chālukya-Bhīma II) succeeded in restoring order by slaying Rājamārtanda, defeating and banishing Kanthikā-Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla, and killing many other rebels Yuddhamalla (II) is the son of Tāla, to whom one grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II attributes a reign of seven years,⁶ while two other grants,⁷ like the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, take no official notice of his reign Rājamārtanda is perhaps the same as Rājamayya in the Kaluchumbarru grant,⁸ and he is mentioned also in the Kolavennu plates.⁹ In editing these plates I committed a mistake, which has been endorsed by Dr. Fleet¹⁰ and Prof. Kielhorn,¹¹ in taking Rājamārtanda as a surname of Chālukya-Bhīma II. As stated in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p 170, note 4), the Maliyapūṇḍi grant now shows that Rājamārtanda was a distinct person Dr. Fleet has already noticed that ll 17-19 of the Kolavennu plates contain a verse,¹² the first half of which I would now, with the help of his remarks, correct as follows —

यस्तातविक्रनाखं धलदि मुनिठिवराजमार्तण्डौ [1*]

Thus the verse mentions four enemies of Chālukya-Bhīma II —Tātabikyaṇa, Dhaladi (or Dhalaga), Munniṇṇa and Rājamārtanda Kanthikā-Vijayāditya, whom the king banished along with Yuddhamalla II, is undoubtedly the same as Kanthikā-Bēta or Vijayāditya V, the son of Amma I. and the ancestor of the Eastern Chālukyas of Pithāpuram.¹³

The subjoined grant was made at a winter solstice (*uttarāyana*, l 54 f) The donee was a temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) in the south of Dharmapuri (v 17), which was in charge of a priest of the Yāpaniya-saṃgha¹⁴ (v 18). It had been founded by the Kaṭakarāja (l. 54) Durgarāja (v. 16) and was named Kaṭakābharana-Jinālaya (v 17 and l 53), evidently after a surname of the founder At his request (l 54) the grant was made, and the grant portion opens with a pedigree of his family His ancestor Pāṇḍaranga is stated to have burnt Kiranapura, the residence of Krishnarāja (v. 15), and accordingly must have been a military officer of Vijayāditya III.¹⁵ His son Niravadyadhavala was appointed Kaṭakarāja (l. 44 f). His son was the Kaṭakādhipati Vijayāditya (l 45 f), and his son was Durgarāja (v. 16).

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol. XIII p 213, text line 17

² *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I p 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol. IV p 226 and note 7)

³ *Ind Ant* Vol. XIII p 68

⁴ Compare above, Vol. IV p 227.

⁵ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I p 42, verse 10

⁶ *Ind. Ant* Vol. XIII p 214, text line 31

⁷ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I p 44; above, Vol. V p 138, note 3

⁸ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I p 46 and note 1.

⁹ Above, Vol. VII p 181

¹⁰ *Ind Ant* Vol. XX. p 269, and above, Vol. VII p 182

¹¹ *Lists of Southern Inscr.* No. 562

¹² Above, Vol. VII. p 181 f.

¹³ Above, Vol. IV p 227.

¹⁴ Compare *ibid* p 333 *

¹⁵ See notes 1 and 2 above

Pāṇḍarāṅga (the Pāṇḍaranga of v. 15) is mentioned as *Ājñapti* in a grant of Vijayāditya III¹. The title *Kaṭakarāja* or *Kaṭakādhīpati*, i.e. 'superintendent of the royal camp,' which was borne by his three lineal descendants, seems to be peculiar to the court of the Eastern Chālukya kings. Dr Fleet remarked that the grants of Amma I and Amma II. mention *Kaṭakarāja*, *Katakēśa* and *Kaṭakādhīśa* as *Ājñapti*, and came to the conclusion that these two words were not proper names, but mere titles². The Malyapūṇḍi grant now shows that in each case they refer to one of the three direct descendants of Pāṇḍaranga, who bore that title, viz. Nīravadyadhavala, Vijayāditya and Durgarāja. It seems preferable to take also *Kaṭeyarāja* in the grant of Chālukya-Bhīma I³ as a vulgar form of *Kaṭakarāja*, the title of Vijayāditya, and not as a proper name.

The object of the grant was the small village (*grāmaṭikā*) of Malyapūṇḍi (l. 55) in the district (*viśaya*) of Kamma-nāṇḍu (l. 42). Its boundaries are given in l. 56 f. The northern boundary, Dharmavuramu, is the Telugu form of Dharmapurī, to the south of which the *Jinālaya* was situated (v. 17). According to the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 174, note) both Dharmapuram and the western boundary, Kalvakuru, are now in the Addanki division of the Ongole tāluka. Of two inscriptions at Dharmavaram (p. 966 ff of the same work) the first mentions Gunakenalla (Vijayāditya III), Pāṇḍaranga, the burning of Kiranapura, and Dharmavuram. An inscription at Addanki (p. 896 f. of the same work) also refers to Pāṇḍaranga and Dharmavuram. Malyapūṇḍi itself, the village granted, does not exist any more at present (*ibid* p. 167), but its former position is fixed by the identification of two of its boundaries. The district of Kamma-nāṇḍu, to which it belonged, is identical with the Kamma-rāśhtra or Kammāka-rāśhtra of other inscriptions. To my former remarks on this geographical name⁴ may be added that it occurs as *Kammāka-raṣṭha* in the Jaggayyapēṭa inscriptions of Purisadata⁵. This Prākṛit form renders my suggestion that *Kammāka* may be meant for *Kammānka*⁶ untenable, for the latter would have become in Prākṛit *Kammanika*, and not *Kammāka*.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 ॐ भद्रं स्याच्चिजगन्नुताय सततं श्रीमज्जिनेन्द्रप्रभोरुद्दामाततशासन[१]-
- 2 य विलसद्भर्मावलंबाय च । सामर्थ्यात्खलु यस्य दुष्कलिङ्गता दोषाश्च
मित्युद्भव[१]^७ (१) दु-
- 3 कृतानि च भूतले न वितता शान्तिश्च नित्यं चित्ते[१] ॥ [१*] ॐ स्वस्ति
श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसं-^८
- 4 स्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्राणां कौशिकिवरप्रसादलब्धरा-
- 5 ज्ञानाम्नातृग[१*]परिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यायिनाम् भगव-
- 6 न्नायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशिक्षतारातिमण्ड[ला]-^{१०}

¹ Above, Vol V p 125, verse 9

² Above, Vol V p 130

² Above, Vol VII p 184 f

⁴ Above, Vol VIII p 238

⁵ See Bhagvanlal Indraji's transcript in *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*, p 56, and Bühler's transcripts in the *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 258 f and in *Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p 110 (compare Plate 121 f)

⁶ Above, Vol VIII p 234

⁷ From two sets of ink-impressions

⁸ Read मित्युद्भव

⁹ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁰ Read °वशोक्ता°.

- 7 नामश्चमेधावभृथस्त्रानपवित्रीकृतवपुषाम्¹ चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिणोऽस्त्वया[अ]-
 8 यवज्ञमेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्ट[१*]दश वर्षाणि² वेङ्गिमण्डलमयालयत् ।
 तदात्म-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 9 जो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्द्धनो नव । तत्सू-
 नुर्मगियुवराज-
 10 Xपंचविंशतिन्त्युत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवरज[:*] कोकिलिष्वण्मासान् ।
 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता
 11 विष्णुवर्द्धन[स्त्र]मुच्चाव्य [स]प्तत्रिंशतम्⁴ (I) वर्षाणि [१*] तत्पुत्रो विजया-
 दित्यभट्ट[१*]रकोष्टादश । तत्पुत्रो
 12 विष्णुवर्द्धनपञ्चद्विंशतम् । नरेन्द्रभृगराजाख्यो मृगराजपराक्रमः [१*] विजयादित्य-
 13 भूपालः⁵ चत्वारिंशत्समाष्टभिः [॥ २*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोऽर्धवर्षं । त-
 14 पुत्रः परचक्ररामापरनामधेयः [१*] हत्वा भूरिनोदं वराहपुत्रं मङ्गिन्महा-
 संग-
 15 र' गंगानाग्रीवगङ्गाकुटशिखरान्निर्जित्य सड्ड[१]लाधीश संकितमुग्रवक्त्रभयुतं
 यो भ[१]-
 16 ययित्वा चतुश्चत्वारिंशतमन्दकांश्च विजयादित्यो ररक्ष क्षितिं । [३*]
 तदनुजस्य लब्ध-

Second Plate , Second Side

- 17 यौवरान्यस्य विक्रमादित्यस्य सुतश्चालुक्यभिमस्त्रिंशतं⁹ [१*] तस्याग्रजो
 विजयादित्यः
 18 षण्मासान् [१*] तदग्रसूनुरम्भराजस्तप्त वर्षाणि । तत्सूनुमाक्रम्य बाल
 चालुक्यभिमपि-⁹
 19 तुव्ययुद्धमक्षस्य नन्दनस्तालनृपो मासमेकं । नानासामन्तवर्गैरधिकबल-
 युतैश्च¹⁰
 20 तत्मातङ्गसैनो¹¹ हात्वा तं तालराजं विषमरणमुखे सार्धं मत्युग्रते-
 21 जाः [१*] एकाब्दं सम्यगंभीनिधिवलयहतामन्वरक्षरिचि¹² श्रीमान्चालुक्य-

¹ Read °वपुषां.

² Read वर्षाणि.

³ Read जयसिंह°.

⁴ Read °विंशतं वर्षाणि.

⁵ Read °पालयत्वा°

⁶ Read °नोडव°.

⁷ Read °सगरे गंगानाग्रितगङ्गाकुट°.

⁸ Read °सङ्गाहला°, in contravention of the rules, the first half of the verse ends in the middle of a compound word.

⁹ Read °भीम°.

¹⁰ Read °वर्गै° and °युतैश्च°.

¹¹ Read °सैनैर्हत्वा,

¹² Read °वरिचि° श्रीमान्चालुक्यभीम°.

22 भिमचित्तिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूपः । [४*] पद्यादहमहमिकया विक्र-
मादित्यास्त-

23 म[य*]ने राक्षसा इव प्रजाबाधनपरा दायारराजपुत्रा राज्याभिलाषिणो
युद्धमल्लरा-

24 ¹जमार्त्तण्डलकण्डिकाविजयादित्यप्रभृतयो विग्रहिभूता² आसन् [१*] विग्र-

Third Plate, First Side.

25 हेणैव पंच वर्षाणि गतानि [१*] ततः [१*] ³योवधिद्र[१]जमार्त्तण्डन्तेप[१]
येन रणे कृतौ [१*] क-

26 ण्डिकाविजयादित्ययुद्धमल्लो⁴ विदेशगौ । [५*] अन्ये मान्यमहिभृतोपि⁵
बहवो⁶ दु-

27 अष्टप्रवृत्ताद्वताः⁷ देशोपद्रवकारिणः प्रकटिताः कालालय⁸ प्रापिताः [१*]
⁹दोहण्डेरि-

28 तमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योग्रसंग्रामकावाज्ञा¹⁰ तत्परभृन्पैद्य¹¹

29 शिरसो मालेव सन्धार्यते । [६*] नादग्वा¹² विनिवर्तते रिपुकुलं कोपाग्निरा
मूल-

30 तः शुभ्रं य[स्य] यशो न लोकमखिलं सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [१*] द्रव्या-
भोधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं¹³

31 सन्तप्यमाने भृशं दारिद्र्योग्रतरातपेन जनसंसख्ये¹⁴ न नो वर्पति । [७*] स
चालुक्यभिमनसा¹⁵ वि-

32 जयादित्यनन्दनः [१*] द्वादशाव्यात्समास्त्रम्यक्¹⁶ राजभिर्मो धरातलं । [८*]
तस्य महेश्वरभू-

Third Plate, Second Side.

33 ¹⁷तेरमासमानाकृतेः कुमारामः [१*] लोकमाहादेव्याः¹⁸ खलु यस्मिन्भवदम्भ[रा]-
34 जाख्यः ॥ [९*] जलजातपत्रचामरकलशंकुशलक्षणां [क*] करचरणतलः [१*]
लसदाजा-

¹ As remarked in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 178, note 1, the ख after मार्षण्ड is superfluous, it was perhaps engraved because the writer had in his mind the frequent word मण्डल.

² Read विग्रहीभूता.

³ Read 'महोभू'.

⁴ Read 'महोभू'.

⁵ Read 'महोभू'.

⁶ Read perhaps 'सायानिकसाज्ञा'.

⁷ Read 'भृन्पैद्य' as proposed in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 178, note 6; य is engraved on an erasure

⁸ Read नादग्वा.

⁹ Read जनसंसख्ये.

¹⁰ Read द्वादशाव्यात्समास्त्रम्यगजमीनी.

¹¹ Read योवधीद्रा°.

¹² The aksharas वी and दु are engraved on an erasure.

¹³ Read 'लय'.

¹⁴ Read 'महो'.

¹⁵ Read 'दोहण्डे'.

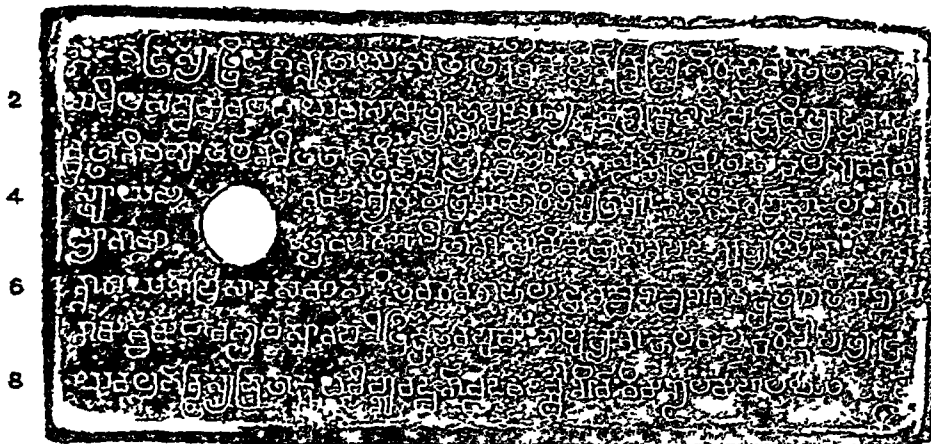
¹⁶ The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line

¹⁷ Read 'भीम'.

¹⁸ Read 'मूले'.

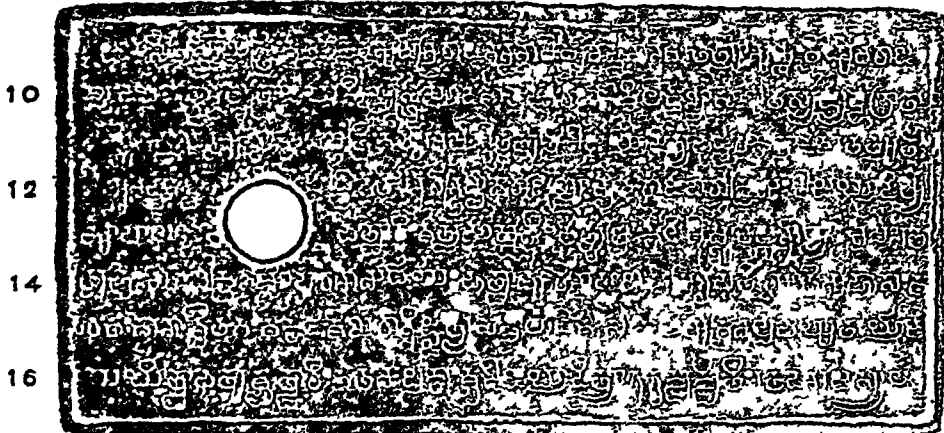
¹⁹ Read 'महा'.

1



W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

11a

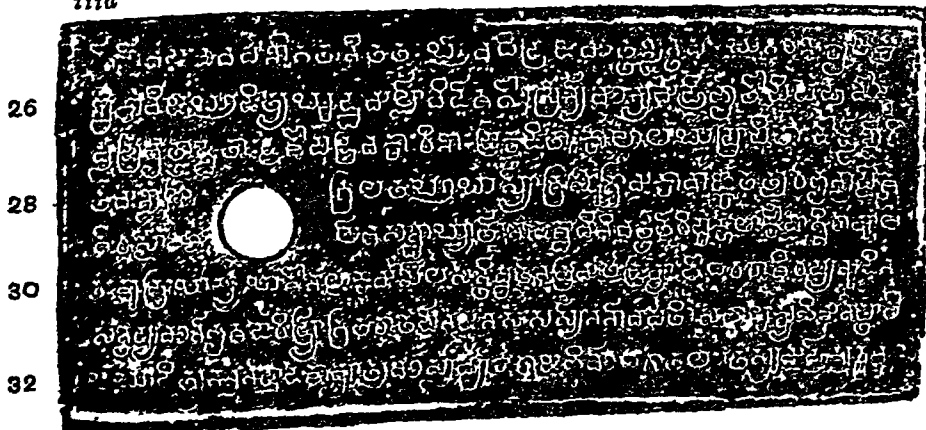


SCALE 45
FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V VENKAYA

11b



111a



E. HULTSCH

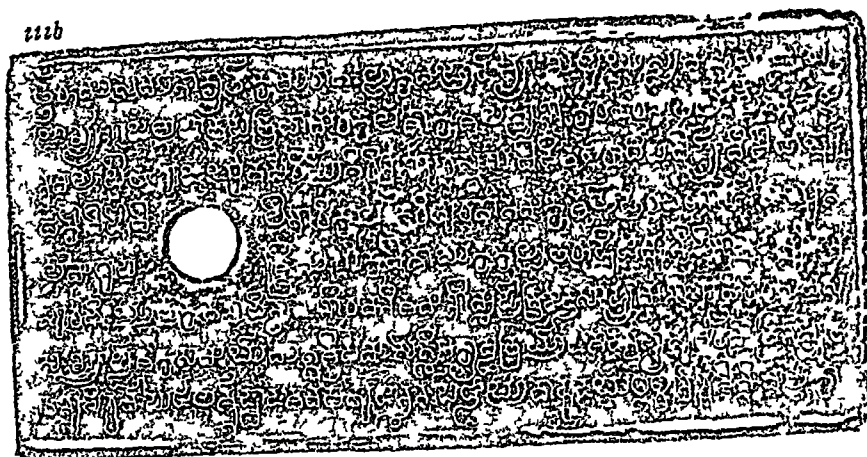
111b

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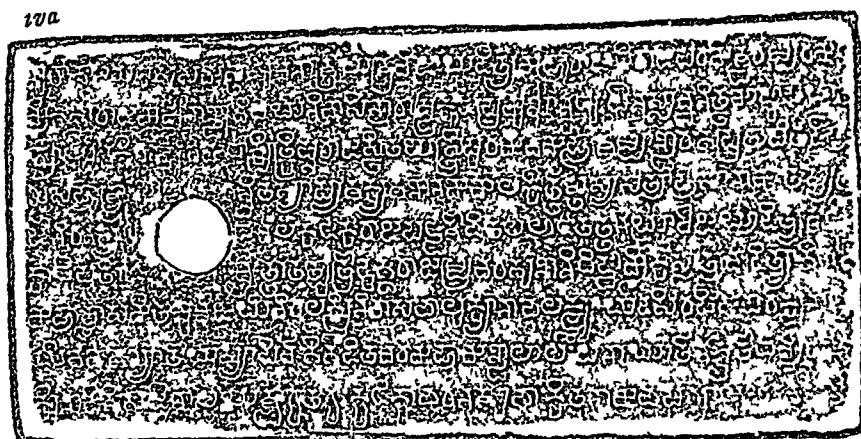
170a

42

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48



170b

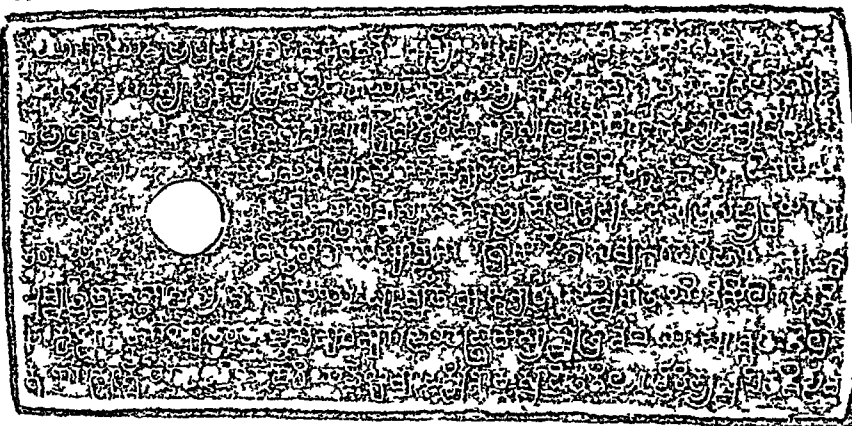
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u

60



- 35 न्ववलंवितभुजयुगपरिघो गिरिन्द्रसानुरस्कः¹ ॥ [१०*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो
विविधायु-
- 36 घकोविदो ²विलिनारिक्कुलः [1*] करितुरगागमकुशलो हरचरणांभोजयुग-
- 37 लमधुपश्रीमान् ॥ [११*] कविगायककल्पतरुर्विजसुनिदिनान्धवन्धुजन-³
- 38 सुरभिः [1*] याचकगणचिन्तामणिरवनीशमणिर्महोद्यमहसा द्युमणिः ॥
[१२*] गिरिरसवसु-
- 39 संख्याद्धे शकसमये मार्गशीर्षमासेस्मिन् [1*] 'कष्टत्रयोदशदिने मृगुवारे
मैचनक्षत्रे [॥ १३*]
- 40 धनुषि रवौ घटलग्ने द्वादशवर्षे तु जन्मनः पटं [1*] योधादुदयगिरीन्द्रो
रविमिव लोका-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 41 नुरागाय ॥ [१४*] स ⁵समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविजायदित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
श्वरपरम[धा]-
- 42 ⁶भिमिकोम्भराजङ्गमनाण्डुविषयनिवासिनो ⁷राष्ट्रकुटप्रमुखान्कुटुंबिनस्सर्व्व[1*]नित्यमाज्ञा-
पयति [1*]
- 43 आर्या[.*] । ⁸किरणपुरमधाक्षोत्किपूराजस्थितं⁹ यस्त्रिपुरमिव ¹⁰महेशपरम-
रंग[.*] प्रतापि¹¹ [1*] तद्विह [सु]-
- 44 ¹²खसहाश्रीरन्वितस्याप्यशक्य¹³ गणनममलकीर्त्तेस्तस्य¹⁴ सत्त्वाहसानाम¹⁵ ॥ [१५*]
तस्य[1*]त्त-
- 45 जो निरवद्यधवलः[.] कटकराजपट्टशोभितललाटः¹⁶ [1*] तत्तनयो विजया-
दित्यकट-
- 46 काधिपति[.*] । वृत्त¹⁷ । तत्पुत्रो ¹⁸दुग्गराजपरवरगुणनिधिर्दाम्भिकस्स-
त्ववादि¹⁹ त्यागि भो[गी]
- 47 महात्मा समितिषु विजयि²⁰ विरलस्मिनिवासः²¹ [1*] चालुक्यानां च लक्ष्म्या
यदसिरपि सदा रक्षणा[य]-²²

¹ Read गिरौन्द्रसानुरस्कः.

⁴ Read कर्ण.

⁷ Read 'कुट'.

⁹ Read 'धाक्षोत्किपूराजस्थित', as suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 178, note 2

¹⁰ Corrected from महाश.

¹² Read 'शक्य'.

¹³ The *visarga* was added subsequently

¹⁵ Read दुर्गा.

²¹ The *visarga* was added subsequently

² Read विलीना.

⁵ Read 'विजयादित्य'.

⁸ Read किरण.

¹¹ Read प्रतापी.

¹⁴ Read 'कीर्त्त'.

¹⁶ Read 'वादी त्यागी'.

³ Read 'सुनिदीनान्ध'.

⁶ Read 'धाम्भिकी'.

¹⁷ Read 'सहस्रैर'.

¹⁹ Read 'सानाम्'.

²⁰ Read 'विजयी वीरवर्द्धी'.

²² Read 'रक्षपायैव'.

in this month of Mārgaśīrsha, on the thirteenth day of the dark (*fortnight*), on Thursday, in the Maitra (Anurādhā) *nakṣatra*, while the sun (*was*) in Dhanus, in the Ghata *lagna*,

(L 41) This *Samastabhuvānśraya*, the glorious Vijayāditya (VI.), the Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, the very pious Ammarāja (II.) thus commands all the ryots, headed by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, inhabiting the district (*viśaya*) of Kamma-nāndu :—Lords¹

(V 15) Even one possessed of thousands of months (*would be*) unable to count the great achievements of that valiant Pāṇḍaranga, of spotless fame, who burnt Kiranapura, the residence of Krishnarāja, as Mahēsa (Śiva) (*burnt*) Tripura

(L 44) His son (*was*) Niravadyadhavala, whose forehead was decorated with the fillet of Kaṭakarāja His son (*was*) the Kaṭakādhipati Vijayāditya.

Verse (16) His son (*was*) Durgarāja, whose sword always (*served*) only for the protection of the fortune of the Chālukyas, and whose renowned family¹ (*served*) for the support of the excellent great country (*mandala*) called Vēṅgi.

(V 17) There is on the southern side of Dharmapuri a very charming excellent temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) founded by him, an abode of merit, and marked with the auspicious name of Katakābharana.

(V. 18) (*There was*) the lord of ascetics Jinanandin, who resembled the Gaṇadharas, belonged to the pure and worthy² Nandi-gaṇachha (*and*) was the chief lord of the Koṭṭimaḍuva(?)-gana, which is to be worshipped (*as belonging to*) the holy Yāpaniya-saṃgha.

(V. 19.) His first disciple was a chief of ascetics called Div[ā]kara, renowned on earth, a store of highest knowledge (*and*) high-souled, who resembled the Jinas themselves by great virtues

(V 20.) His disciple was the wise ascetic Śrīmāndīradēva, a store of great austerities, whom people desire as if he were possessed of the power of *pratihārya*³

(L 53.) To the Katakābharana-Jinālaya superintended by him there was given, at the request of the Kaṭakarāja, for the cost of repairs of breaks and cracks, offerings, worship, etc., and of an alms-house (*sattra*), on the occasion of the winter solstice (*uttarāyana*), the small village named Maliyapūndi, with exemption from all taxes, with libations of water.

(L 56) The boundaries of this village (*are*) in the east Muñjuny[u]ru; in the south Yinimili; in the west Kalvakuru; in the north Dharmavuramu.

(L 57) The boundaries of the fields of this village (*are*) in the east the Gollani-guṇṭha (*pond*), in the south-east the Rāviya-periya-cheṇuvu (*tank*), in the south a demarcation stone; in the south-west also a demarcation stone, in the west Malkaparṇu and the Korabōyu-taṭāka (*tank*), in the north-west also a demarcation stone, in the north the Duba-cheṇuvu (*tank*); in the north-east the boundary (*is*) also the boundary of the Evvōka-chēnu (*field*) in Kalvakuru.

No 7—PLATES OF VIJAYA-DEVAVARMAN

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE).

Two sets of excellent ink-impressions of this grant were sent to me by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, who had received the original plates from the Collector of the Kistna district

¹ The word *ramṣa* means also 'a cane;' see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 173, note 5

² It is not quite impossible that *punydruha* is a mistake for *Punndga*; compare the *Pannāgavṛkṣaśamūlagana* of the Nandisamgha, above, Vol IV p 338

³ According to Buddhist works, *prāṭihārya* or *pratīhārya* means 'jugglery, working miracles,' see the *St Petersburg Dictionary*.

"The plates belong to the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur, in whose office they have been lying for a long time. The person from whom they were originally obtained is not known."

"The copper-plates are four in number. Their length is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and their height $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the ends and $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in the middle. Their margins are not raised into rims. The ring was cut by me (*viz.* Mr Venkayya) for the first time. Its diameter is $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and its thickness slightly over $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The ends of the ring are secured at the base of an oval seal, measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The seal is all but obliterated, but a faint trace of some quadruped—perhaps a tiger—can be seen."

The inscription on the plates is carefully engraved and on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of the three grants of Simhavarma¹ and of the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman.² But neither *t* nor *n* have a loop at the left. As in the Hirahadagalli plates,³ the former is distinguished by a slight curve at the right, compare *e.g.* the *ta* of *etassa* (l. 8) with the *na* of *vayanena* (l. 7). As first members of a consonant group both look the same; see the *ttā* of *āchchhettā* and the *ntā* of *ch=ānumantā* (l. 17). Final forms of *t* and *m*, followed by a mark of punctuation which looks like a right angle, occur at the end of lines 17 and 19. The numerical symbol 20 occurs in line 11, the symbols 3 and 10 are used in the date (l. 15), and the plates *ii a*, *ii b*, *iii a*, *iii b* and *iv* are numbered consecutively, like the pages of a modern book,⁴ with the symbols 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 on the left margin, on the first plate the sacred syllable *ōm* occupies the place of the figure 1.

The language is Prākṛit prose, with the exception of the last plate which bears two of the customary Sanskrit verses. While in the cave inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of the prose part of the subjoined plates agrees in this respect with that of the literary Prākṛit and of the British Museum plates of Chāradēvi.⁵ In *samvachchhara* (l. 14) *v* is doubled after *anusvāra*. The language of the new plates is more archaic than that of the literary Prākṛit in one important point: single consonants between vowels generally remain unchanged.⁶ Thus *k* is preserved in *bhaṭṭāraka* (l. 3), *kh* in *pamukha* (l. 7), *g* in *bhagavato* (l. 1), *j* in *vijaya* (ll. 1, 6, 14), *yājñ* (l. 5) and *mahārāja* (l. 6), *t* in *bhagavato* (l. 1), *anujjhāta* (l. 2 f), *bhāntavva* and *eta* (l. 8), *pariharitavva* (l. 13 f), *th* in *ratha* (l. 2); *d* in *pāda* (ll. 2 and 3) and *padesa* (l. 10), *dh* in *medha* (l. 5). But elision and *ya-sruti* have taken place in *addhaya* (l. 11) for *ārdhika*, *nyattana* (l. 10) for *nivartana*, *vayana* (l. 7) for *vachana*, and at the beginning of the enclitic *cha* in *duvaggāna ya* (l. 12) and *pariharitavvo ya* (l. 13 f).⁷ The word *Pausa* (l. 15) appears in its Sanskrit form.⁸ Dental *n* occurs in *anujjhāta* (l. 2 f), *Sālankāyana* (l. 4), *yājño* (l. 5), *gharaṭṭhāna* (ll. 11 and 12) = Sanskrit *grihasthāna*, and lingual *n* in *bhāntavva* (l. 8), *Ganasamma* (l. 9), *duvaggāna* and *rakkhana* (l. 12), *samānatta* (l. 13) = Sanskrit *samāññāpta*,⁹ and *samvachchharān* (l. 14). Both *n* and *ṇ* appear in *vayanena* (l. 7), *nyattanān* [i] (l. 10) and *manussānam* (l. 11).¹⁰ Among the remaining Prākṛit words may be noted the two numerals *terasa* (l. 15) and *viṣaṇ* (l. 11),¹¹ and of other inflected words the ablative *Vengīpurā* (l. 1), the genitives *Devavamassa* (l. 6) and *Ganasamassa* (l. 9),¹² the two differently formed locatives *Elūre* (l. 7) and *padesaṃhi* (l. 10), and the instrumental *parihārehi* (l. 13).

The inscription is dated on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa in the thirteenth year (in words and figures, l. 14 f) of the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Dēvavarman* (l. 6), who issued

¹ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 160

² *Ind Ant* Vol V p. 175 ff.

³ *Ep Ind* Vol I p. 2 ff

⁴ Another instance, in which the single pages of a grant are numbered, are the British Museum plates of Chāradēvi, see above, Vol VIII p. 144

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII p. 144 and note 5

⁶ Compare Prof. Pischel's Prākṛit grammar, § 189

⁷ Compare *ibid.* § 184.

⁸ Compare *ibid.* § 61a

⁹ Compare *ibid.* § 58

¹⁰ Compare *ibid.* § 224.

¹¹ *Ibid.* §§ 443 and 445.

¹² Compare *ibid.* § 402.

this grant from Vēṅgipura (l. 1) and addressed it to the villagers of Êlūra (l. 7). The donee was named Ganaśarman (l. 9) and received twenty (in words and figures, l. 11) *nivartanas* of land, evidently near Êlūra, together with a site for his house and a site for the houses of his servants.

The king is described as 'the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śāṅkâyaṇa, the fervent Māhêśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy Chitrarathasvāmin.' Nearly the same epithets are applied in another set of plates to the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Nandivarman*,¹ who was the son of the *Mahārāja Chandavarman*, issued his grant likewise from Vēṅgipura, and addressed it to the inhabitants of a village in the district of Kndrâhâra.² This family may be designated the Śāṅkâyaṇa Mahārâjas of Vēṅgipura. As Dêvavarman's grant is in Prākṛit, he was presumably an ancestor of Chandavarman's son Nandivarman, whose grant is in Sanskrit.

Vēṅgipura, the capital of the Śāṅkâyaṇas, has been identified with Pedda-Vēgi, a village near Ellore in the Godavari district.³ The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a small mound which, on a visit to Pedda-Vēgi in 1902, was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of Chitrarathasvāmin,⁴ the family deity of the Śāṅkâyaṇa Mahārâjas. Other indications point to the same part of the country. The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman were found in the neighbouring Kolleru lake,⁵ and Êlūra, to whose inhabitants the subjoined edict was addressed, is no doubt the modern town of Êlūru (Ellore), 7 miles from Pedda-Vēgi.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

Om⁷ [I*]

- 1 Sirî-vijaya-Vengipurâ [I*] Bhagavato
- 2 Chittarathasâmi-pādânu-
- 3 jjhâtassa bappabhattâraka pādabhattassa

Second Plate, First Side

- 4 paramamâhessarassa Śāṅkâyaṇassa
- 5 assamedhayâjino
- 6 mahârâja-sirî-Vijaya-Devavammassa

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 7 vayanena Êlûre muluda-pamukho
- 8 gâmo bhânitavvo [I*] Etassa
- 9 Ba[bhura]-sagottassa Ganasammassa

Third Plate, First Side.

- 10 sundara-padesamhi bhûmi-niyattanân[1]
- 11 visam 20 gharatthânam addhiya-manussânam
- 12 duvaggâna ya gharatthânam parihâra-rakkhanam

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol V p 175 ff

² This is the actual reading of the plates, see above, Vol VI p. 310 and note 4

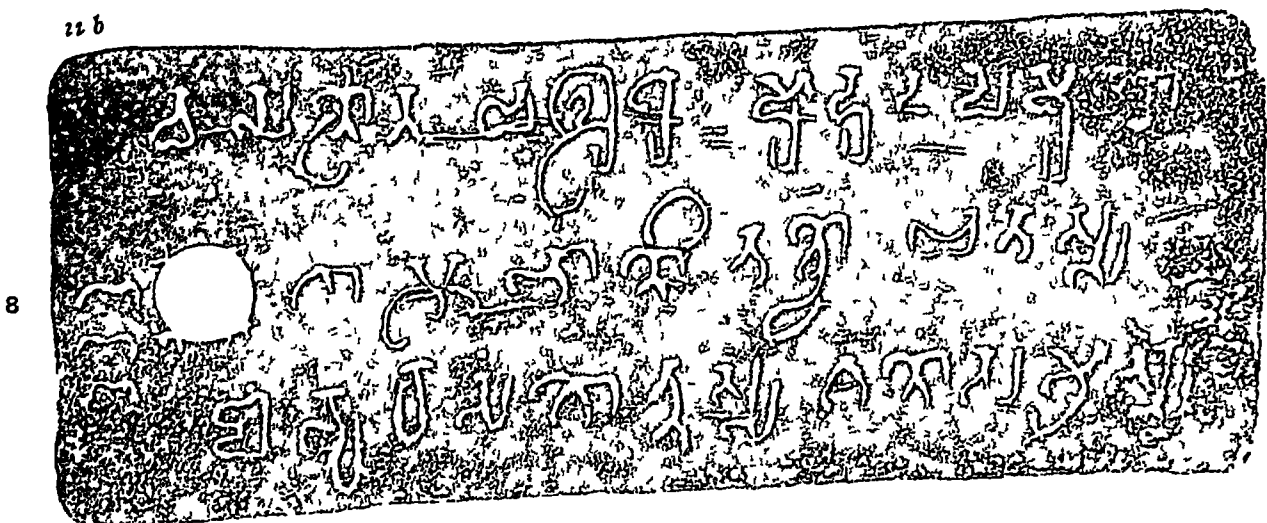
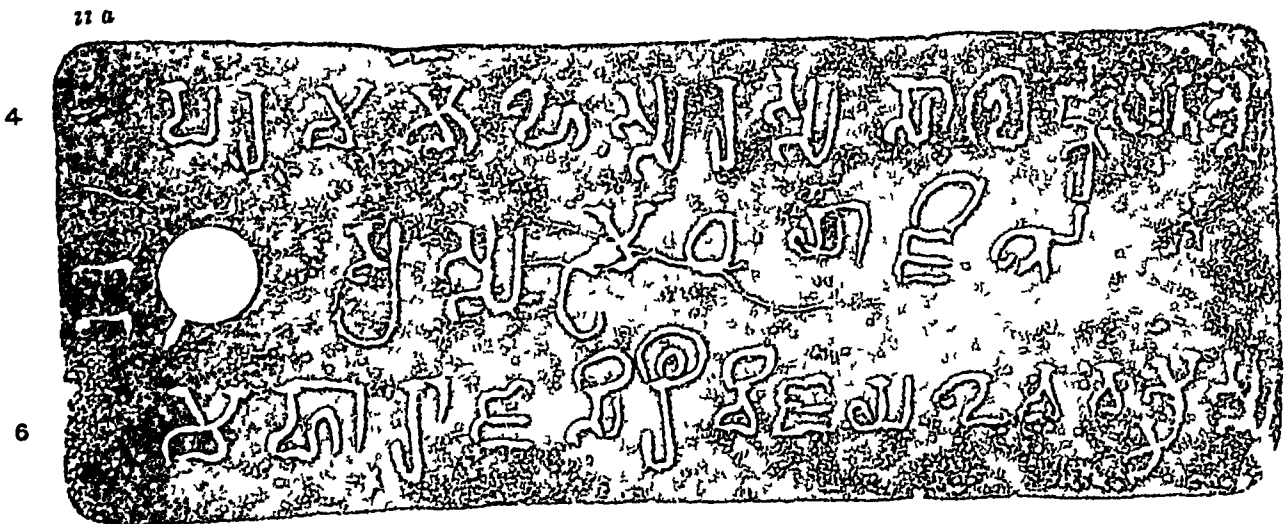
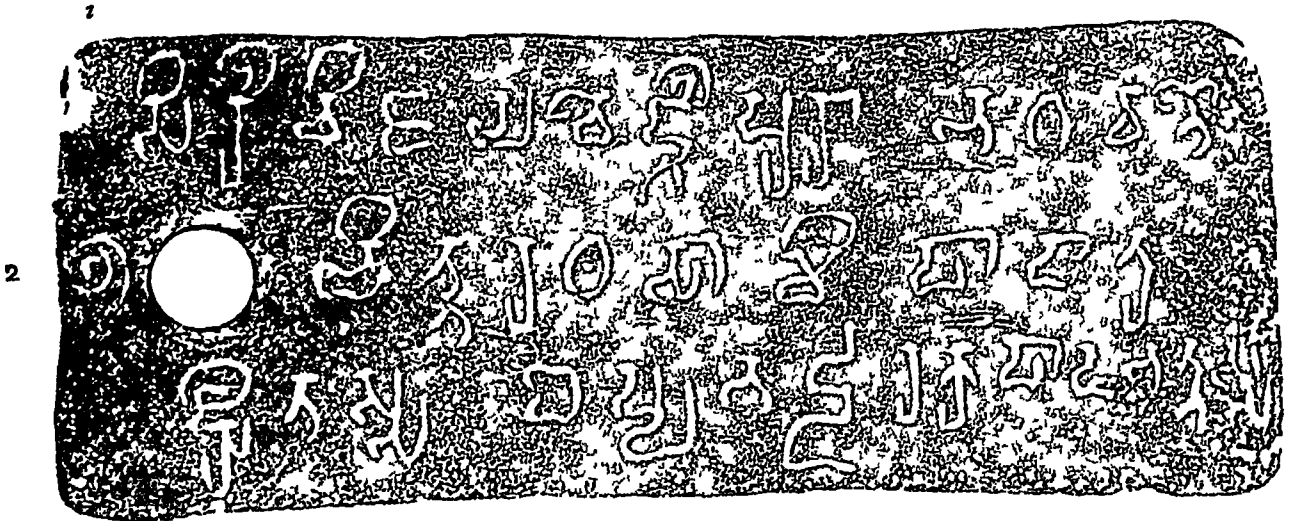
³ *South-Ind Pal* p 16, note 1, *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 93

⁴ Compare the quotation from the *Madras Journal*, Vol XIX (which is at present inaccessible to me), above, Vol IV p 143, note 7

⁵ *South-Ind Pal* p 135, note 1

⁶ Expressed by a symbol, which stands on the left margin of line 2.

⁷ From two sets of ink-impressions.



E HULTZSCH

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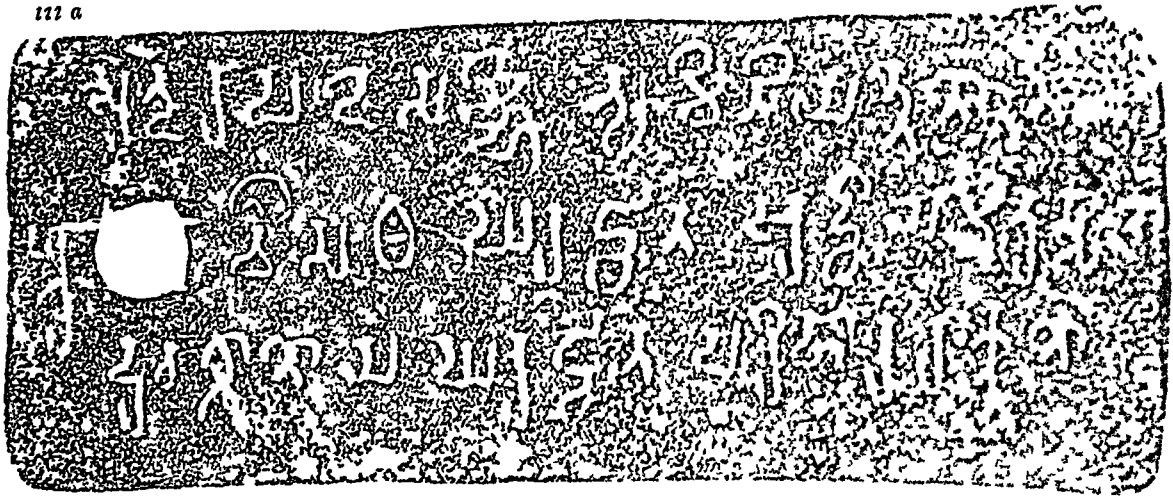
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FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V VENKAYYA

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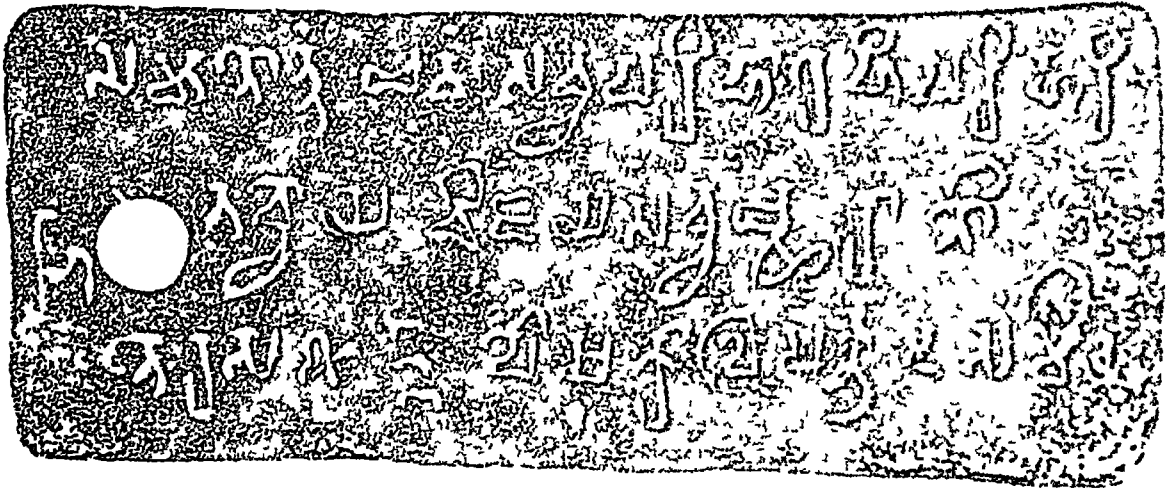
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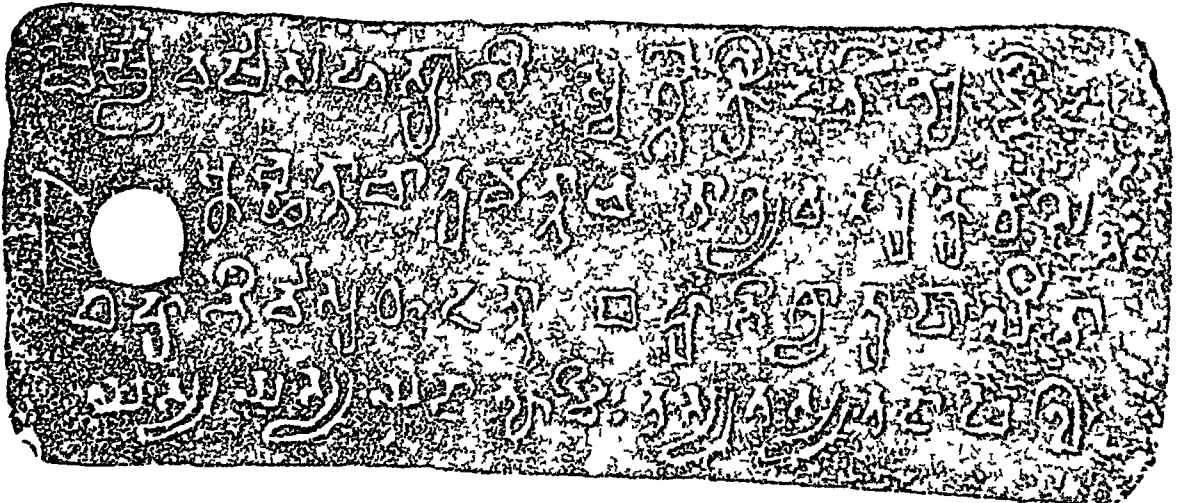
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18



Third Plate, Second Side

- 13 samānattam [1*] Evam savva-parihārehi parihari-
 14 tavvo ya [1*] Vijaya-samvācchharāni
 15 terasa 10 3 Pausa-kālapakkha-dasamī [10?][1*]

Fourth Plate

- 16 Shashtim varsha-sahasrāni svarggē kriḍata bhūmi-dah [1*]
 17 āchchhettā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē¹ vasēt ||
 18 Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā bahubhis=ch=ānpālītā [1*]
 19 yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ² tasya tasya tadā phala[m] ||

TRANSLATION.

Om (Line 1.) From the prosperous and victorious Vēngīpura. The villagers³ of Ēlūra, headed by the *Muluda*,⁴ must be addressed (as follows) by the word of the glorious *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Dēvavarman, the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śāṅkāyana, the fervent Māhēśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy⁵ Cntraratthasvāmin :—

(L 8) "It has been ordered that to this⁶ Ganaśarman of the Ba[bhura]⁷ *gōtra* (there have to be made over) twenty—20—*nivartanas* of land in a handsome locality, a house-site (for himself, and) a house-site for the men who receive half the crop⁸ and for (his) door-keepers,⁹ (and) that the immunities (granted to him) have to be protected And thus he must be exempted with all immunities (In) the victorious year thirteen—13—(of the reign), (on) the tenth—[10]—*tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa "

[Ll 16-19 contain two of the usual verses.]

No 8—BENARES INSCRIPTION OF PANTHA.

By P DATA RAM SAHNI

I edit this inscription from two rubbings kindly supplied to me, one by Dr J. Ph Vogel, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, and the other by Mr G. D Ganguli, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow A transcript of it has been published before in 1886 by Prof Hultzsch in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XL p 55

The slab on which the inscription is engraved is said to have been discovered in the vicinity of the modern city of Benares, and is one of the twenty-four objects which were presented at the instance of Mr. J. H. Marshall, to the Lucknow Museum by the Principal of Queen's

¹ This word looks almost like *narakō*

² Read *bhūmis=*

³ Literally, 'the village'

⁴ This looks like a Dravidian word, which however cannot be traced in the dictionaries The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman (L 4) seem to read, instead of it, *Munuda*, but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may be in reality an obliterated *fu*

⁵ The genitive *bhagavato* refers to *Chittaratthasvāmi*, the first member of the following compound. This is of course a grammatical blunder of the officer who drafted the inscription

⁶ The pronoun 'this' evidently had been uttered by the king in the presence of the donee, just as *ētēśām* in the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman, l 5

⁷ Prof Kielhorn suggests to me that this doubtful word may be meant for *Babhrū*

⁸ On *ārdhika* or *ārdhasīrin* see the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya, I. 166. The Prākṛit form *addhika* occurs in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 6, text line 39

⁹ The Sanskrit original of *duvagga* seems to be *darḍga*, which may be taken in the sense of *drdhatha*

College, Benares, in December 1903¹ In discussing these sculptures, Dr. Vogel also noticed this stone, but failed to ascertain its precise find-spot.²

Judging from the rubbings, the slab which bears the extant portion of the inscription measures 26" by 15" (66 cm by 38 cm.) The stone-mason has done his work with great care and neatness, and the letters are deeply cut.

The inscription consists of eight lines, but it is far from complete About one-fifth of the entire slab is broken away along the proper left edge, and consequently lines 1-7 have each lost a number of syllables, which varies from nine to fourteen The first three syllables of the first line and the first *akshara* of the second line have also disappeared owing to a small piece of stone having chipped off from the upper right corner The record is further damaged by the surface having more or less peeled off in the marginal portions.

The characters of the inscription very closely resemble those of an inscription from Jhârâpâtan³ and are of the ornamental type current in Northern India about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Attention must, however, be drawn to the letters *bh* and *y*.⁴ The former of these always, and the latter in several cases, exhibit forms which come very close to those of the Maukharî alphabet of the sixth century A.D. The language is correct Sanskrit and metrical throughout. As regards orthography, there are three different points which deserve notice (1) the doubling of the letters *m*, *t*, *p* and *v* in conjunction with a preceding or following *r*, in *-maranayôr=mmôksha*, l. 1, *yattrâ*, l. 2; *attrâ* and *-mûrttâh*, l. 4; *sarppat-sarppa-* and *-ruchur=vvilôla-*, l. 6, (2) the substitution of a single consonant for a double one in *-tatva*, l. 3, *-vrityâ*, l. 4, *ujvalam*, l. 7, and (3) the use of *v* for *b* in *vrahmahâ*, l. 2, and *sandhuandha-*, l. 7

The inscription is not dated, and its object is to record the erection of a shrine of Bhavânî at Benares There are altogether five verses, the first three in the *Sragdharâ* and the last two in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The first stanza is devoted to the praise of the city of Vārānasi The purport of the second verse is not quite certain; it seems to speak of a particular quarter of the holy city, which was often visited even by the moon when practising her penance The third verse contains an eulogy of the builder of the shrine, named Pantha, and the last two speak of the consecration of the Bhavânî image (2) and the construction of the shrine, respectively

TEXT.

- 1 [Om svasti ||*] [Khyâ]tâ Vārānas=īyam tribhuvana-bhavan-ābhōga-chaur=itā dūrāt-sēvantē yām viraktâ janana-maranayôr=mmôksha-sakt-aika-[ch]ittâh [I] sô —
— — — — —
- 2 [ta] saganô yattrâ dēvô vimuktah yām drishṭvâ vra(bra)hmah=āpi chyuta-kalikālushô jāyatê suddha-bhāvah || [1*] Asyām=uttunga-śringa-sphuta-śa[śi]-kṛana-[śvêta-bhâsâ sanātham ramy-āyama*]-
- 3 pratôli-vividha-japada-stri-vilâs-ābhirāmam | vidyâ-vêdârtha-tatva(ttva)-vrata-japaniyama-vyagra-chandr-ābhijusṭam śrīmat=sthānam [pr]ithivyâ — — — — — || [2*]
- 4 Attr=ābhūt=Pantha-nāmâ śīsur=apī vinaya-vyāpatô bhadra-mûrttâh tyāgi dhīrah kṛtājñah parilaghu-vibhavô=py=ātma-vrity(tty)=ābhita[shta]h⁵ | Gangâ-srôtaś-suchī-śrī*]-

¹ *Annual Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum* for 1903-4, p. 2.

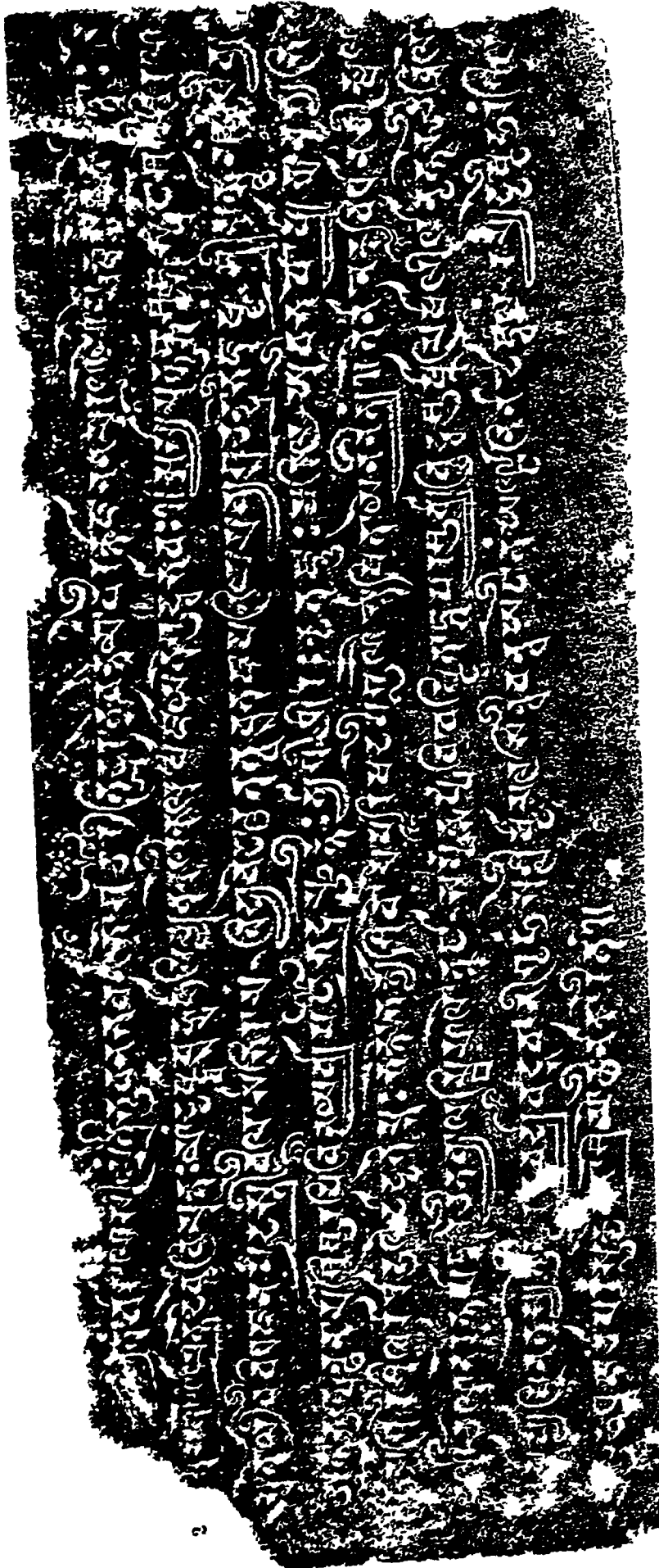
² *Archæological Survey Report* for 1903-4, p. 212

³ *Ind Ant* Vol. V p. 180 and Plate.

⁴ Eg in *yattrâ*, *jāyatê*, l. 2, *vinaya*, l. 4; and *yēna*, l. 5.

⁵ [In my own transcript this word was misread as =*drya*. — E. H.]

⁶ This restoration is based on the preceding *ābhita*⁵ and *ātma-vrittyâ*.



Scale one-third

From a rubbing supplied by Dr J Ph Vogel

Collotype by Gebr Plettner, Halle

E Hultzsch

- 22 vach-chamdrārkkapūpālām¹ [(II)] [13*] Śrī-Naddūla-mahāstbānē śrī-
Samdēra-ka-gachchhē śrī-Mahāvīradēvāya śrī-Naddūla-
23 talapada sūkamamdapikāyām māsānumāsam dhūpavēlārtham² sāsānēna dra³ 5
pamcha prādāt [1*] Asya
24 dēvarasyanam⁴ bhūmjanasya asmadvamśējaur=⁵bhāvi-bhōkṭṛibhir=aparais=cha
paripamthanā na kāryā | yatah [1*]
25 ⁶Sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētur-nṛpānām kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhūh
sarvvān=ēvam bhāvinah pā-
26 rthuvēmdrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachamdrāh || [14*] Tasmāt |
⁷Asmadanva[ya*]jā bhūpā bhāvi-bhūpatayaś=cha yē [1*]
27 tēshām=aham karē lagnah pālaniyam=īdam sadā [(II)] [15*] Asmad vamśē
parikshinē yah kaśchim⁸ nṛpatir=bhavēt [1*]
28 tasy=āham karē lagnō=smi sā(śā)sanam nā(na) vyatikramēt [(II)] [16*]
Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājanyah Sagar-ā-
29 dibhūh [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī(mi)s=tasya tasya tadā phalam [(II) 17*]
Vashthi.⁹varsha-sahasrāni svarggē tushthata dāna-
30 dah [1*] āchchhētā(ttā) ch=ānumamta cha tāny=ēva narakam¹⁰ vasē[t] [(II) 18*]
Sva-dattam para-dattam vā dēva-dāyam harēta yah [1*] sa
31 viśthāyām krimir=bhūtvā putr(ṭṛ)ibhir saba majjati || [19*] Sū(śū)ny-
ātavivy(shv)=atōyāsu śushkakōtara-vāsi-

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 32 nah | krishnāhayō=bhūjāyamtē ~~dēva-dāyam~~ haramti yē || [20*] Maṅgalam
mahā-śrīh ||
33 ¹¹Prāgvāta-vamśē Dharanigga-¹²nāmnah sūtō mahāmātya-varah su-karmā |
va(ba)bhūva dū-
34 tah prā(pṛa)tabhā-nivāsō Lakshmidharah śrikaranē myōgi || [21*]
¹³Āsīt=sva-
35 chchha-malā(nā) Manōratha iti prāk¹⁴ Naigamānām kulē sā(śā)stra-
jñānasudhārasa-
36 plavita-¹⁵dhīs=taj-jō=bhavat¹⁶ Vāsalaḥ | putras=tasya va(ba)bhūva lōka-
vasam(ti)h śrī-
37 Śrīdharah Śrīdharē sūpāstī rachayāmchakāra libkhē ch=ēdam mahā-śā-
38 [sa]nam || [22*] Sva-hastō=yam mahārāja-śrī-Ālhanadēvasya ||

**B.—NADOL PLATES OF THE RĀJAPUTRA KĪRTIPĀLA;
[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1218.]**

Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna has informed me that these plates also were obtained, in the course of last year, at Nadol. My account of them is mainly based on two good rubbings, kindly supplied to me by Mr. Ojha

¹ Read *dhūkālām*; compare *kshtikālām* in line 26 of B

² Read *dhūpa-tal-ārtham*, without the sign of punctuation

³ I.e. *drammān*.

⁴ Read *dēvarasya-nam* (for *-ainad=, -astad=*).

⁵ Metre of verses 15-20 Śloka (Anushtubh)

⁶ Read *shashti-* or *shashtim*

⁷ The name *Dharanigga* occurs above, Vol VIII p 220, line 8 of the text; here the letter *g* seems to have been doubled simply for the sake of the metre.

⁸ Metre Śārdūlavikṛita

⁹ *Plavita* wrong for *plāvita*, which would not have suited the metre.

¹⁰ Read *dhavad=*, and, perhaps, *Vāsalaḥ*

¹¹ Metre *Sālmī*.

¹² Read *kaśchim=*.

¹³ Read *narakā*

¹⁴ Metre. *Upajati*.

¹⁵ Read *prag=*

These also are two plates, each of which measures about $9\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides¹. The writing on them is in a state of perfect preservation. Each plate contains a hole for a ring; I do not know whether the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The text contains eight verses² of chiefly genealogical matter, three of the ordinary imprecatory verses, and one verse giving the writer's name, the rest is in prose, which in one or two places is grammatically incorrect. As regards orthography, the letter *v* is used for both *b* and *v*, except in *-labdhajanmā*, l. 3, the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *Mahēsvaram*, l. 22; and the sign of *avagraha* is once employed, in *śṃgajah*, l. 16. In line 29 the gerund *lagitvā* is used in the sense of 'commencing from, beginning with.'

The inscription records a grant by the *Rājaputra* (or king's son) *Kīrtipāla*, a son of *Ālhanadēva* of Naddūla. After the words *ōm svasti*, it invokes the blessing of the gods Brahman, Śrīdhara (Vishṇu), and Śamkara (Śiva), 'who, always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinās' (or Jaina Arhats). It then (in verses 2-8) gives the following genealogy:—

In the town of Śākambharī there was formerly, in the Chāhamāna³ lineage, the king *Vākpatirāja*. His son was *Lakshmana*, who was king at Naddūla; and his son was *Sōbhita*. From him sprang *Balirāja*, and after him there ruled his paternal uncle *Vigrahapāla*. *Vigrahapāla*'s son was *Mahēndra*, his son *Anahilla*, and his son *Jēndrarāja*, from whom sprang *Āsarāja*⁴. His son was *Ālhana*, the lord of Naddūla, who defeated the *Saurāshṭrikas*. This king married *Annalladēvi*,⁵ a daughter of *Anahula* of the *Rāshṭrauda*⁶ race, who bore to him three sons—*Kēlhana*, *Gajasimha*, and *Kīrtipāla*. Of these, *Kēlhana*, the eldest son, was made *kumāra* (or heir-apparent) and given a share in the government.

According to l. 17 ff. the *Rājakula*⁷ *Ālhanadēva* and the *Kumāra* *Kēlhanadēva* were pleased to give to the *Rājaputra* *Kīrtipāla* twelve villages appertaining to Naddūlāi. And then, on Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Śrāvana of the year 1218, the *Rājaputra* *Kīrtipāla*, after bathing etc at Naddūla and worshipping the Sun and *Mahēśvara* (Śiva), granted a yearly sum of two *drammas* from each of the twelve villages of Naddūlāi to (the temple of) the Jina *Mahāvira* at the village of Naddūlāi, and ordered this money to be paid in the month of Bhādrapada of every year, commencing with the year then current. The twelve villages to which this order referred were Naddūlāīgrāma, Sūjēra, Darjī, Kavilāda, Sōnānam, Mōrakarā, Haravandam, Mādāda, Kānasuvam, Dēvasūri, Nādāda, and Mauvadi.

So far as I can judge, the village of Naddūlāi mentioned in the above is different from (the *mahāsthāna*) Naddūla, and the words *Naddūlāi-pratibaddha* in line 18 appear clearly to show that Naddūlāi not merely was the name of a village, but also denoted the district to which the twelve villages given to *Kīrtipāla* belonged.—On the map of the Rājputāna Agency I find,

¹ The second side of the second plate contains three lines of writing. Of these no rubbing, but only Mr Ojha's transcript has been sent to me.

² The metre of verse 6 is a mixture of *Upēndravajrā* and *Vasantatilakā*.

³ So the name is spelt here and below in C.

⁴ In C, the name is *Āsarāja*, while in A, the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*. Here we have *Āsarāja*, and in D the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*.

⁵ The occurrence of this name here induces me to state that the name in the Delhi Śiwālik pillar inscription of *Vimaladēva-Vigrahārāja*, A, line 2 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 218) is *Annalladēva*, not *Avēlladēva*, and that therefore *Annalladēva* should be substituted for *Avēlladēva* also in my *Northern List*, No. 144, and above, Vol. VIII. App. I p. 14, col. 1 (after *Arṇorāja*).

⁶ For a *Rāshṭrauda* *vaṃśa* see my *Northern List*, No. 278.

⁷ On this and similar titles see my remarks above, Vol. IV. p. 312, note 7. *Mahārājakula* occurs below in D., and in other Mount Ābū inscriptions.

south-east of Nadol, Desuri, which most probably is the Dévasúri of this inscription; of the other villages I can find no traces on the map

After the imprecatory verses the inscription (in lines 33 and 34) has the words 'this is the own hand (i.e. sign-manual) of the *Mahārājaputra* (or *Mahārāja's* son), the illustrious Kīrti-pāla,' and the statement that this grant was written by Śubhamkara, the son of Dīmōdara and grandson of the *Kāyastha* Sōḍha of the Naigama lineage.

The possible equivalents of the date, for the *pūrnimānta* and *amānta* month Śrāvana, would be —

for the *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218 current Saturday, the 25th June A.D. 1160, and Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h 8 m after mean sunrise),

for the *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218 expired Friday, the 14th July A.D. 1161, and Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1161 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h 16 m after mean sunrise),

for the *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1218 expired Tuesday, the 3rd July A.D. 1162 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h 58 m. after mean sunrise), and Thursday, the 2nd August A.D. 1162

From this it will be seen that the given date is correct only for the *amānta* month Śrāvana of the current *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218, and therefore apparently corresponds to Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160. As current Vikrama years are quoted very rarely, this result is not perhaps quite free from suspicion, but I can see no valid reason to question the authenticity of the wording of the original date.¹

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 Ōm³ || Svasti || Śrīya⁴ bhavantu vō dēva⁵ | Vra(bra)hma-Śrīdhara-Śaṃkaraḥ
sadā virāgavam-
- 2 tō yē⁶ Jinā jagati viśrutāḥ || 1 Śākambhari-nāma-purē puṇḍrī⁷ ch-chhri-
Chāha-
- 3 mēn-ānvaya-labdhañjanmā | rājā mahārājanat-āmbriyugmah khyatō=vanau Vakpa-
- 4 tirāja-nāmā || 2 Naddūlē⁷ samabhūt-tadīya-tanayah śrī-Lakshmanō bhupatīḥ=⁸ ta-
- 5 smāt=sarvagun-ānvitō nripa-varah śrī-Sōbhīt-ākhyah⁹ sutah | tasmāch=chh[ī¹⁰]ji-
Va(ba)lirāja-nā-
- 6 ma-nripatīḥ paśchāt=tadīyō mahī-khyatō Vīgrahapāla ity=abhidhaya¹¹ rājyē
pitrivyō=bhavat || 3
- 7 Tasmāt-tivramahāpratāpa-taranīḥ putrō Mahēndrō=bhavat=taj-jāch=śrī-Anahilladēva-
nripatēḥ śrī-Jēn-
- 8 drarājah sutah | tasmād=durddharavaukumjaraḥ adha-prōttālasinh-ōpamah sat-
kīrtīyā dhaval[ī]krit-ā-

¹ With reference to the above I may state that Mr. Ojha has sent me a rubbing of a grant (engraved on one side of one plate only) of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Kēṭhanadēva, which is dated in line 1 *samvat* 1223 *varshē* Jy[ēṣṭhā] *vadī* 12 *Sonē*. This date also works out satisfactorily only for the *amānta* Jyāishṭha of the current *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1223, for which it corresponds to Monday, the 7th June A.D. 1165.

² From two rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

³ Denoted by a symbol

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

⁵ Metre of verses 3-5 Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁶ The inscription C has *Sōbhita*, but as A has *Sōbhīya*, I do not alter the *Sōbhita* of the present inscription

⁷ Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁸ Metre Indravajrā

⁹ Read *bhāpatī*=

to *Śōbhita*

- 9 khilajagach=chrī-Āśarājō nripah || 4 Tat-putrō nijavikramāryitam-¹
mahārājyapratāpodayō
- 10 yō jagrāha jaya-sriyam rana-bharē vyāpādya Saurāshtrikān | śauchāchāra-
vichāra-dāna-vasatir=Naddū-
- 11 la-nāthō mahān=samkhyōtpādita-vīravrittar=amalah śrī-Alhanō² bhūpatih || 5
Anēna³ rājñā jāna-vīśrutē-
- 12 na |⁴ Rāshtrauda-vamśaja var-Ānāhulasya putri | Annalladēvir-ita śīla-vivēka-
yuktā |⁴ Rāmēna vai Janakaj-ēva vi-
- 13 vāhit=āsau || 6 Ābhyām⁵ jātāh su-putrā jagati vara-dhryō rūpa-saumdarya-
yuktāh |⁴ śāstraih śāstraih praga-
- 14 lbhāh pravara-gunaganās=tyāgavantah su-silāh | jyēshtthah śrī-Kēlhan-ākhyas=tad=
anu cha Gajasimhas=tathā Ki-
- 15 rttipālō |⁴ yadvan=nētrānī Śambhōs=tripurushavad=ath=āmī janē vamdaniyāh |
(||) 7 ⁶Madhyād=amishām pari-

Second Plate, First Side

- 16 vāra-nāthō shthē(jyē)shthō śūgajah kshōni-talē prasiddhah | kṛta[h*] kumārō
nyarājya-dhārī
- 17 śrī-Kēlhana[h*] sarvva-gunair=upētah | (||) [8*] Ābhyām rājakula-śrī-
Ālhanadēva- |⁷ kumāra-śrī-Kēlha-
- 18 nadēvābhyām rājaputra-śrī-Kirttipālasya prasādē datta-Naddūlāi-pratīva(ba)ddha-
dvādaśa-grāmānī⁸ ||
- 19 Tatō rājaputra-śrī-Kirttipālāh |⁹ sam 1218 Śrāvana-vadi 5 Sōmē || ady=
ē[ha*] śrī-Naddūlē snātvā dhō(dhau)-
- 20 ta-vāsasi paridhāya tilākshatakūsa-pranayinām dakshina-karam kṛtvā dēvān=
udakēna samtarpya | va(ba)-
- 21 halatamatumuapatalapātana-patīyasō nīśēshapātakapamka-prakshālanasya divākārasya
22 pūjām vidhāya | charāchāra gurum Mahēsva(śva)ram namaskṛitya | hutabhuji
hōmadravay-āhutīr=ddatvā¹⁰ nahni-
- 23 dalagatajalalava-taralam jivitavyam=ākalayya | aṇikam pārachū(tri)kaṁ tha(cha)
phalam=amgikṛitya svapunya-
- 24 yasō-bhivṛiddhaye śāsanam prayachchhati yathā || Śrī-Naddūlāigrāmē | śrī-
Mahāvīra-jñāya Naddūlāi-¹¹
- 25 dvādaśa-grāmēshu grāmam prati dra 2 dvau drammau snapana-vilēpana-dīpa-
dhūp-ōpabhōgārtham | śāsanē
- 26 varsham prati Bhādrapada-māsē chamdrārkkakshita-kāla[m] yāvat pradatta¹² ||
Naddūlāigrāma | Sūjēra | Darji [!*]
- 27 Kavilāda | Sōnānam | Mōrakarā | Haravamdam [!*] Mādāda | Kānasuvam |
Dēvasūri | Nādāda [!*] Mauvadi |
- 28 ēvam grā¹² 12 ētēshu dvādaśa-grāmēshu sarvvad=āpi asmābhūh śāsanē dattau |
ēbhīr-grāmair=adhunā samvatsa-

¹ Read *°māryita-*

² Read *-Ālhanō*

³ Metre a mixture of Upēndravajrā and Vasantatilakā

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

⁵ Metre Sragdhārā The last Pāda does not contain the proper cæsuras

⁶ Metre Uṇṇjātī

⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁸ Wrong for *-grāmāh* The whole sentence which ends here is ungrammatical

⁹ All the signs of punctuation in lines 19 23 are superfluous In some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

¹⁰ Read *-ddatvā*.

¹¹ Read *°,dī*

¹² I.e. *grāmāh*

- 29 rālagitvā¹ sarvvaḍ=āpi varshaṁ prati Bhādrapadā dātavyau | atah ūrddh[^{v*}]am
 kēn=āpi paripamthanā na kartavyā |
 30 ²Asmad-vamśē vyatikramtā yō=nyah kō=pi bhaviṣyati [^{1*}] tasy=āham karē
 lagnō³ na lōpya[m^{*}] mama śāsanam || [^{9*}] Shashthi[m]⁴ va-
 31 rsha-sahasrāpi svarggē tishthati dāyakah | āchōhētā ch=ānuma[m]tā cha
 tāny=ēva narakam⁵ vasēt || [^{10*}] Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhā

Second Plate, Second Side.⁶

- 32 bhuktā rājabhīh Sagar-ādabhīh | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
 phalam || [^{11*}]
 33 Sva-hastō=yam mahārājaputra-śrī-Kirtipālasya || Naigamānvaya-kāyastha-Sōdha-
 naptā Subhamkarah |
 34 Dāmōdara-sutō=lēkhi⁷ śāsanam dharmma-śāsanam || [^{12*}] Maṁgalam mahā-
 śrīh ||

C.—SUNDHĀ HILL INSCRIPTION OF CHĀCHIGADĒVA;
 [VIKRAMA-]SĀMVAṬ 1319.

This inscription is on two stones which were found on the Sundhā Hill, about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura in the Jaswantapura district of the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna.⁸ I edit it from rubbings, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

The first stone contains 26 lines of writing which covers a space of 3' 3" broad by 1' 7½" high, the second 24 lines which cover a space of 2' 10" broad by 1' 5" high. The size of the letters is about ½" on the first stone, and between ⅔ and ⅞" on the second. The inscription was carefully written by Nāmvasamha, a son of the physician Vijayapāla, and well engraved by Jisaravi, a son of the *sūtradhāra* Jisapāla, and is in a state of perfect preservation. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting two prose passages at the bottom of either stone which record the names of the author, the writer and the engraver, the date *samvat* 1319 in line 48, and another prose passage, numbered as a verse, in lines 35 and 36, the text is in verse, the total number of verses (including the prose passage counted as a verse) being 59. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*, the palatal sibilant is used for the dental in *śasya*-, l. 16, *śravaṇī*, l. 19, *sahasrāmsu*- (for *sahasrāmśu*-), l. 22, *śalīla*-, l. 23, *śitah*, l. 25, and *śitāmśu*- (for *śitāmśu*-), l. 37, *kh* and *sh* are confounded in *mayūsha*- (for *mayūkha*-), l. 10, and *piyūkha*- (for *piyūsha*-), l. 41, the *i* of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name in *śrī-Āśārāja*-, l. 21, *śrī-Udayasimha*-, l. 35, and *śrī-Aparājītēsa*-, l. 43, *chchh* is written for *chh* in *chchhalēna*, l. 7, and *chchhāyayā*, l. 8, and the sign of *avagraha* is employed in *Saṁdērā srka*, l. 16, and in four other places. The language is generally correct and plain, but there are one or two passages about the exact meaning of which I am still doubtful. I especially do not understand verse 12, which seems to allude to some legend unknown to me, in which the creator weighs the sun and the moon, apparently using the Ganges as a balance. Moreover, I am not sure about the meanings of the word *śrīkarī*, which occurs in verses 19 and 59, and *gupyadguru* in verses 15, 26, and 27. To judge from the context in verse 59 (*śrīkarī-saptakavādī*-), the former⁹ may denote some kind of musical instrument, and as a *gupyadguru* must be

¹ Read *rāl=lagitvā*, 'commencing from the current year.'

² Metre of this verse and the rest *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh).

³ Read *lagnō=em*.

⁴ Read *śashthī*.

⁵ Read *narakā*.

⁶ Of the three lines on this side only a transcript has been sent to me by Mr. Ojha.

⁷ The passive Aorist is used wrongly here for the active *alēkhāt*.

⁸ I owe this information to Mr. Ojha.

⁹ From the St. Petersburg Dictionary I see that *śrīkarī* occurs in the *Uttamacharitrakathānakam*, l. 234 (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akademie, 1884, Part I. p. 282), where Prof. Weber has suggested for it the meaning 'a female singer.'

something on which a golden *kumbha* and a golden *kalāśa* can be placed,¹ the word perhaps denotes a temple generally or a particular temple. Of rare words or words employed in an unusual way we may note *kēli*, 'the earth,' in verse 6, *bhūsphōṭa*, 'a mushroom,' in verse 16, the feminine *yugali*, 'a pair,' in verse 18, and *tāmbūliya*, 'an areca-nut,' in verse 21, *bandhu* and *bāndhava* denote 'a brother' in verses 24, 26, and 20, and a cousin is described as *pitruvyajatayā bāndhava*, i.e. 'a brother in consequence of being born from a paternal uncle,' in verse 9.

The inscription in the prose passage at the bottom of the first stone and in verse 59 is styled a *prasaśti*. It was composed by the (Jaina) *sūri* Jayamangala (Jayamangalāchārya), who belonged to the Brihad-gachchha and was a disciple of Rāmachandra, himself a disciple of Dēvāchārya.² And its primary object is to glorify the Chāhamāna chief Chāchigadēva, during whose reign it was composed, and for whom it furnishes a date³ in the month of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319, falling in about A.D. 1262. Fortunately, the author has used the occasion to give a eulogistic account of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla generally, which is of considerable interest.

Verses 1-3 pray the moon on Śambhu's (i.e. Śiva's) forehead and (Śiva's consort) Pārvatī or Chandikā to grant continuous good fortune and happiness. Verse 4 then records that formerly there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Rishi* Vatsa.⁴ In his lineage there were —

(1) The lord of Naddūla, king Lakshmana, who was a Śākambhari prince⁵ (vv. 5 and 6).

(2) His son Sōbhita (v. 7; the Sōhiya and Sōbhita of A. and B.). He took away the glory of the lord (or lords) of the mountain Arbuda.⁶

(3) His son Balirāja (vv. 7 and 8). He defeated an army of Muñjarāja, i.e. the Paramāra Vākapatirāja II. Amoghavaraha of Mālava, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 974 to 993.

(4) His paternal uncle's son Mahindu (v. 9) — He is the Mahendra of A. and B., the son of Vīgrahapāla whose name is here omitted. He most probably is identical with the Mahendra or Mahindra (?) mentioned under No. 53 of my *Northern List* as a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūta Dhavala of Hastikundi, whose inscription is dated in A.D. 997.

(5) His son Aśvapāla (vv. 10 and 11, omitted in A. and B.)

(6) His son Ahila (vv. 12 and 13, likewise omitted in A. and B.) He defeated an army of the Gūjjara king Bhīma, i.e. the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I of Anahilapataka.

(7.) His paternal uncle Anahilla (vv. 14-17, in A. and B. described as the son of Mahendra) He also defeated the king Bhīma (Bhīmadēva I.), took Śākambhari; and slew

¹ See verses 26 and 27.

² He is described as *śrikart-saptaka-vādin* which, as intimated above, appears to mean 'playing the seven *śrikarts*.'

³ The exact date (in verse 57) is the *akṣaya-tīrtīyā* or third *tīthi* of the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vaiśākha) of the [Vikrama] year 1319, given both in words and in figures. The date does not admit of verification; its possible equivalents would be the 4th April A.D. 1261, the 23rd April A.D. 1262, and the 12th April A.D. 1263.

⁴ According to the inscription of Luṅṭigadēva treated of under D the holy Vachchha (Vatsa) brought about the creation of the Chāhamāna family. And according to verse 12 of the Bijoli rock inscription of Sōmāvara (No. 154 of my *Northern List*) Sāmanta, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the Vatsa *gōtra* at Ahichchhatrapura.

⁵ The original has *Śākambharīndra*. It will be seen below under D that Lakshmana most probably had the epithet *Śākambhart-mānsikya*, 'the jewel of Śākambhari'. Mr. Ojha tells me that a Chāhamāna even now will be addressed as *Sambhartrāja*, 'Śākambhari prince.'

⁶ *Le Mount Arbū*. With the expression *Himādri-bhava* of the original as a name of the mountain Arbuda compare *Himavataḥ sūnū* in the unpublished Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta, *Himavati-tanayaḥ* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. L. p. 234, v. 5; and *Gaurīvaratvasura bhūdhara sambhava* above, Vol. VIII. p. 210, l. 17. The lord (or lords) of Arbuda spoken of above probably belonged to the Paramāra family treated of in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pūrpapāla, above, p. 10.

(or defeated) Sādha, a general of the Mālava king Bhōja (i.e. the Paramāra Bhojadēva), and the Turushka.

(8) His son Bālaprasāda (vv. 18 and 19, omitted in B) He forced the king Bhīma (Bhīmadēva I) to release from prison a king named Krishnadēva — This Krishnadēva most probably is the Paramāra Krishnarāja (the son of Dhandhukā¹ and grandson of (?) Dēvarāja), of whom we have two inscriptions at Bhīmāl (Śrīmāla), dated in A.D. 1060 and 1067 (Nos. 659 and 690 of my *Northern List*)

(9) His brother Jindurāja (vv. 20 and 21, the Jēndrarāja of A and B). He fought victoriously at Sandēra (the modern Sanderao in the Jōdhpur State, south-west of Nadol).

(10) His son Prithvipāla (vv. 22 and 23, omitted in B). He defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Karna, i.e. Bhīmadēva's son and successor Karna Trailōkyamalla

(11) His brother Yōjaka (vv. 24 and 25, the Jōjalla of A, omitted in B) He by force occupied Anahillapura (Anahilapataka)

(12) His brother Āśārāja (vv. 26-30, in B described as the son of Jēndrarāja). He pleased Siddhādhirāja, i.e. Karna's son and successor Jayasinha Siddharāja, by the assistance which he rendered to him in the country of Mālava, but afterwards apparently was on hostile terms with him

With the account of Āśārāja ends that part of the inscription which is on the first stone. The part on the second stone (after a symbol for *ōm*) begins, as if it were an independent inscription, with a verse (v. 31) praying for the blessing of Śambhu (Śiva), 'the crest of the Sugandhādri,'² i.e. the mountain Sugandha, which clearly is the Sundhā Hill where the inscription was found. The author then continues the genealogy by stating that Āśārāja's son was —

(13) Āhlādana (vv. 32 and 33, the Ālhanadēva of A and B) His assistance was sought by the Gūrjara king, and his army put down disturbances in the mountainous part of Surāshtra (*gīraṇ Saurāshṭrē*). He built a Śiva temple at Naddūla — We have seen above that the two inscriptions A and B, which are of this chief's reign, are dated in A.D. 1161 and 1160. Before that time, he is mentioned (together with his son Kēlhana), apparently as a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla, in the Kerādu fragmentary inscription of Kumārapāla's reign which is dated in A.D. 1153 (No. 133 of my *Northern List*)

(14) His son Kēlhana (v. 34) He defeated the southern king Bhūlīma, and after destroying the Turushka erected a golden *tōrana*, 'like a diadem for the abode of the holy Sōmēsa' — For the *Mahārājādhirāja* Kēlhana I have given above, p. 68, note 1, a date in A.D. 1165. The southern king Bhūlīma, whom he is said to have defeated, must have been the Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhūlīma, whose Gadag inscription is dated in A.D. 1191 (No. 334 of my *Southern List*)

(15) His brother Kīrtipāla (vv. 35 and 36) He defeated a Kirātakūta chief named Āsala, and at Kāsahrada routed an army of the Turushka. As ruler of the kingdom of Naddūla he took up his residence at Jāvalīpura — Of the places here mentioned Kirātakūta is Kerādu, according to *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 172,³ 'a small village near Hāthamo under Bāḍamera' (Bārmer) in the Jōdhpur State. Jāvalīpura, to which Kīrtipāla transferred his residence, is the

¹ He apparently is the Paramāra Dhandhu, who according to an inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Ābā which will be mentioned below, p. 81, transferred his allegiance from Bhīmadēva I. to king Bhōja, the lord of Dhārā (i.e. Bhōjadēva of Mālava)

² I understand this epithet to mean that there was a temple of Śiva on the mountain Sugandha

³ In line 5 of the inscription given there the name appears as *Kirātakūpa*. — According to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 265, 'Kherāru' is about 20 miles west of Bārmer

would therefore have been the own brother-in-law of Châchugadêva — The following verses treat of the same chief's works of piety. At Śrīmāla he remitted certain taxes, and at Râmasainya he granted funds for the worship of (the god) Vîgrahāditya, and placed a golden cupola (*kumbha*) and a flag-staff (*dhvaja*) on the temple of (the god) Aparâjitêsa to whom at the same time he gave a silver girdle (*mâkhalâ*). For the same temple he provided a hall (*śālâ*) with a car (*ratha*) richly decked with precious stones. Châchugadêva visited the Śugandhâdri, worshipped there the goddess Châmundâ, known by the name Aghatêsvari, and at her temple established a *manḍapa* which was consecrated by the Brâhmanas on the *akshaya-tritîyâ* of the month Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319

I have already stated that the inscription thus for the reign of Châchugadêva yields a date in about A.D. 1262. Two other dates, of the [Vikrama] years 1333 and 1334, falling in about A.D. 1276 and 1277, are furnished for him by the two Bhūmāl inscriptions Nos 702 and 703 of my *Northern List*, where he is described as the *Mahârâjakula* Châchuga or Châchugadêva

I may add that Châchugadêva is mentioned, under the name Châcha, in line 8 of the Jôdhpur inscription of Rûpâdêvi, published by me above, Vol. IV p 312 ff. In my text of that inscription I have given the name as *Châva*, and a renewed examination of the impressions enables me to affirm that either this is the actual reading, or that at any rate the name would be so read in the impressions by any one not acquainted with what we have learnt now from the Sundhâ Hill inscription. Knowing what I do now, I have no doubt that the intended reading is *Châcha*. This Châcha is called a Châhumâna in Rûpâdêvi's inscription and described as the son of Udayasimha¹ and grandson of Samarasimha, which exactly fits our Châchugadêva. The inscription supplies the additional information that Châcha's wife was Lakshmidêvi, and that this lady bore to him Rûpâdêvi, who became the wife of a king Têjasimha (to whom she bore a son named Kshêtrasimha) and founded a well or tank in A.D. 1284, in the reign of the *Manârâjakula* Sâmyantasimhadêva.²

TEXT.³

First Stone.

- 1 || Ôm⁴ || ⁵Śvêtâmbhōj-âtapatram kim=u Gîrî-duhituh Svastatinyâ gavâkshah kim vâ saukhy-âsanam vâ mahimamukhamahâsiddhidêvi-ganasya | trailôkyânamdâhêtôh kim=uditam=anagham slâghya-nakshatram=uchchahî Sambhôr=bhâlasthal-êmduh sukrîtakrita-
- 2 nûtah pâtu vô râjya-lakshmim || 1 ⁶Isasy=âmuk-âvanir=anupamânamdasamdôha-mûlâ chamohadvâsômchaladalamayî bhûshana-praudhapushyâ(shopâ) | sallâvanyôdaya-suphalinî Pârsvatîprêma-vallî lakshmim pushnât=anu-dinam=atavyakta-bhaktiyâ natânâm || 2 ⁷Vikataṃmukuta madyattêja-
- 3 sâ vyômnî daityân=iva bhuvî manimayyâ mēkhalâyâh kvanēna | ananuranuita-lilâhamsakais=trâsayamti phanipatibhuvan-âmtas=Chandikâ vah śrîyê=stu || 3 ⁸Śrîmad-Vatsamaharshî-harshanayanôdbhûtâm(vu)purâprabha-⁹pûrvvôrvvid h a r a -maulimukhyasikharâlamkâra-tagmadyutîh | prithvîm trātu-
- 4 m=apâsta-daityatamirah śrî-Châhamânah purâ virah kshîrasamudrasôdara-yaśôrâsîprakâśô=bhavat || 4 ¹⁰Ratn-âvalyâm=iva nrîpa-tatan tat-kramê vîrutâyâm

¹ The proper relation to Udayasimha of the Mânavaśimha who is mentioned in my account of Rûpâdêvi's inscription, above, Vol IV p 318, will be given below, under D

² So the name is spelt in the inscription. The published texts of the inscriptions Nos 704, 706 and 707 (of A.D. 1282, 1286 and 1289) of my *Northern List* have *Sâmyantasimhadêva*

³ From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha

⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

⁵ Metre Mâlunî

⁶ Metre Śrâgdarâ.

⁷ Metre Śârdûlavikrîdita.

⁸ Metre Mandâkrântâ.

⁹ Originally *prabhâ* was engraved, but the sign for *â* has been struck out.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 5 and 6: Mandâkrântâ

- dharmasthânaprakarakarana-prâptapunyôtsavâyâm | śrī-Naddûl-âdhipatir=abhaval= Lakshmanô nâma
- 5 rājā Lakshmilīśadanasadrīśākāra- Śākambhar-īmdrah || 5 Â pātālāt=samara-jaladhīm Mamdarō yasya khadgō mushti-vyājād=bhujagapatnā śrīmkhalēn=āvava(ba)ddhah | nirmathy=ōchchah sapadī Kamalām līlay=ōddhrittya(tya) mattaś=chakrē nrittam ranīta-katakah kēlīlam-
- 6 pa-chchhalēna || 6 ¹Tasmād=Dhīmādrībhavanātha-yaśōpahārī śrī-Śōbhītō=janī nripō=sya tanūdbhavō=tha | gāmbhīryadhairya-sadanam Va(ba)līrājādēvō yō Mumjarāja-va(ba)la-bhamgam=achīkarat=tam || 7 ²Sāmrājy-āsākarēpum rīpunrīpatigaja-stōmam=ākramya jahre yat-khadgō gam-
- 7 dhahastī samararasa-bharē Vimdhyaśailāyamānē | muktāśuktīmdukāmt-ōjvalaruchishu lasatkīrti-Rēvātātēshu praudhānamdōpachār-ōlvanapulakatatūh pushkarānām chchhalēna³ || 8 ⁴Tatpitrvyajatay=ātha vām(bām)dhavah śrī-Mahīmdur=ajamīshā bhūpatī | yat-kīpāna-
- 8 latikām=upēyushām chchhāyayā⁵ virahitam mukham dvishām || 9 Jajñē⁶ kāmataś=tad=annu cha bhūvas=tat-tanūjō=śvapālāh kālāh krūrē dvishu su-charitē pūrnachamdrāyamānah | yah samlagnō na khalu tamasā n=aiya dōshākar-ātmā tējō-muktah kvachid=api na yah kimcha mitr-ō-
- 9 dayēshu || 10 ⁷Kēyūrāgramvishtaratanīkara-prōdyatprabhādamva(ba)ra-vyaktam samgararamga-mamdapatalē yam vaurī-lakshmīh śrītā | virēshu prasrītēshu tēshu rajasā nītēshu durīlakshyatām lavdhō(bdhō)pāyava(ba)l=āpi nirmala-gunair=vaśyō prasasy-ākīrtih || 11 Pu-⁸
- 10 tras=tasy-Āhīla iti nripas=tanmayūsha(kha)-chchhalēna srashtā yasya vyadhīta yaśasam tējasām tōlanam nu | Gamgātōlē śaśī-tapanayōr=dambhataś=chāruchēlē madhyasthāyidhravamīsha-lasatkamtakē kautukēna || 12 ⁹Gūrjarādhipatī-Bhīma-bhūbhujah sāinya-pūram=a-
- 11 jayad=ranēshu yah [!]^{*} Śambhuvāt=Tripura-sambhavam va(ba)lam vādavō=nala iv=āmva(bu)dhēr=jalām || 13 ¹⁰Sanyākrāmt-ākṣhīlavasumatimamdalas=tat-pitrvyah śrīmān rāj=ābhavad=atha jīr-ārātmaḷō=naḥīlah | Bhīma-kshōnīpatī-gajaghatā yēna bhagnā ran-āgrē hridyarth-āmbhōm-
- 12 dhi-Raghu-kritē ch=ēha pamktāh khalānām || 14 Ambhōjām¹¹ mukhāny=ahō mrigadrīśūm chamdr-ōdayānām mudō Lakshmir=yatra narōttamānūsaranavyāpāra-pāramgamā | yānāni prasabham śubhāni śikhari-śrēn=iva gupyaḍgura-stōmō¹² yasya narēśvarasya tulanām sēn=ām-
- 13 vu(bu)rāsēr=dadhau || 15 Urvvirut¹³ vitapāvalamva(ba)-sugrīhīarmyēshu datvā¹⁴ drīśam dhyāt-ātyamtamanōharākṛitīnjaprasādavātāyanah | bhūtsphōtāni vanāmtarēshu vitatāny=ālōkya hāhētī-vāk sasmār=ātapavāranāni śataśō yad-vairrājāvraja-
- 14 h || 16 Drīśtah kar=na Chaturbhujah sa samarē Śākambharīm yō va(ba)lāj=jagrāh=ānu jaghāna Mālava-patēr=Bhōjasya Sādīh-vayam | damd-ādhisam=apāra-samyavibhavam tīvram Turushkam cha yah sākshād=Viśhnur=asā[dha]nīya-yaśasā śrīmgārītā yēna bhūh || 17 Jajñē¹⁵ bhūbhrit=tad=a-

¹ Metre Vasantatilakā.² Metre Sragdharā³ Read *chhalēna*.⁴ Metre Rathōddhatā⁵ Read *chhāyayā*⁶ Metre Mandākrāntā⁷ Metre Śārdūlavikṛīdita⁸ Metre - Mandākrāntā — I am unable to explain this verse See above, p 70⁹ Metre Rathōddhatā¹⁰ Metre Mandākrāntā¹¹ Metre of verses 15-17 Śārdūlavikṛīdita.¹² The exact meaning of the word *gupyaḍgura* is unknown to me, it occurs again in verses 26 and 27 See above, p 71¹³ Read *urvirudvī*¹⁴ Read *datvō*¹⁵ Metre Mandākrāntā

- 15 nu tanayas-tasya Vā(bā)laprasādō Bhīma-kshmābhricch-charanayugalimarddana-
vyājatō yah | kurvan pīdām-atava(ba)latayā mōchayāmāsa kārāgārād=
bhūmipatum=api tathā Krishnadēv-ābhīdhānam || 18 Śrīkaryō¹ jalada-bhramam
dadhur-ahō sainyē=sya sē-
- 16 rārasāyatartu-pratimē samujvala-patā² vāsā marāla-śrīyam | kampam vāyu-
vaśēna kētu-nivahā śa(sa)sy-ānukāram cha tē³ samgitāni cha kōkīlārava-
tulām chittā tu tāpam dvīshah || 19 ⁴Śrīmāms=tasy=ājanī narapatir=
vām(bām)dhavō Jāmdurāyō yah Samdērē
- 17 sṛka⁵ iva tumiram vauri-ṛimdam vi(bi)bhēda | yasya jyōtiḥ-prakaram=abhūtō
vidvīshah kauśik-ābhā drashtum śaktā na hi gurguhā-madhyam=adhyāśritās=
tat || 20 Gachchhamtinām rpu-mrigadrīśām bhūshanānām prapātē vāshp-
āsīraur-ghanatati-tulām vi(bi)bhratinām=aranyē | dūrvvā-
- 18 bhrāmtim marakatamani-śrēnayō yat-prayānē tām vū(bū)liya-bhramam=iva chīram
chakrīrō padmarāgāh || 21 Prithvīm⁶ pālayitum pavitramatimān yah
karshukūnām⁷ karam mumchan prāpa yasāmsi kumda-dhavalāny-ānamdahridy-
ānanah | Prithvipāla iti dhruvam kṣhiti-
- 19 patis=tasy-ūmgajanm=ābhavat=pratyakṣhōrūmdhū⁸ sa Gūrjara-patēḥ Karnnasya
sainy-āpahah || 22 Yat-sēnū kīla kāmadhēnu-sadṛśī kīrtim śra(sra)vamti
payah svachchhamdam sacharācharē=pi bhuvanē śatrūms=trinikurvati |
dharmam vatsam=iva svakīyam=anagham vṛddhim nayamti
- 20 mudā kasy-ānamda-kari va(ba)bhūva na bhuvō=bhīṣhtam samātanvatī || 23 ⁹Śrī-
Yōjakō bhūpatir=asya vām(bam)dhur=vivēkasandha-prava(ba)lapratāpah | svēt-
ītapatrīna virājamānah śakty-Ānahillākhyapurē=pi rēmē || 24 Tyaktvā¹⁰
sandham=udāra-kōlīvipinam kīd-ā-
- 21 chalē durgṛhikām palyamk-āśrayanam karēnushu mudām sthānam samamtād=api |
yasy-ārikṣhitipāla-vā(bū)lalalanāḥ śailē vanē nirjharē sthūlagrāva-śīrassu samsmṛitum=
aguh pūrvōpabhukta-śrīyām || 25 ¹¹Śrī-Āśārāja-nāmā samajanī vasudhā-nāyakas=ta-
- 22 sya vām(bam)dhuh sāhāyām Mālavānām bhuvī yadasi-kṛitam vikshya
Siddhbādhirāyah | tusthō dhattē sma kumbham kanakamayam=ahō yasya
gupyadguru-stham tam hartum n=aiva śaktah kalushīta-hṛdayah sēshabhūpāla-
vāgbhū || 26 ¹²Udayagiriśīrah-stham kim sahasrāmśu-vimvam¹³
- 23 vitata-vīśadakīrttēr-mūrdhni kim nu pratāpah | upari subhagatāyā udgatā
manjari kim kanaka-kalāśā ābhād=yasya gupyadguru-sthah || 27 Kanakaruchi-
śīrah śailasār-ābhūrāmah phanīpati-mahānīyasy=āvatārah sa Vishnōh |
śa(sa)hīlanidhi-su-
- 24 tāyā mamdūrō śhamdhu-dēśō dadhad=avanum=udārām=agrāmah punya-mūrttāh || 28
¹⁴Satirugāra-īdāga-kūnana-Haraprāsāda-vāpī-prapā-kūp-ādīni vinirmamē dvīyajana-
ānamdī kshamā-mamdalō | dharmasthāna-śatāni yah kīla vu(bn)dha-śrēnīshu

¹ Metre Śārdūlavikṛidita — Originally *śrīkaryō* was engraved, but this has clearly been altered to *śrīkaryō*.
The word occurs again in verse 59. See above, p. 70

² Read *samujvala*.

³ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out.

⁴ Metre of verses 20 and 21 — Maudākṛāntā

⁵ The sign of *apagraha* is engraved at the end of the preceding line

⁶ Metre of verses 22 and 23 — Śārdūlavikṛidita

⁷ Read *karshukūnām* (for the ordinary *karshukūnām*)

⁸ This word is quite clear in the rubbing, but I am not sure that it is correct. Perhaps the intended reading may be *pratyakṣhōrūmdhū*.

⁹ Metre *Uṣṇīḥ*

¹⁰ Metre of verses 27 and 28 — *Śārdūlavikṛidita*.

¹¹ Metre of verses 29 and 30 — *Śārdūlavikṛidita*.

¹² Metre *Sragdhārā*

¹³ Read *sahasrāmśu-bimbam*

- 25 kalpadrumah kas=tasy=êmdutushârasâila-dhavalam stôtum yasah kôvidah || 29
 Svêtâny=êva yasâmsi tumgaturaga-stômah śi(s)taḥ subhravâm chamchanmauktika-
 bhûshanâni dhavalâny=nchobaiḥ samagrâny=api | prêmâlâpa-bhavam smîtam
 cha viśadam śubhrâ-
- 26 ni vastraukasâm vṛmdân=îti nṛpasya yasya pritanâ Kailâsa-lakshmim śritâ || 30
 Prasastir=iyam Vri(bṛ)hadgachchhîya-śrî-Jayamamgalâchârya-kṛitih || Bhushag-
 Vijayapâla-putra-Nâmvasamhêna lîkhitâ | Sûtra-Jisapâla-putra-Jisaravinâ³ utkirnâ ||

Second Stone.

- 27 || Ôm³ || 4Jatâ-mûlê Gamgâprava(ba)lalaharîpûrakuhanâ-samunmîlachchhatraprakara⁵
 iva namrêshu nṛpatâm | pradâtum śrî-Śambhuh sakalabhuvan-âdhîśvaratayâ
 tayâ vâ dēyâd=vah śubham=iha Sugamdhâdri-mukutah || 31 6Âśârâja-kshîtpa-
 tanayah śrî-
- 28 mad-Âhlâdan-âhivô jayjê bhûbhṛid=bhuvana viditâś=Châhamânasya vamśê | śrî-
 Naddûlê Śivabharana-kṛid=dharmmasarvasva-vêttâ yat-sâhâyyam pratpadam=ahô
 Gûrjjarêśâś=chakâmksa || 32 7Chamchatkêtalachampaka-pravilasattâlitamâlâguru-
 sphûrjjachchamda-
- 29 nanâlikîrakadalidrâkshâmra-kamrê girau | Saurâshtrê kutlôgrakamtakabhîd-
 âtyuddamakirttêś=tadâ jasy=âbhûd=abhimâna-bhâsuratayâ sênâcharânâm ravah || 33
 8Śrîmâms=tasy=âmgaja iha nṛpah Kêlhanô dakshinâgâdhîś-ôdamchad-Bhûli-
- 30 ma-nṛpatêr=mânahrîṭ-samyasmdhuh | nṛbhîdy=ôchchah prava(ba)la-kalitam yas=
 Turushkam vyadhata śrîSômêśâspadamukutavat=tôranam kamchanasya || 34
 9Bhrât=âsya prava(ba)lapratâpa-nîlayah śrî-Kirttîpâlô=bhavad=bhû-nâthah
 pratupakshapârthivachamûdâv-âmvu(bu)vah-ô-
- 31 pamah | yat-khadgâmvu(bu)ndhau hat-ârikarinâm kumbhasthalibhyah ksharan=
 muktânâm nikarô marâla-lalitam dhattê sma dhâr-âśrayah || 35 Yô
 durddamta-Kirâtakûta-nṛpatim bhittvâ śarair=Âsalam tasmin=Kâsahradê¹⁰
 Turushka-nikaram jtvâ rana-prâmganê | śrî-Jâvâlî-
- 32 purê sthîtim vyarachayan=Naddûlârâjy-êśvaraś=chîmtâratna-nibhah samagra-
 vidushâm nihsîmasany-âdhîpah || 36 11Śrî-SamarasîmhaCêvas=tat-tanayah
 kshônnumamdal-âdhîpatih | Imdra iva vivu(bu)dhahṛiday-ânamdî purushôttamô
 Harivat || 37 Prâkârah¹² Kanakâ-
- 33 chalê virachitô yêu=êha puny-âtmanâ nânâyamtramanôjûa-kôshtha(shtha)katatir=
 vidyâdharîśirshavân [! *] kim Śêshah phanavṛmdamêdura-tanur=vakshashthalê
 vâ bhuvô hârah kim bhramana-śramâd=udu-gauah kim v=aisha bhêjê
 sthîtim || 38 13Kamala-vanam=iv=êdam vaprasîrshâlî-dam-
- 34 bhân=nîkhlavîpuladêśâśrî-samâkarshanâya | lîkhitavîśadavîmdusrêṇivan=mattavarî-
 kshîtpatîvîphalâjstôma-samkhyânumittam || 39 Tôlayâmâsa¹⁴ yah svarnnair=âtmanam
 sôma-parvanî | ârâma-ramyam Samarapuram yah kṛitavân=atha || 40
- 35 15Śrî-Kirttîpâlâbhûpati-putrî Jâvâlipuravarê chakrê | śrî-Rûdaladêvî Śivamamdra-
 yugalam pavitra-math || 41 Śrî-Samarasîmhadêvasya namdanah prava(ba)-

¹ I.e. *sûtradhâra*-, compare the same abbreviation *eg* in *Ind Ant* Vol. XI p 243, l 27, and above, Vol III p 304, l 5

² Read "n=6c"

³ Denoted by a symbol

⁴ Metre Śikharinî

⁵ Read "chchhatraprakara"

⁶ Metre Mandâkrântâ.

⁷ Metre Śârdûlavikrîdita

⁸ Metre Mandâkrântâ

⁹ Metre of verses 35 and 36 Śârdûlavikrîdita

¹⁰ Here the *a* of the second syllable is (before *hr*) treated as a short vowel, see *Ind Studien*, Vol. VIII p 226

¹¹ Metre - Âryâ.

¹² Metre Śârdûlavikrîdita

¹³ Metre Mâlînî.

¹⁴ Metre Ślôka (Anushtubh).

¹⁵ Metre of verses 41 and 42 Âryâ (*pathyâ* and *adi-vipulâ*)

- laśaurya-ramanīyah | Śrī-Udayasimha-bhūpatir=abhūt=prabhā-bhāsvad-upamānah¹ ||
 42 ²ŚrīWaddū-
- 36 la-śrīJāvālīpura-Māmdavyapura-Vāgbhatamēru-Sūrāchamda-Rāta h r a ḍ a-K h ē ḍ a-
 Rāmasainya-Śrīmāla-Ratnapura-Satyapura-prabhṛti-dēśānām=ayam=adhipatih || 43
 Śēshah³ stōtum=iva prarūḍha-rasanābhārah samantād=abhūt kshīrāvḍhi(bdh)h
 pariravdhu(bdhu)m=uddhura-bhu-
- 37 jah kallōlamālā-mishāt | drashtum ch=ānumish-ākshīpamkajavanō Vāstōhpatir=⁴
 yasya tām⁵ viśvaśrī-hṛdayasya hāralatikām kīrtim sitāms-ūjvalām⁶ || 44 ⁷Śrī-
 Pralhā(hlā)danadēvi rājūi yasy=āngajam prasūtē sma | śrī-Chāchigadēv-
 āhvam tath=aiva Chāmumdarāj-ākhyam || 45⁸
- 38 ⁹Dhūōdāttas-Turushkādhīpa-madadalanō Gūrjarēmdrair=ajēyah sēvāyātakshītis-
 ōchitakarana-patuh Simdhurāj-āmtakō yah | prōddāmanyāya-hētur=Bharata-
 mukhamahāgramtha-tatvārthavettā¹⁰ śrīmaj-Jāvālī-samjñē¹¹ puri Śivasadanadvamdva-
 karttā kritajñah || 46
- 39 ¹²Tatpattōdayasaila-bhānur=anaghaprōddāmadharmakriyā-nishnātah kamanīyarūpa-nīlayō
 dān-ēsvarah suprabhuh | saumyah sūra-śrōmanis=cha sadayah sākshād=iv=
 Ēmdrah svayam śrīmān¹³ Chāchigadēva ēva jayati pratyaksha-kalpadrumah || 47
 Bhrūbhamgēna
- 40 bhayamkarēna vijita-pratyarthibhūmipatah śrīmān¹³ Chāchigadēva ēva tanutē
 nirvighna-vṛttim bhuvam | dvaṃjhyam vidadhātu pannaga-patir=vakram
 varāhō mukham kūrṃō nakra-tatim karīmdra-nivahah samghāta-sausthyam
 param || 48 Mērōh¹⁴ sthairyam vachana-rachanam Vā-
- 41 kpatēr=yasya tulyam¹⁵ prithvibhār-ōddharanam=asamam pannagēmdr-ānushamgi |
 sākshād=Rāmah kim=ayam=athavā pūrṇa-pīyūkha(sha)rasmīs=chintāratnam
 pranayini janē dēva ēv=aisha tasmāt || 49 ¹⁶Sphūrad-Vīrama-Gūrjarēśa-dalanō
 yah satru-Sālyam dvishams=chamchat-Pātu-
- 42 ka-pātanaikarasikah Samgasya ramg-āpahah | ¹⁷unmādyan-Nahar-āchalasya kulā-
 ākās=trilōkitala-bhrāmyatikīrtir=asēshavanīdahanōdagrapratāp-ōlvanah || 50 Śrīmālē
 dvijajānuvātkakara-¹⁸tyāgi tathā Vīgrahādityasy-ā-
- 43 pi cha Rāmasainya-nagarē nityārchchan-ārthapradah | prōttumgē=py=Aparājūtēsa-
 bhavanē sauvarṇpakumbhadhvaj-ārōpi rūpyajamēkhalā-vitaranas=tasy=aiva dēvasya
 yah || 51 Chakrē śrī-Aparājūtēsa-bhavanē śālā tath=āsyām rathah Kailā-
- 44 sa-pratmas=trilōkakamalalamkāra-ratnōchchayah | yēna kshōmī-puramdarēna kritinām=
 ānanda-samvitayē bhāgyam vā nyam=ēva parvata-tulām nītam samantād=api || 52
 Karṇō dāna-ruchir=Vā(ba)lis=cha sukrītī ślāghyō Dadhichis=tathā hṛidyah ka-
- 45 lpataruh prakāmamadhur-ākāś=cha chintāmanih | śrīmach-Chāchigadēva-dāna-
 muditās=tan-nāma grīhna(hṇa)mti yat=tat=kīrttēr=api nūtanatvam=abhavad=

¹ The meaning intended apparently is 'by his splendour like the sun' (*prabhāyā bhāsvad-upamah*)

² The prose passage which here begins is counted as a verse in the original.

³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁴ Read *Vāstōhpatir=*

⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out again.

⁶ Read *sitāms-ūjvalām*

⁷ Metre Āryā.

⁸ The numeral 5 is engraved at the commencement of the next line.

⁹ Metre Bragdhārā.

¹⁰ Read *tatvārthā*

¹¹ Originally *-samjñō* or *-samjñā* was engraved.

¹² Metre of verses 47 and 48 Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹³ Read *śrīmāms=Chā*

¹⁴ Metre Mandākrāntā.

¹⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out again

¹⁶ Metre of verses 50-54 Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁷ Here originally a full stop was engraved.

¹⁸ The letter *ś* of *tātika* has perhaps been struck out, the exact sense of *dvijajānuvātika* is not clear to me.

- bhūmibhujām sadmasu || 53 Sphūrjannirjhara-jhāṁkritēna¹ subhagam tat=
kētaṁnām vanē n miśribhūtam=anēka-
- 46 kamrakadali-vṛmdēna dhattē stra yah | āmrānām vipinam cha dēvalalanāvakshō-
ruha-sparddhay=ēv=ōdyatpraudhaphalāvali-kavachitam jamvū(bū)vanēn=ānchitam ||
54 Marau² Mērōs=tulyas=tridaśalalanā-kēlśadanam Sugamdhādrir=nānātaruni-
- 47 karasannāha-subhagah | n. ipēn=ēmdrēn=ēva prasumaratnramgōchchayakhura-
prakamprōrvvīpītham ratirasa-vaśāt=tēna dadriśē || 55 Tan-mūrdhni tridaśem-
drapūṭa-padāmbhōjadvayām dēvatām Chāmumdam=Aghatēśvar-īta viditām=
abhyarchchitām pūrvvajah |
- 48 natv=ābhyarchchya narēśvarō=cha vidadhē=syā mamdirē mamdapaṁ kridatkm-
narakinnarikalarav-ōnmādyau mayūrikulam || 56 Samvat 1319 [1*] 4Trayōdaśaśat-
aikōnavimsatau māsi Mādhavē | chakrē śkshayatritiyāyām pratashthā
mamdapē dvijaih || 57
- 49 5Sampal-lābham ghatayatu subham kumbhu-vaktrō Ganēśah siddhim dēyād=
abhumatataṁm Chamdikā chāru-mūrttāh | kalyānāya prabhavatu satām dhēnu-
varggah prithivyām rājā rājyam bhajatu vipulam svastā, dēva-dvijēbhyah || 58
Sa⁶ śrīkarisaptakavādi-Dē-
- 50 vāchāryasya śishyō śam Rāmachamdrah -| sūrir=vinēyō Jayamamgalō ssya
prasastum=ētām sukṛtī vyadhata || 59 Bhushagvara-Vijayapāla-putrēna
Nāmvāsihēna⁷ lkhitā || Sūtradhāra-Jisapāla-putrēna Jisaravin=ōtkirṇā ||

D.—MOUNT ĀBŪ INSCRIPTION OF LUNṬIGADĒVA;
[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1377.]

This inscription is on a stone which is built into the wall outside the porch of the Achalēśvara temple on Mount Ābū. A translation of it was given, about eighty years ago, by H. H. Wilson in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI p 285 ff⁸ My account of its contents is based on impressions kindly sent to me by Prof Hultzsch, who had received them from Mr Cousens.⁹ I mainly treat of the inscription here in order to give the true names of the chiefs who are mentioned in it, and to show the connection of these chiefs with those of the preceding inscriptions. The published translation long ago led me to suspect that this record also belonged to the Chāhamāna family of Naddūla, I am able to prove now that such is really the case.

The stone contains 32 lines of writing which covers a space of about 1' 11" broad by 1' 4" high. Portions of the first ten, and the last three lines and some of the final letters of nearly all lines are entirely gone or defaced. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is somewhat incorrect Sanskrit. Up to nearly the end of line 29 there are 36 verses, forming a *prasasti* which was composed by a certain Mahādihara,¹⁰ the rest seems to be all in prose.

After three verses, for the greater part illegible, in which the blessing of certain divine beings is invoked, the author proposes to celebrate repairs made at the Achalēśvara temple, and to give the lineage of the person who made them. He then (in verses 6-10) records that, when the solar and lunar races had come to an end, the holy Vachchha (i.e. Vatsa) brought about the creation of a new race of warriors, the Chāhumāna¹¹ race, and that in it there was a personage named Sindhurāja,¹² who conquered all other families.

¹ Originally *ghāmkritēna* was engraved.

² Metre Śikharinī.

³ Metre Sārdūlavakṛdita

⁴ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

⁵ Metre Mandākrāntā.

⁶ Metre Upajāti.—Here, as in verse 19, *śrīkṛt* was originally engraved.

⁷ Read *simhēna*, as in line 26

⁸ See my *Northern List*, No 256

⁹ In Mr Cousens' List the inscription is No 1944

¹⁰ The original has *Mahādihara*

¹¹ The name is not preserved here, but the family is called *Chāhumānāvaya* in verse 17.

¹² The original has *Sindhurājah*; in the Translation the name is Sindhuputra. The name Sindhurāja does not occur elsewhere in the Chāhamāna family. I suspect it to have been wrongly given here by the author instead of Śikharāja.

Then there came Lakshmana, who by his irresistible valour acquired part of the earth. In the mutilated verse 12, which together with verse 11 treats of this chief, the word *Naddūla* is distinctly legible, as well as *Śākambharī*; and it is certain that Lakshmana is described in the verse as king of Naddūla, and highly probable that he is spoken of as Śākambharimānikya, 'the jewel of Śākambharī'.¹ After him, verse 13 mentions 'his son' Balirāja,² and Balirāja's 'son,' whose name I read as Sôhi,³ regarding this to be another form of the name Sôhiya (Sôbhita, Śôbhita) of the preceding inscriptions. According to the latter, Sohiya was Lakshmana's son, and his son again was Balrāja, the author of the present inscription has erroneously transposed the two names. Verses 14-18 then enumerate Mahindu,⁴ Jindurāja,⁵ Āsarāja, Āhana, Kirtipāla and Samarasimha. From what we know already from the other inscriptions, this is the line, from father to son, of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla from Mahindu to Samarasimha, except that, between Mahindu and Jindurāja, Anahilla, the son of the former and father of the latter, has been omitted — So far our inscription tells us nothing of importance that is new.

Samarasimha, according to verse 19, had two sons, of whom the one called Udayasimha, who also is already known to us from the inscription C, succeeded him in the government. Udayasimha's elder brother⁶ was Mānavasimha (v. 20), his son was Pratāpa (v. 21), and his son Vijāda, also named Daśasyandana⁷ (v. 22). This chief married Nāmalladēvi (v. 23), who bore to him four sons — Lāvanyakarna, Lundha,⁸ Lakshmana, and Lūnavarman (v. 24), of whom the eldest became the ruling chief. When Lāvanyakarna died, he was succeeded by the next brother, whose name in verse 26 is clearly Luntigadēva, in verse 28 Luntiga, in verse 30 Luntigāgara, and in the prose passage in line 29 Lūntāgara. Luntiga conquered and ruled 'all countries,' particularly Chandrāvati and the divine territory of Arbuda (*Arbuda-dīrya-dēśam*, v. 27). On the mountain Arbuda he set up images of himself and his queen, and carried out repairs at the temple of Achalēśvara. As a grant to the temple, he moreover gave the village of Hēṭhufūji⁹ (v. 33) for the perpetual worship of the god.

From the prose passage which follows, and which is more or less illegible, we learn that in the year 1377, on Monday, the 8th of the bright half of Vaiśākha, in the Keshava-samvatsara, Luntiga, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūntāgara, resided at [Vū?]hundha which belonged to Chandrāvati.¹⁰ This date regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kārttikādi*

¹ The Translation, after Lakshmana, mentions "the hero, named Mānikya, whose distinguished capital was Śākambharī," but this is erroneous.

² The Translation has Adhirāja instead.

³ The second half of the verse, part of which is very indistinct, in my opinion is. *Sôhi-samyāna[s-ta]tô camē sôbhī bhāman hī tat suta[h]* — The name *Sôhi* occurs above, Vol. VIII p. 220, l. 13.

⁴ The original actually has *Mahīdu*.

⁵ The Translation has Sindhurāja, Kulaviverddhana, Prabhurāsa Rājā (derived from the actual reading *prabhura-Asarāja*), Dandana (for Āhana), Kirtipāla and Samarasimha.

⁶ According to the Translation Mānavasimha was Udayasimha's son, but this is a mistake. The original text, after mentioning Udayasimha, clearly has. *yô vai parô dāna-guṇair-garishṭhas-tasya-dārayô Mānavasimha-nāma*.

⁷ I.e. Daśaratha. The original text of verse 22 is *Tasya-dīpajô Spô[r]vagun dāhīrāsa [ā]st[st]d=Daśasyam-dāna-nāma[dhā(dhē)?]yāh [i*] va(ba)ś(dhā)ra vjāni tu Vjādô yô(yaś)=chatvāri rājyāya Harth prasādāt* (ii) I shall show below that the chief here spoken of undoubtedly was named *Vjāda*. The name Daśasyandana (Daśaratha) may have been given to him because, like Rāma's father Daśaratha, he, according to the account here given, had four sons — Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 215, v. 18.

⁸ The reading of the first syllable of this name is not absolutely certain here.

⁹ Above, Vol. VIII p. 222, line 28, and in an unpublished Mount Abū inscription (No. 1794 of Mr. Cousens' list) the name is spelt *Hēthahūji*.

¹⁰ The text has. *samvat 1377 varshē Vai[s]ākha-lud: 8 Sômh Keshava-samvatsarē Sdy=tha Chamdravatt-pratita(ba)dha-[Vā?]-hundha samādēsta-mahārājakula-rt-Lūntigara* *Chamdravatt-prabhūti-dēśam* tatād

Vikrama year 1377, to Monday, the 6th April A.D. 1321, when the 8th tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha ended 17 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, the day did fall in the Jovian year Kshaya, which according to the northern mean-sign system lasted from the 30th May A.D. 1320 to the 26th May A.D. 1321

Of the localities mentioned, in addition to the well-known Arbuda or Mount Âbû, Chandrâvatî according to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. p. 126, is a large place (now in ruins) on the Banās river near the south-east border of the Sirohi State. There can be no doubt that it was taken by Luntaga from the Paramāras¹ Hēthufji is the small village of 'Hetamj' on Mount Âbû.² Vūhundha— if this is really the name— I am unable to identify.

On Mount Âbû there are at least two other inscriptions,³ of no great extent and partly illegible, of the reign of Luntagadēva, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūndhāka or Lūndha(P). One is dated on Wednesday, the 8th of the dark half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1372, corresponding, so far as I can see, to Wednesday, the 17th March A.D. 1316; the other on some specified day, which I cannot make out with certainty, in the [Vikrama] year 1373. And there is a third, partly effaced inscription,⁴ which also mentions the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūndhāka or Lūndhāka, and speaks of the glorious Nāmāladēvi, who clearly is the Nāmāladēvi of the present inscription, the mother of Luntagadēva. I am not at present prepared to give a fuller account of these three inscriptions.

But I may add here that another account of some of the later Chāhamānas is found in an inscription⁵ which is on a stone at a temple—the *Vimala-vasahikā*, ordinarily but wrongly called Vimala Sāh's or Shāh's⁶ temple—which was founded on Mount Âbû, according to the inscription itself in the Vikrama year 1088,⁷ by a certain Vimala, 'an ornament of the Prāg-vāta race,' after he had been appointed *dandapati* at Arbuda by the (Chaulukya) king Bhimadēva (I.). This inscription in lines 9-15 (verses 14-22) gives the following '*rājavalī*':—

There was a hero, Āsarāja⁸ by name, a moon to the lotus-flower—the Chāhuvāma⁹ family, who was king of the town of Naddūla¹⁰ (v. 14). Then there came Samarasimha; and his son was Mahanasimhabhaṭa (v. 15). Then came Pratāpamalla; and of him was born Vijada, who ruled the Marusthali-mandala (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūniga (v. 17). After him the text mentions Lūndha (v. 18) and Lumbha (v. 19), without distinctly saying that they were his younger brothers. It then records the conquest of Arbuda (v. 20); says further that Lūniga's son was Tējasimha (v. 21); and after him eulogizes Tihupāka, to whom it wishes long life (v. 22)

The mutilated verse 23 appears to say that the glorious Lumbhaka, together with Tējasimha and Tihupa, in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda,

¹ See my *Northern List*, Nos 198, 209 and 210 (now above, Vol. VIII. p. 201).

² See above, Vol. VIII. p. 207, and the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. pp. 137 and 144.

³ Nos 1907 and 1909 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ No. 1908 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ No. 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List. I hope soon to give the text of this inscription, which is ready for publication.

⁶ *Vimala edha* seems to occur first in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 811, note. It owes its origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple,' which we find e.g. in line 8 of No. 1774 of Mr. Cousens' List.—I may add that in line 10 of the same inscription we have the similar term *Tējapāla-vasahikā*, 'Tējapāla's temple.'

⁷ The date is given in verse 11: *Śrī-Vikramāditya-nripādā-vyatikṛtā Śahāditi-yatī saraddha sahaśra(śat) i śrī-Adindhah śikharā-rūpādasya nivāsi(ś)itah śrī-Vimalāna vāndh i.*

⁸ I give all names here exactly as they are written in the original.

⁹ This may be a mistake for *Chāhuvāna* or *Chāhuvāna*.

¹⁰ This is the actual spelling of the name, and is required by the metre. The same may be said of the name *Tējasimha*, which occurs below.

and the rest of the inscription treats of a private family, two members of which made repairs of the temple. The date given in verse 41 is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha of the [Vikrama] year 1378. It corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322.

As regards the genealogy given in this inscription, it is curious, but of no historical importance, that it commences with Āsarāja¹ (Āsarāja, Āśārāja), who was neither the founder of the family nor the father of Samarasimha who is here mentioned immediately after him. Instead of the name Mānavasimha of Luntigadēva's inscription this account has Mahanasimha which must be regarded as another name of the same person; and while according to the former Vijāda had four sons, according to this genealogy he had only three—Lūniga, Lundha and Lumbha. Of these, Lūniga undoubtedly is identical with the Lāvanyakarna of the other inscription,² and Lundha with Luntaga (Lundha), while Lumbha (Lumbhaka) most probably is another name of Lūnavarman. What is new to us and of some importance, is, that by the account here given Tējasimha, who is known to us from other inscriptions, was a son of Lūniga. According to No 261 of my *Northern List* Tējasimha³ was ruling in the [Vikrama] year 1387, corresponding to A.D. 1331, and there is an unpublished Mount Ābū inscription⁴ of his of the [Vikrama] year 1393, corresponding to A.D. 1336. What was the exact relation of Tihunāka (Tihuna) to Tējasimha, does not appear from the Vimala temple inscription; but the matter very probably is cleared up by a statement in an inscription (No. 265 of my *Northern List*⁵) of Tējasimha's son Kānhadadēva, who was reigning at Chandrāvati in the Vikrama year 1394, corresponding to A.D. 1338. That inscription in lines 11-14 records four separate grants of villages by the *Chāhumānājñātīya-rāja-srī-Tējasimha*, the *dēvadā-srī-Tihunāka*, the *rāja-srī-Kānhadadēva*, and the *Chāhumānājñātīya-rāja-srī-Sāmatasimha*. Here Tihunāka is placed between Tējasimha and his son Kānhadadēva, who both are distinguished from him by their title of *rājan*. This and the order in which Tihunāka is mentioned in the Vimala temple inscription render it probable that he was Tējasimha's younger brother. And this may possibly be the meaning of the word *dēvadā* prefixed to his name, a word which seems to be etymologically connected with the Sanskrit *dēvī*, *dēvara*, used in the specific sense of 'a husband's younger brother.'⁶

In the Table on page 83 I have placed all the chiefs mentioned in the above in their genealogical order, and have given the dates known from inscriptions either for themselves or for the kings and chiefs with whom they are said to have come in contact. The Table will show that Lakshmana, the founder of the family, must be placed in about A.D. 925-950, and that therefore he very probably was a son of that Vākpatirāja of Śākambhari, who was the grandfather of the Vigraharāja⁷ of the Harsha inscription who lived in A.D. 973. My genealogical Table of the family is not quite complete. I do not know yet how to place exactly the Mahārājakula Sāmvatasimha or Sāmyantasimha, who is mentioned in Nos. 704-707 of my *Northern List* with dates from about A.D. 1282 to A.D. 1289, and— if this should be a different chief—the Rājā Sāmatasimha, mentioned in Kānhadadēva's inscription of A.D. 1338.

¹ If it were not for the other inscriptions, this name might of course be taken to stand for *Atarāja*.

² Compare Lūnigadēva for Lavaṇaprasāda in No 249 of my *Northern List*.

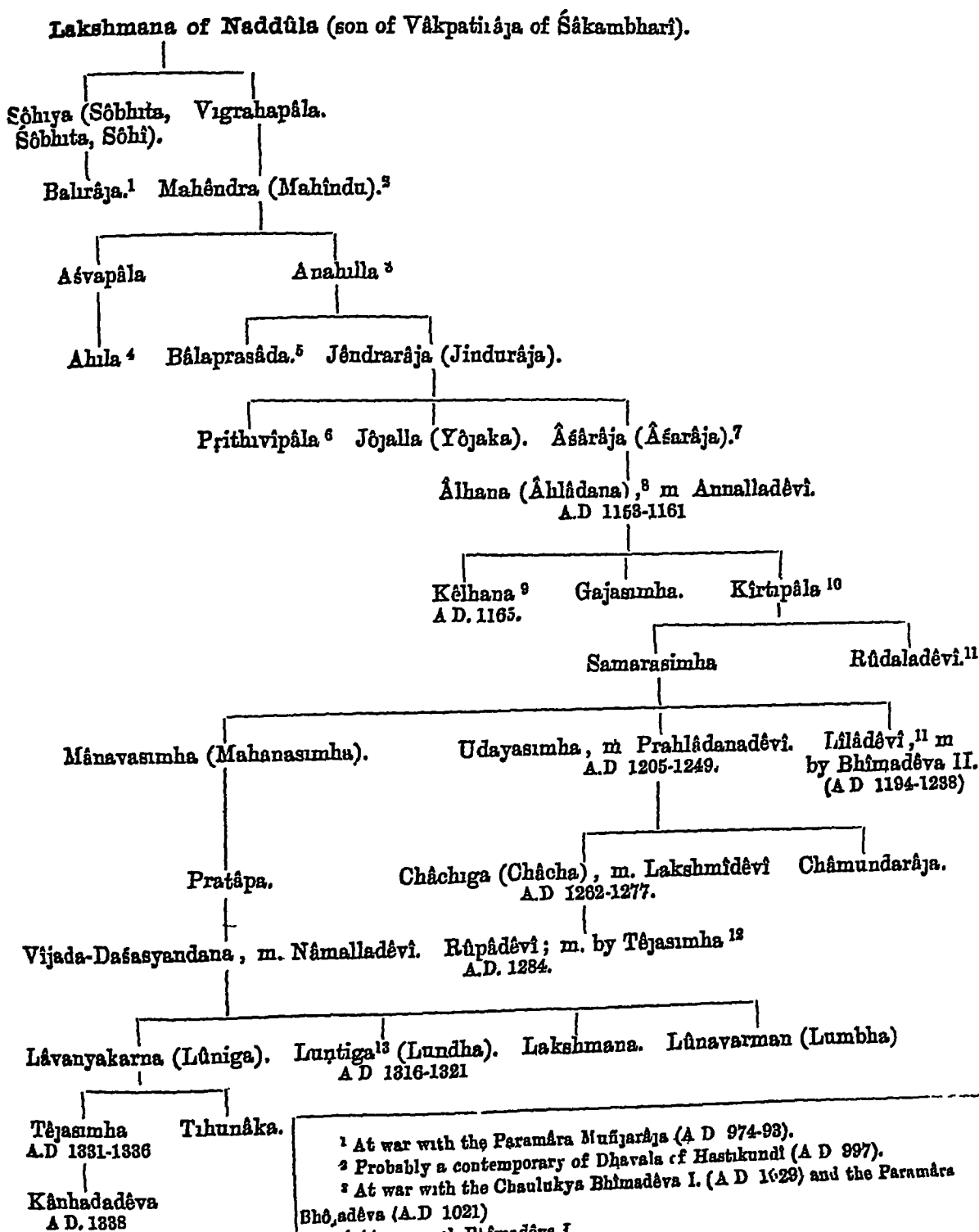
³ In the original of No. 261 (N. 1940 of Mr Cousens' List) the name is spelt *Tējasimha*.

⁴ No 1947 of Mr Cousens' List.

⁵ No 1919 of Mr Cousens' List. The inscription has been roughly edited in *Ind Ant* Vol II. p. 250.

⁶ In No 1958 of Mr Cousens' List a *Dēvadā-vamsa* is mentioned. According to *Ind Ant* Vol IV p. 146, 'the Sirohi chieftains, . . . though Chohāns, are universally known by the name of their subtribe, the Derrā.'

⁷ The foundation of the separate kingdom of Naddūla was perhaps connected with the disturbances which preceded Vigraharāja's reign.



¹ At war with the Paramâra Mufjarâja (A.D. 974-98).

² Probably a contemporary of Dhavala of Hastikundi (A.D. 997).

³ At war with the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva I. (A.D. 1029) and the Paramâra

Bhîmadêva (A.D. 1021)

⁴ At war with Bhîmadêva I

⁵ Probably a contemporary of the Paramâra Krishnadêva (A.D. 1060-67)

⁶ At war with the Chaulukya Karna (A.D. 1091)

⁷ Contemporary of the Chaulukya Siddharâja (A.D. 1138, 1139)

⁸ Contemporary of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla (A.D. 1145-69).

⁹ At war with the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Bhûllama (A.D. 1191).

¹⁰ Transferred the seat of government to Jâvalîpura

¹¹ It is impossible to say whether these were younger daughters

¹² This Têjasimha had a son named Kshêtrasimha

¹³ Took Chaudrâvatî with Mount Âbû from the Paramâras

No. 10.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-PANDYA.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR

Ambásamudram is situated on the northern bank of the Tāmraparni river and is the headquarters of the tāluka of the same name in the Tinnevely district. The town has a local reputation for the manufacture of cloths largely in demand on the western coast. On the southern bank of the river is the big and flourishing village of Kallidaikkurichchi, which gives its name to the cloths manufactured at the sister town on the other bank, because the trade in them is carried on mostly by the Brāhmanas of the former place, who temporarily reside in Malabar and are frequently met with on the west coast.

The site of Ambásamudram seems to have been altered in comparatively recent times. The greater portion of the town is now situated at some distance from the river, while the most important temple, now called Erichcha-Udayār, is quite close to it, and is separated from the town by a pretty large extent of rice fields. The heavy floods in the Tāmraparni at certain seasons of the year might be one of the causes which led to the removal of the town to a more distant locality. Besides, in ancient times, Ambásamudram seems to have been a big place, including some of the adjacent villages such as Tiruvāliśvaram¹ and Maṇṇārkōyil.² In an inscription of [Jaṭavarman Sundara-]Chōla-Pāndya³ the temple of Erichcha-Udayār is said to be situated in the southern hamlet of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam. During the period of Pāndya supremacy the town was called Ilangōkkudi or Ilangōykkudi,⁴ which was altered into Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam after the Chōla conquest.⁵ The latter name has probably to be traced to the Chōla king Rājārāja I., after whom the Pāndya country was itself called Rājārāja-maṇḍalam.⁶

During the field season of 1904-05 I copied eight inscriptions in the temple of Erichcha-Udayār, of which two belong to the early Pāndyas,⁷ two to the Chōlas,⁸ one to the Chōla-Pāndyas⁹ and two to the later Pāndyas,¹⁰ while the eighth does not mention any king.¹¹ One of the early Pāndya records¹² seems to belong to the reign of Vira-Pāndya, 'who took the head of the Chōla'. The Chōla king with whom he fought must be Āditya (II.) Karikāla,¹³ who, according to the large Leiden plates, fought in his youth against Vira-Pāndya.¹⁴ The newly discovered¹⁵ Tiruvālangādu plates of Rājēndra-Chōla I. do not mention the name of the Pāndya king against whom Āditya II. fought, but report that the latter "killed the Pāndya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory in his city."¹⁶ Accordingly, Vira-Pāndya reigned in the

¹ The temple at Tiruvāliśvaram is said to have been situated in Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam, which was the name of Ambásamudram in Chōla times, *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 43, Nos. 115 and 119 of 1905.

² The Vishnu temple at this village, called Rājēndra-Chōla-vinnagar in ancient times, was also situated in Rājārāja-chaturvēdimangalam, No. 112 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

³ No. 102 of the same collection.

⁴ No. 104 of the same, and lines 2, 6 f and 10 f of the subjoined inscription.

⁵ The name occurs already in an inscription of the 11th year of Rājārāja I., No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. II, p. 149.

⁷ Nos. 101 and 105 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁸ Nos. 98 and 99 of the same collection.

⁹ No. 102 of the same.

¹⁰ Nos. 100 and 103 of the same.

¹¹ No. 104 of the same.

¹² No. 101 of the same.

¹³ He was the elder brother of Rājārāja I. (A.D. 985 to at least 1013).

¹⁴ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I, p. 112.

¹⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905 6, Part I. paragraph 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Part II paragraph 16.

- 47 muppatt-iru-galam [i*] śarkkarai 'nāṛra[p]f
 48 [la]m i[du] oru-palattukku nāṇi-
 49 y-uri nellāga ōr=āttakku nel
 50 irubattu-nāṅ=kkalam [i*] kaṇi nāṇpa-
 51 dṇ palam ivai paṇ-pa[la]-
 52 ttukku nāṇi nellāga ōr=ā[t]-
 53 ttaikku nel pa[dī*]ṇ-aṇu-kalam [i*] kāyam
 54 ālakke mu=chevittu idu
 55 ulakku kāyattukk=aṇu-nā-

Third Side of the Stone

- 56 [li] nell[ā]ga ōr=āt[ta]-
 57 kku nel patt[o]ṇ[ba]-
 58 [dī]ṇ kalāṇṇō mu=kku[ṇu*]ni [i*]
 59 ilai-amirdu vel-
 60 [li]lai irandu paṇṇu
 61 [i]vai oru-paṇṇuk[k=i]-
 62 [ru]-nāṇi nellaga or=[ā]-
 63 ttaikku nel pa[dī]-
 64 [ṇ-a]ṇu-galam adai[kkā]-
 65 y nāṇpadu ivai [i]-
 66 rubad=adaikkāy[kku] mu=n-
 67 [nā]ṇiy-uri nellāga
 68 ōr=āttakku nell=[i]-
 69 r[ṇ]ba[tt]-en-galam [i*] nūṇ[u]
 70 n[a]ṇ=chevittu idu
 71 nāṇikk=iru-nāṇiy[āga]
 72 ōr=āttakku nel
 73 paṇṇ-iru-ku[ṇu*]ni [i*] el-
 74 l[ā]m ēṇṇi ōr=ā[t]-
 75 taikku vēna nel [ai=n]-
 76 nūṇṇ-[e]nbadiṇ kala[m] [i*]
 77 i=ppariṇu niyadī-
 78 [p]padu mutt[ā]mai
 79 n[e]ḍun=gālamuṇ=jē-
 80 lu[t]tuv[adā]ga vai[t*][t]ā-
 81 r śri-Varaguna-Mahārāja[r*] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 8) Hail ! By the grace of the blessed lord (*bhaṭārar*) ! Varaguna-Mahārāja, being encamped² at Araśūr on the bank of the (*river*) Peṇnai in Tondai-nādu, gave into the hands³ of the members of the assembly of Ilangōkkudi two hundred and ninety *kāṣu*, from the interest of which—the capital remaining unspent⁴—offerings had to be provided for four times

¹ Read *nāṅ=palam*

² *Vēṇṇirundu* means literally 'being seated majestically'

³ This is the literal translation The money must have been sent by a messenger to be made over to the village assembly

⁴ Literally 'taking interest (in such a way) that the capital is not destroyed,' see note 1 on page 90 above

(a day) to the lord of the glorious temple¹ of Tiruppôttudaiyâr at Ilangoikkudî in Mulli-nâdu

(Ll 8 to 10) For this (amount) the members of the assembly have to measure out five hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy per year (as) interest, at the rate of two *kalam* for each *kâsu*

(Ll 10 to 14) Out of this (income) the servants of the lord (*bhaṭṭarar*) and the committee of the assembly of Ilangoikkudî shall jointly pay for offerings four times a day,² commencing from the month of Tula in the twelfth year opposite to the fourth year of the reign of Varaguna-Mahârâja, (according to the following) scale:—

(Ll 15 to 27) (The following) are the requirements for a single offering³— four *nâli* of clean superior rice,⁴ (one) *uri* of split green gram for the *kummâyam*,⁵ (one) *ulakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality to be offered⁶ (by itself), (one) *uri* of cows' curds, four black plantain fruits, one *palam* of sugar; ten *palam* of vegetables (for) the vegetable offering (*kari-amirdu*), (viz) one *kâykkari*,⁷ two *puḷṇṇari*,⁸ one *puḷukkukkar*⁹ (and) one *porikkari*— in all, five (kinds of) curry, (one) *alaku* of cows' ghee of the best quality for seasoning¹⁰ and frying vegetables; (one) *uri* of cows' curds for the compound curry (*kāṭṭu*),¹¹ two *śevittu* of asafoetida; two bundles of betel-leaves,¹² ten areca-nuts (and) one *śevittu* of lime (*nûru*) for the leaves offering.

(Ll 27 to 73) The aggregate requirements for (the offerings) four times a day¹³ (are):— At the rate of sixteen *nâli* of clean superior rice (a day), sixty-four *kalam* of clean superior rice

¹ The word *śrīkôvil* means 'the sanctuary of a temple' according to Dr Gundert. It is used here in the same sense as the Tamil *śrīrakkôvil*, 'a temple, a place of worship, a sacred shrine.' In the Tanjore inscriptions *śrīkôvil* is used to designate the orthodox Hinda temple as opposed to the temples of the Dravidian village deities and to the Jaina temples (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 48, note 8, and p 59)

² The word *nigadi* occurs again in line 27

³ Literally 'the offering' at one time'

⁴ With *sennei* compare *tiruchchennadai-nel* in a Chôla inscription from Conjeeveram; *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol I p 117

⁵ This word occurs in a similar context in an inscription of Râjakêśarivarman found at Tiruvellai near Trichunopoly (No 518 of 1905). In an unpublished record of the Chôla king Râjakêśarivarman from Gudimallam in the North Arcot district, split green gram (*śiru-payarru-paruppu*) is provided for *kummâya-amudu* (No 222 of 1903). The modern meaning of the word *kummâyam*, viz 'mortar,' will not do here. In Malayalam and in Kanarese the root *kummu* means 'to beat with a pestle,' and *kummâyam* might therefore denote something pounded, if the word is derived from that root.

⁶ The verb *nivâḍikka* in line 17 may also have to be taken with the words *tayir* (l. 18), *karuvâlaippalam* (l. 18 f) and *śarkkari* (l. 19), if not with all the items mentioned in ll. 19 to 27.

⁷ According to one of the Tanjore inscriptions of Râjarâja I (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol II, No 26) pepper, mustard, and perhaps also salt were required for this preparation. Some vegetable must also have been added, though the fact is not specifically mentioned. Old rice, pulse, pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar and ghee were required for a similar preparation called *appakkâykkari*.

⁸ Pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar, tamarind, curds, horse gram and plantain fruits were required for it according to the inscription quoted in the preceding note. *Puḷiyittadungar* (consisting of pepper, cumin, tamarind, and perhaps some vegetable) was a similar preparation.

⁹ *Puḷukkukkar*, 'boiled curry,' is perhaps so called in order to distinguish it from *porikkari*, 'fried curry'. The former is not mentioned (at any rate under this name) in the Tanjore inscription quoted above, while ghee is provided for the latter. Evidently *porikkari* consisted of a vegetable fried in ghee.

¹⁰ The verb *tumi* means 'to sprinkle'. Condiment powder is even now sprinkled over boiled curry and the whole seasoned with boiling ghee, in which a small quantity of mustard is frying. The preparation is called *podittaval*, 'powder sprinkling,' and the same is apparently indicated by the use of the verb *tumi* here. A story is told in connection with the Tamil poet Kamban, which shows that the noun *tumi* was not in common use during his time.

¹¹ *Kāṭṭu* is a liquid preparation still in use and consists of (1) a vegetable cooked either with Bengal gram or beans, (2) two or more vegetables boiled together, or (3) specially made powder dissolved in curds. (1) and (2) do not, generally, require any curds.

¹² The word for betel-leaves both here as well as in the Tanjore inscriptions is *veḷḷilai*, 'white leaf,' while the modern Tamil form is *veṇṇilai*, 'empty leaf.'

¹³ Worship at six periods of the day is the rule at present in big temples. In the case of a minor shrine in the Tanjore temple, provision was made for offerings only three times (morning, midday and night, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol II, p 148) and twice in the case of two other shrines (*ibid* pp 70 and 71).

for a year. At three *kalam* of paddy for one *kalam* of rice,¹ this (comes to) one hundred and ninety-two *kalam* (of paddy) The split green gram (required for a day) is two *nāl*. At the rate of three *nāl* of paddy for (one) *nāl* of split (green gram),² twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (have to be allotted) for this (item) Cows' ghee of the best quality (required for a day) is (one) *nāl* and (one) *uri* At the rate of thirty *nāl* of paddy for (one) *nāl* of ghee,³ this (comes to) one hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy for a year. (The quantity of) cows' curds (required for a day) is four *nāl* At the rate of three *nāl* of paddy for (one) *nāl* of curds,⁴ this (amounts to) forty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually. (The number of) black plantain fruits (required for a day) is sixteen. At the rate of (one) *nāl* of paddy for two (fruits),⁵ these (cost) thirty-two *kalam* of paddy annually The sugar (required for a day is) four *palam* At the rate of (one) *nāl* and (one) *uri* of paddy for every *palam*,⁶ this (item costs) twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (The daily consumption of) vegetables being forty *palam*, sixteen *kalam* of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) every year—at the rate of (one) *nāl* of paddy for ten *palam*⁷ (One) *ālakku* and three *sevit* of asafetida (being required daily), nineteen *kalam* and three *kurun*⁸ of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) annually—at the rate of six *nāl* of paddy for (one) *ulakku* of asafetida⁹ (For) the leaves offering (are required) two bundles¹⁰ of betel-leaves (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāl* of paddy for one bundle, (come to) sixteen *kalam* of paddy for a year, forty areca-nuts (daily), which, at the rate of three *nāl* and (one) *uri* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, (cost) twenty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually,¹¹ (and) four *sevit* of lime (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāl* (of paddy) for (one) *nāl* (of lime), (cost) twelve *kurun*¹² of paddy per year

(Ll 73 to 81) Altogether, the (quantity of) paddy required annually is five hundred and eighty *kalam*¹³ The glorious Varaguna-Mahārāja thus deposited (this money), in order that

¹ In Tanjore 5 *kalam* of paddy were required for 2 *kalam* of rice during the time of Rājārāja I.

² Pulse was exchanged at this rate during the time of Rājārāja I. at Tanjore

³ In Tanjore ghee and paddy were exchanged in the proportion of 1 to 32 at the time of Rājārāja I

⁴ The same rate obtained in Tanjore during the reign of Rājārāja I

⁵ There seem to have been three varieties of plantain fruits available in Tanjore and its vicinity about the beginning of the 11th century A D Two fruits of the first kind could be had for one *nāl* of paddy (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 75 and 77), five *nāl* of paddy had to be given in exchange for 18 fruits of the second variety (*ibid* p 127), the third was sold at the rate of 1200 for each *kāsu* (*ibid* p 151)

⁶ Two kinds of sugar were apparently available about the beginning of the 11th century A D in the Chōla capital and the country surrounding it Of the cheaper kind 3½ *palam* could be purchased for 2 *nāl*, 1 *uri*, 1 *ālakku* and 4 *sevit* of paddy (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 127), while the more costly variety exchanged at the rate of 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy for ½ *palam* (*ibid* pp 70 and 71)

⁷ In one of the Tanjore inscriptions quoted in the preceding foot-notes, the daily allotment for purchasing vegetables is 6 *nāl* of paddy The quantity of vegetables is not mentioned

⁸ If this calculation is correct, a *kalam* must be equal to 15 instead of 12 *kurun*, and a *kurun* equal to 6 *nāl*

⁹ Asafetida and lime are not mentioned in any of the Tanjore inscriptions, where common salt and firewood are specially provided for (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 75, 77 and 180) The two latter are conspicuous by their omission in the Ambasamudram record Perhaps they had no exchange value in the Pāndya country during the time of Varaguna It may also be that temples could obtain both common salt and firewood without any payment

¹⁰ From lines 26 and 60 of the text it may be concluded that one bundle (*parru*) was equal to 4 *adukku* of betel-leaves

¹¹ Provision is made for the supply of areca-nuts and betel-leaves in three of the Tanjore inscriptions, where only the aggregate cost of both is given (Nos 6, 26 and 35 of *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II) 1 *nāl* of paddy for 8 areca-nuts and 32 betel-leaves (No 6); 4 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts and 60 betel-leaves (No 26), and 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 12 areca nuts and 24 betel-leaves (No 35)

¹² The actual calculation yields 36 *nāl* of lime annually, costing 72 *nāl* of paddy, i.e. 18 *nāl* less than a *kalam* (= 90 *nāl* according to this inscription) or 12 *kurun* But it has been pointed out that a *kalam* was made up of 15 *kurun* (note 8 above) Thus the *kurun* was equal to 6 *nāl*, instead of the more common 8 *nāl* With this equivalent of the *kurun* the calculation in the text would be correct

¹³ This calculation would be correct only on the assumption that a *kalam* was equal to 15 *kurun* and a *kurun* equal to 6 *nāl*, see the preceding note

(the members of the village assembly) might provide (the requirements) day by day¹ for a long time² without (any) obstruction.

No 11 — MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III ;
SAKA-SAMVAT 984

By STEN KONOW, PH D , CHRISTIANIA.

THIS inscription is found on a set of copper-plates which have been deposited in the Madras Museum. I do not know where they have been originally found. I publish the inscription from excellent ink-impressions³ supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, M A , who describes the plates as follows —

“The plates are five in number. The first bears writing on the inner side only. The last is completely blank, it was evidently put in to protect the single line of writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates have slightly raised rims (though in certain places these are either beaten down or worn away) and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered into the lower part of a round seal. About the middle of the seal is a seated Nandin, whose tail extends to the bottom of the seal. From either side of the hind part of the Nandin proceed what may be taken for lotus buds. On the proper left of the Nandin are two flag-staffs placed one by the side of the other, with a bowl above them, and on the proper right of it are a conch, a lampstand and a dagger. The ring was cut by me. It is not quite circular. The diameter varies between 5" and 4½". The thickness of the ring is ½". The seal is roughly 2½" in diameter. The following measurements of the plates show that, as regards breadth, they are slightly bigger in the middle than at the ends, while, as regards height, the reverse is the case —

Average breadth of plates	.	.	.	.	.	9½"	9½"	9½"
Average height of plates	.	.	.	.	.	4½"	4"	4½"

The fourth plate is comparatively small in height, measuring 4½" at the ends and almost 4" in the middle."

The inscription consists of 54 lines. The greater part is in a good state of preservation. The fourth plate, however, is rather corroded, and some passages of it can only be read with difficulty.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the same kind as in the Nadagām plates of Vajrahasta of Śaka-Samvat 979.⁴ The class nasal, and not the *Anusvāra*, is used before class mutes. Exceptions from this rule are °चोत्तुग° in l 9, and °च° in l 48. Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in °निर्जिता°, l 26. व is written for व throughout. स has been substituted for श in सहीस, l 25, and °सत°, l 49. On the other hand, we find श for स in °यौतश्च., l 21, चाशीन, l 39, and °रवस्य, l 54. A nasal with a following guttural or palatal is written in the same way as in the Nadagām plates. Note further such writings as समुव्वल, ll 7 and 24, प्रच्छालित instead of प्रचालित, l 3, and प्रयोदन्मद° instead of प्रयोत्तन्मद°, l 19.

¹ The word *niyadā* is apparently synonymous with *niśadam* which occurs frequently in the Tanjore inscriptions, and with *niśadā* in the Trichinopoly cave epigraph of Varaguna (Director-General's Annual for 1903-4, p 275, text line 19).

² In later inscriptions the phrase *nedan-gālamum* is replaced by the Sanskrit *chandrādityavat*, 'as long as the moon and the sun (endure)'

³ Since the above was written, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the original plates together with Mr Venkayya.

⁴ Above, Vol IV p 183 ff

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains the same twelve verses as the Nadagām plates of Śaka-Samvat 979. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The first 41 lines are almost identical with the corresponding portion of the Nadagām plates. They are, however, more carefully engraved and give several passages in a more correct form.

The inscription is one of king Vajrahasta (III), the son of Kāmārṇava (II.) of the Gāṅga lineage, and of Vinayamahādēvi of the Vaidumba family. His genealogy is given in the same words as in the Nadagām plates, from Gunamahārṇava downwards, including the date of Vajrahasta's coronation¹. The inscription then goes on to state (l. 40 ff.) that 'the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the lord of the three Kalingas, the glorious Anantavarman Vajrahastadēva, being in good health, issues the following order from Kalinganagara, having called together all the subjects, headed by the ministers'—"Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother, father, and Ourselves, the village named Tāmaracheru in Varāhavartanī, combined with the Chikhali hamlet (*vāṭaka*), circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, as an *Agrahāra*, to five hundred learned Brāhmanas who delight in the six acts of sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, [giving] and accepting, (and) who are well versed in sacred lore, in the Śaka year of the dice (4), the Vasus (8) and the treasures (8), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. Therefore (Our gift) should be preserved by future kings in compliance with the law proclaimed by Manu. Moreover, land with the produce of two hundred *Murakas* of grain has been given, to last as long as the moon and the sun, free from hindrances, to the god Kōtīśvara² for (the maintenance of the rites of) *Bali*, *Oharu*, *Nawēdya*, *Dīpapūjā*, and so on. And the repairs of what is broken and torn in this (temple) should without fail be effected by the Brāhmanas living there."

The inscription does not add anything to our knowledge of the history of king Vajrahasta III. We only learn that he also had the name Anantavarman, like his grandson Chōdagangadēva.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kalinganagara has been identified by Mr. Ramamurti³ with the villages Mukhalangam and Nagarakatakam in the Ganjam district. Varāhavartanī occurs in several Gāṅga grants⁴. The village of Tāmaracheru is also known from Gāṅga inscriptions. Its boundaries are given in the Chicacole plates of the *Mahārāja Dēvendravarman*,⁵ in which the village Tāmaracheru is granted to three hundred Brāhmanas on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. The Chicacole plates of the Gāṅga *Mahārāja Indravarman*, issued from Kalinganagara in Gāṅgēya-Samvat 128,⁶ further state that the village of Tāmaracheru was granted to certain Brāhmanas on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mārgaśīra. The latter inscription mentions *Tāmaracheru-grāmaṁ bā(vā)ṭakā(ka)-sahita[m]* (l. 8 f.). This *vāṭaka* is perhaps identical with the Chikhali-vāṭaka of our inscription. The village of Tāmaracheru has not as yet been identified. It should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.

The date of the grant is found in a part of the inscription which has not been so well preserved as the rest. The first word is scarcely legible in the ink-impression. After a careful examination of the original, however, Mr. Venkayya and myself find that the reading *kṛta* is certain. The date of the inscription is accordingly the Śaka year 984. If we take this to be

¹ Above, Vol. IV p. 185, Vol. V Appendix, p. 50, No. 355

² This was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tāmaracheru.

³ Above, Vol. IV p. 187 f.

⁴ Above, Vol. III p. 127, note 5, Vol. V. p. 185, note 5, etc.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 273 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 119 ff.

the current Śaka year, the date would correspond to A.D. 1061-62. Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to inform Professor Hultzsch that the only eclipse of the sun which was (slightly) visible in Ganjam between the Śaka years 980—989 took place on the 20th June A.D. 1061. This would therefore be the date of our inscription.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 श्री² स्वस्त्य³ श्रीमतामखिलभुवनविनुतनय[विनयद]यादान[दा]चिण्यसत्य[श्री]-
- 2 चशौर्थ्यैथ्यादिगुणरत्नपवित्रकाणामात्रेयगोत्राणां विमलविचारा-
- 3 चारपुण्यसलिलप्रच्यालितकलिकालिकल्मषमघीणां⁴ [महाम]हेन्द्राचल-
- 4 शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननि-
- 5 र्मार्णैकसूत्रधारस्य⁵ शशाङ्क[चू]डांमणेरभगवतो गो-
- 6 कर्णस्वामिनः प्रसादात्समासादितैकशङ्खभेरीप-
- 7⁶ च्चमाहाशब्दधवलच्छत्रहेमच[†*]मरवरहृषभलाञ्छनसमुज्ज्वल-
- 8⁷ सत्यस्तसाम्राज्यमाहिष्मामनेकसमरसङ्घट्टसमुपलब्धविजयलम्बी-
- 9 समालिङ्गितो[त्तु]ग[भु]जदण्डम[रिड]तानां त्रिकलिङ्गम[हो]भुजां [गा-]

Second Plate, First Side.

- 10 [ङ्गा]नामन्वयमलङ्कारि[णोर्विणोरि]व⁸ विक्र[†]माक्रान्तधरामण्डल-
- 11 त्य गुणमहाण्यवमहाराजस्य पुत्रः ॥०॥ पूर्व⁹ भूपतिमर्विभञ्ज्य
- 12 वसुधा या पञ्चभि[†*]¹⁰ पञ्चधा भुक्ता भूरिपराक्रमो¹¹ भुजवलात्त[†*]ने-
- 13 क एव स्वयं [†*]¹² एकीकृत¹³ विजित्य मत्तनिवहान्¹⁴ श्रीव-
- 14¹⁵ जहस्तस्यतुचात्वारिंशतमत्युदार[†]स्म[रित्व[†*]] सर्वा-
- 15 मरचीत्समाः ॥ [†*]¹⁶ तस्य तनयो गुण्डमराज¹⁷ [व]पत्रयं-
- 16 मप[†*]लयन्नहीं ॥ तदनुजः कामार्णवदे[व]: पञ्चत्रिंश[†]तम-
- 17 [व्द]कान¹⁸ ॥ तस्यानुजो विनयादित्य[†*]¹⁹ समाससः²⁰ ॥ ततः²¹ कामार्णवा-
- 18 जातो जगतीक[ल्पभू]रुहः [†*]²² योराजद्राजितः²³ च्यो वज्रह[†]र-

¹ From the original plates² Read स्वस्ति³ Read °चूडामणेरभ². The 4 stroke is not visible in the ink-impression⁴ Read °महाशब्द°, °च्छत्र°, °समुज्ज्वल°.⁵ This looks like °वात्रीहोर्विव.⁶ Before पञ्चधा the engraver began to write च, but subsequently cancelled it⁷ Read °वला°⁸ Read °हस्तयत्यला°, °रचित.⁹ Read समाससः.² Expressed by a symbol⁴ Read °प्रच्यालितकलिकाल°.⁷ Read समस्त°, °महिमा°, °समुपलब्ध°, °लक्ष्मी°⁹ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita, read सूपतिभि°.¹² Read °कृत्य¹⁵ Read °राजो वर्षत्रय-¹⁸ Metre Ślōka, read °वाज्जातो¹⁹ Read शत्रुनिवहान्क्षी°²⁰ Read °मद्कान्²¹ Read °द्राजितच्छायो

11 a

11b

Collotype by Gebr Plittner, Halle-Saale

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 स्तोवनीपतिः ॥ [२*] ¹प्रद्योदन्मदगन्धलुब्धमधुपव्यालीढगण्डा[न्ग]जान्नात्थि-²
 20 भ्यस्त्रमदात्सहस्रमतुलो य[स्त्य]ागिनामग्रणी[: 1*] स(:) [श्रीम]ाननिय-
 21 झभीमनृपातिगाङ्गान्वयोतंशकः³ (i) पञ्चत्रिंशतमव्दकान्मम-⁴
 22 भुनक्पृथ्वी⁵ [स्तु]तः पार्थिवैः ॥ [३*] तदग्रसूनुः⁶ सुरराजसूनुना
 23 समस्त्रमस्तां [श*]मितारिमण्डलः [1*] स्म पाति कामार्णवभूपतिर्भुव⁷
 24 समृद्धिमानर्हसमा⁸ समुज्ज्वलः ॥ [४*] तदनु⁹ तदनुजन्मो¹⁰ चित्तजन्मो(प)-
 25 पमानो गुणनिधिरनवद्यो गुण्डमाख्यो महीसः¹¹ [1*] [स*]कलमिदमरक्षत्रीणि¹²
 26 वर्षाणि धात्रीवल्लयमलघुतेजोनिर्जितारातिचक्रः ॥ [५*] ततो¹³ हेमातुरस्तस्य म-
 27 धुकामार्णवो नृपः । अवति स्मावनीमेताम[व्द]ामेकर्णविशति¹⁴ ॥ [६*] ० ॥

Third Plate, First Side

- 28 अथ¹⁵ वज्रहस्तनृपतेरग्रसुतादखिलगुणिजनाग्र्यः [1*] कामा[र्णवा]-
 29 ¹⁶क्ववन्द्रप्रगीयमानावदातशुभकीर्त्तः ॥ [७*] श्रीय¹⁷ इव ¹⁸वेदुम्बान्वय[प]-
 30 यःपयोनिधिसमुद्भवायाश्च [1*] य(1): समजनि ¹⁹विनयम[हा*]देव्याः श्रीवज्रह-
 31 स्त इति त[न*]यः ॥ [८*] ²⁰वियदृतुनिधिसंख्या²¹ याति ²²शाकाव्दसङ्घे दिन[क्त]-
 32 [ति] हृत्पभस्ते²³ रोहिणीमे सुलग्ने [1*] धनुषि च सितपये²⁴ सूर्य[वार]े व-
 33 तीयांयुजि²⁵ सकलवरित्री रक्षितु योभिपित्तः ॥ [९*] न्यायेन²⁶ यत्र
 34 सममाचरितुं त्रिवर्गे²⁷ मार्गेण रक्षति महीम²⁸ महितप्रतापे [1*] नि-
 [व्या]धय-
 35 य निरसाश्च²⁹ निरापदश्च शश्वत्पजा³⁰ भुवि भवन्ति विभूतिमत्यः ॥ [१०*] व्या-³¹
 36 से ³²गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य स्यशसा³³ दि[क्क]क्रवाले शशिप्रद्योतामलिनेन य-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 37 स्य भुवन(:)प्र[ह्वा]दसम्पादिना [1*] सिन्दूरैरतिसान्द्रपङ्क[प*]टलै[:*] [कुम्भ]स्थली
 38 पट्टके[व्]ालिम्पन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणा वारणान³⁴ ॥ [११*] ³⁵अनुरागे-

¹ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita, read प्रद्योत°, °लुब्ध°

² Read °नृपातिगाङ्गान्वयीतसक .

³ Metre Vamśastha

⁴ Metre Mālinī

⁵ Read °रक्षत्रीणि

⁶ Metre Giti

⁷ Read वेदुम्बा°

⁸ Read °संख्या

⁹ Read हृत्पभस्ते The second वृ seems to have been cancelled by the engraver

¹⁰ Read सितपये

¹¹ Read त्रिवर्गे

¹² Read शश्वत्पजा

¹³ Read यशसा

¹⁴ Read °मन्त्रकान्सम-

¹⁵ Read °भुव

¹⁶ Read °जन्मा.

¹⁷ Metre Ślōka, read हेमा°

¹⁸ Read रक्षत्रीन्द्र°

¹⁹ Read विनयमहा°

²⁰ Read शाकाव्द°

²¹ Read °यायुजि सकलवरित्री°

²² Read महीम्

²³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

²⁴ Read °णान्

²⁵ Read °गजानर्त्य-

²⁶ Read भुनक्पृथ्वी°

²⁷ Read °समा समुज्ज्वल

²⁸ Read महीश

²⁹ Read °मन्त्रानेकात्रविशति

³⁰ Metre Giti, read श्रिय

³¹ Metre Mālinī

³² Metre Vasantatilaka

³³ Read निरघाश

³⁴ Read गङ्गा°

³⁵ Metre Ślōka

- 39 ए गुणीनी¹ यस्य वक्षोमुखावयोः² [।*] आशीने³ श्रीसरस्वत्यावनुकूले
 40 विराजतः ॥ [१२*] ०॥ ⁴कलिङ्गनगरातारममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टा-
 41 रक[म*]हाराजाधिराजत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमदनन्तवर्मा व-
 42 जहस्तदेव[ः*] कुशली ⁵समस्तामात्यप्रमुखजनपदान्समा[ह]य [स]-
 43 माज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां ॥ वराहव[र्त्त]न्यां । तामरचे-
 44 रुग्रामो नाम (।) चिखलीवाटकेन⁶ सममेकीकृत्य ॥ चतुष्सीमा-
 45 ⁷वच्छिन्नक्षजलस्थलक्षर्वपोडाविहर्जितमाचन्द्रार्कचितिस-

Fourth Plate, First Side.

- 46 सकालं यावन्मातापित्रोरात्मनः पुण्यशोभि[हृदये कृत]व-
 47 सुनिधिशकाब्दे⁸ । सूर्यग्रहोपरागे । विहङ्गो य[ज]नया[ज]ना[ध्यय]-
 48 नाध्यापन[दान*]प्रतिग्रहषट्कर्म्मनिरतेभ्यो ⁹वज्रव[र्त्ते]मङ्गलः ॥ पंच-
 49 ¹⁰सत[त्राक्षणे]भ्य उदकपूर्वकं कृत्वाग्रहारोष्माभिः
 50 प्रदत्तस्तस्माद्भाविभि[र्भू]मि[पा]लैर्मुनोन्मोदधर्मागौ-¹¹
 51 रवात्परिपालनीयमिति¹² ॥ अपर च । कोटीश्वर-
 52 देवाय आचन्द्रार्कपर्यन्तं निर्व्विरोधा । ¹³वलिचरुनैवेद्यदीपपू-
 53 जाद्यर्थं धान्यमुरकशतद्वयोत्पत्त्या¹⁴ भूमिर्हता । तत्र च । खण्डस्तु-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 54 टितभग्नघटनं ¹⁵तत्रस्थवाङ्मणेरवस्यं कर्त्तव्यमिति ॥

No. 12 — TALAMANCHI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I.; A.D. 660.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE)

This inscription was first published by Messrs A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 189 ff. According to p. 192 of the same work, the plates were "discovered about 12 years ago by a servant of Adapalli Venkata Reddi of Párlapalli

¹ Read गुणीनी.

⁴ Read "नगरात्परम".

² Read "वक्षोयोः".

³ Read आसीने.

⁶ The engraver had originally written "वाटकेन".

⁵ Read "मात्य".

⁷ The engraver originally wrote "जस्यलस्थल", but cancelled the first स्त. Read "विहर्जित"; after the त an १ has been cancelled.

⁸ Read "शकाब्दे".

⁹ The reading of this word is very uncertain, read perhaps ब्रह्मवर्त्ते.

¹⁰ Read शतब्राह्म.

¹² Read "पालनीय इति".

¹¹ Read "भूमिपालैर्मुनोन्मोदधर्मागौ".

¹³ Read वलि.

¹⁴ Read "उत्पत्त्या".

¹⁵ The engraver seems to have begun to write तत्र, but the ८-stroke has been left unfinished, read "तत्रस्थवाङ्मणेरवस्यं".

while ploughing some land known as Talamanchipádu in Talamanchi of Nellore taluk¹ where a flourishing village is said to have once stood " They "have been sent to the Madras Museum at the request of the owner" I re-edit the inscription from three sets of ink-impressions, kindly prepared at my request by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the original as follows:—

"Three copper-plates, of which the first and last are engraved on their inner side only. They measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth The height of the plates is not uniform. Generally they are higher in the margins than in the middle

	Height in the margins	Height in the middle
1st plate:	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "	$3\frac{1}{8}$ "
2nd plate:	$3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "
3rd plate:	$3\frac{1}{4}$ " & $3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "

Through circular holes bored on the left margin of each plate passes an oval ring measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ " by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". It is nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a seal, which is also oval and measures 1" by $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The emblems on the seal, which appear to have been engraved on a countersunk surface, are much worn, but show a lump in the middle—perhaps meant to represent a boar The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 80 tolas."

The writing on the plates is well preserved, excepting a few letters near the margins of plate i. and plate ii. a The alphabet resembles that of two other grants of Vikramāditya I² The *upadhmānīya* is used once (l. 24), a final form of *m* twice (ll 24, 27), and one of *n* once (l 17) The three Dravidian letters *l*, *ḷ* and *r*, the second of which has the same shape as the *upadhmānīya*, occur in the two village names *Elasatti* (l. 23) and *Koḷchumko[nra]* (l 22) The language is Sanskrit There are four well-known Anushtubh verses . one at the beginning and three near the end; the remainder of the inscription is in prose.

The document was issued in the sixth year of the reign (l. 20) of the (Western) Chalukya (l. 5) Vikramāditya (L), the son of Satyāśraya (= Pulakēśin II), grandson of Kirtivarman (L) and great-grandson of Polikeśin (I) Each of these four kings receives the same laudatory epithets as in other published grants of the same period. The new inscription records the grant of the village of *Elasatti*,³ north of *Koḷchumko[nra]*, to Śrīmēghāchārya (ll 22 and 31 f), the preceptor (*guru*) of Vikramāditya I, and was written by Vajravarman of the Vaidya family

The historical importance of the plates lies chiefly in the date of the grant (l 20 f), regarding which Prof Kielhorn kindly contributes the Postscript on p 102 below On the strength of the latter I have added the date "A D 660" to the title of this article and to the heading of the accompanying Plate

TEXT.⁴

First Plate

1 जयत्वा[विष्कृतं विष्णो]र्वीराहं चोभिताण्णं[वं] [1*] दत्ति[णी]न्नतदंष्ट्राय-
विश्रान्तभु-

¹ On the map prefixed to the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Talamanchi is marked by the figure '32' on the north of Nellore town

² *Journ Bombay Br. E. A S* Vol XVI pp 235 and 238

³ Messrs Rutterworth and Venugopal Chetti are unable to identify this village; see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Preface, p. vi

⁴ From three sets of ink-impressions.

- 2 वन वयुः [॥ १*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्रा-
 3 णां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तक-
 4 ल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेच-
 5 णक्षयवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलिक्थानां कुलमलंकरिणीरश्वमे-
 6 धावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपोलिकेशिवल्लभमहाराज-
 7 स्य प्रपौत्रः ¹पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डलप्रणिवद्धविशुद्ध-
 8 ²[वि]शुद्धकीर्त्तेश्चकीर्त्तेश्चकीर्त्तेश्चकीर्त्तिवन्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्रः समर-
 9 [सं]सक्तसकलोत्तराप[थि]श्वरश्री[हर्षवर्द्धनपरा]ज[योप]ल[ब्ध]परमेश्वरा-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 [पर]नामधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व[र]-
 11 [स्य] प्रियतनयः³ चित्रकण्ठाख्यप्रवरतुरंगमेणैकेनैव प्रतीतानेकस-
 12 मरमुखेषु रिपुनृपतिरुधिरजलास्त्रादनरनायज्वलदमलनिशितनिस्त्रिंश-⁴
 13 धारया च धृतधरणीभरभुजगभोगसदृशनिजभुजविजितविजिगीषुः⁵
 14 आत्मकवचावमग्नानेकप्रहारस्त्रगु[रोश्चिश्य]मवनिपतित्रितया-
 15 ⁶न्तरितामात्मसात्कृत्य ⁷कृतैकाधिष्ठितागे[परा]ज्यभरस्तस्मिन्नान्य-
 16 त्रये विनष्टानि देवस्त्रज्जदेयानि धर्म्मयशोभिवृद्धये स्वमुखेन स्था-
 17 पितवान् रणशिरसि रिपुनरेन्द्रान्दिशि दिशि जित्वा स्ववंशजां लक्ष्मी
 प्राप्य च
 18 परमेश्वरतामनिवारितविक्रमादित्यः⁸ विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृ-
 19 [थि]वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्त्रा[ना]ना[ज्ञा]प[यति] [॥*] विधित-⁹

Second Plate, Second Side

- 20 [म]स्तु ¹⁰भोक्ताभिः प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यपदवत्सरतमे¹¹ आव-
 21 णमाससूर्यग्रहणे¹² उदकपूर्वं साङ्गोपाङ्गवेदविदुषे वासिष्ठ-
 22 सगोत्राय श्रीमेघाचार्याय स्वकीयगुरवे को०७७चुंको[न०७७]ग्राम-
 23 स्थोत्तरपार्श्वे¹³ एकसत्तिर्नाम ग्रामः¹⁴ मातापित्रोरात्मन-
 24 ऽपुण्ययशोवाप्तये सर्ववोधापरिहार¹⁵ दत्तम् [॥*] आचन्द्रार्क-

¹ Read °क्रान्त°.

² Read °तनयश्चित्र°.

³ Read °पुरात्म°.

⁴ Read कृतैकाधिष्ठिताशेष°.

⁵ Read की°.

⁶ Read °पार्श्व°.

⁷ Cancel the second °विशुद्ध° and the second °कीर्त्तेश्च°.

⁸ Instead of °रनाय° read °रसनायमान°.

⁹ Cancel the *anusvara* of तां and read °सात्क्रवा°.

¹⁰ Read °दिल्ली°.

¹¹ Read °पञ्चसवत्सरे°.

¹² Read ग्रामी°.

¹³ Read विदित°.

¹⁴ Read °ग्रहण°.

¹⁵ Read सर्ववोधापरिहारो दत्तः°.

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From ink impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya.

- 25 धरास्वस्थितिसमकालं यशस्विचीषुभिस्त्वदत्तिनिर्विशेषं परि-
 26 पालनीयं [॥*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं [१*] दानं
 27 वा पालनं वेति दानाच्चेयोनुपालनमिमं [॥ २*]

Third Plate

- 28 उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन² [॥*] बहुभिर्विमुखा भुक्ता
 29 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 30 तदा फलं [॥ ३*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा[म् १*] षष्टिं व-
 31 र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिरिति । [४*] श्रीमेघाचा-
 32 र्यस्यान्वयस्य शासनं वैद्यान्वयश्रीवच्चवर्मणा लिखितं [॥*]
 33 स्वस्त्यस्तु गोत्राङ्गणेभ्यः [१*] ओ³ ॥—

TRANSLATION.

[Verse 1 contains an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu]

(Lane 2) The great-grandson of the glorious Polikēsi-Vallabha-Mahārāja, whose body was purified by bathing at the end of a horse-sacrifice, (and) who adorned the family of the glorious Chalukyas;⁴

(L 7) The grandson of the glorious Kirtivarma-Prithivivallabha-Mahārāja, whose pure fame was established in the territories of hostile kings, such as Vanavāsi, which had been subdued by (his) valour ;

(L 8.) The dear son of Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara,⁵ who acquired the surname of 'supreme lord' (*paramēśvara*) by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the lord of the whole northern country, who had encountered (him) in battle ,

(L 11) He who, at the head of many famous battles, (*assisted*) by none but (his) noble steed named Chitrakantha and by the edge of (his) glittering, spotless and sharp sword which behaved like a tongue in licking the blood of hostile kings, conquered would-be conquerors by his own arms which resembled the coils of the serpent who carries the burden of the earth, into whose own armour many blows had plunged, who, having gained for himself the royalty of his father, which had been concealed by the trad of kings,⁶ caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself) alone, who, for the increase of (his) merit and fame, by his own mouth confirmed the property of temples and the grants to Brāhmanas which had lapsed in that trad of kingdoms, the sun of whose valour (*became*) irresistible after he had recovered at the head of battles the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter, and after he had acquired the title of 'supreme lord' (*paramēśvara*), Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara commands all people (*as follows*) —

(L. 19) "Be it known to you (*that*), in the sixth year of (Our) reign of growing victory, at an eclipse of the sun in the month of Śrāvana, the village named Eḷasatti on

¹ Read °नमिति

² The & of व्या is expressed twice.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The usual epithets of this family (ll. 2-5) are omitted in the translation.

⁵ I.e. Pulakēsin II.

⁶ Viz. the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Kērala. Compare one of the epithets applied to Vikramāditya I. in the grants of his son Vinayāditya, above, Vol. V p. 202, note 16.

the northern side of the village of Kolchumko[nra] has been given by Us, with libations of water, with exemption from all molestation, to Our own preceptor (*guru*) Śrīmēghāchārya of the Vaiśiṣṭha *gōtra*, who knows the Vēdas with (their) *Angas* and *Upāngas* in order that (Our) mother and father and Ourselves might obtain merit and fame As long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the oceans shall exist, (*this grant*) should be protected without distinction from their own gifts by those who desire to accumulate fame"

[Verses 2-4 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L 31) (*This*) edict (*in favour*) of the family of Śrīmēghāchārya was written by the illustrious Vajravarmaṇ of the Vaidya family Let there be welfare to cows and Brāhmanas!
Om

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KILLHOEN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN

The inscription edited above by Prof. Hultzsch is dated in the 6th year of the reign of the W Chalukya Vikramāditya I, at the time of a solar eclipse in the month Śrāvana. From page 2 of Appendix II to Vol VIII. of this Journal it will be seen that this date must necessarily fall between A.D. 635 and 685, and from what we know to be the general rule regarding eclipses that are quoted in dates, we may conclude that the eclipse here referred to most probably was one that was visible at Bādāmi, the capital of the W Chalukyas, situated in about Long. 76° and Lat. 16°

Now it so happens that during the fifty years from A.D. 635 to 685 there was, in both the *pūrṇimānta* and the *amānta* month Śrāvana, only a single solar eclipse that could have been at all visible at Bādāmi, viz. the eclipse which took place 3 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660. That eclipse, an annular one, was fully visible at Bādāmi, and the 13th July A.D. 660 was the 15th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvana. We may compare especially the solar eclipse in the date of the Pattadakal duplicate pillar inscription of the reign of the W Chalukya Kirtivarman II. (No. 48 of my *Southern List*), of the 25th June A.D. 754, which likewise took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvana, and to show that in early times the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the months was prevalent in Southern India, we may also cite the solar eclipse in the date of No. 9 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada, and the solar eclipse in the date of No. 551 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna.

Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660 (in Śaka-saṃvat 582) would thus be in every way a suitable equivalent of our date; that it is its true equivalent is rendered more than probable by the date of the Nerūr plates of the queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā (No. 23 of my *Southern List*). That date corresponds to the 23rd September A.D. 659, and is of the 5th year of a reign of which hitherto it appeared doubtful whether it was the reign of Vikramāditya's eldest brother Chandrāditya or of Vikramāditya himself. Since we now have a date in A.D. 660 which would be a most proper equivalent for a date of the 6th year of the reign of Vikramāditya I, the date in A.D. 659 must surely be definitely assigned to the 5th year of the same reign, and the two dates in my opinion must be taken to prove that Vikramāditya I. commenced to reign between some time in September A.D. 654 and July A.D. 655.¹

¹ Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p. 363, arrived at the conclusion that "we shall probably be very close to the mark, if we place the formal commencement of his reign somewhere in the autumn of . . . A.D. 655."

No 13.—MANDHATA PLATES OF DEVAPALA AND JAYAVARMAN II.
OF MALAVA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CLE ; GÖTTINGEN.

Of the Paramāra kings, who ruled over Mālava for more than three hundred years, there have been published hitherto the texts of twelve copper-plate and three stone inscriptions. We have besides short notices of about half a dozen other stone inscriptions, generally of small extent or importance. Of the copper-plate inscriptions, three were first edited by Colebrooke in 1824, two by L. Wilkinson in 1836 and 1838, one by Rajendralal Mitra in 1850, and three by FitzEdward Hall in 1860 and 1861. Of the stone inscriptions, the largest was first edited by Bal Gangadhar Shastri in 1843, and another by FitzEdward Hall in 1859. And from these *editiones principes* the genealogy of the Paramāras of Mālava, with most of their dates, might have been drawn up, about fifty years ago, very nearly as I have given it above, Vol. VIII. App I. pp 14 and 15. Moreover, of so important a king as Udayāditya we even to-day hardly possess more than that 'wretched scrawl,' made known in 1840, of a person 'who knew nothing of Udayāditya's family.' I mention this to show how little that is really new we have learnt about Mālava, from its own records, for half a century, and to indicate what chances are open to the officials of the Archaeological Survey of India to enrich our knowledge of the history of that country. For, in my opinion, a systematic search for inscriptions in the ancient Mālava country will be sure to bring to light numerous documents of importance. Even now such a search has been well inaugurated.

In 1903 there were discovered at Dhār the inscriptions published above, Vol. VIII p 96 ff. and p. 241 ff., highly interesting from a literary point of view. And in 1904 and 1905 were found, at or near Māndhātā, the two copper-plate inscriptions now here edited. These plates are of some value inasmuch as they show how Dēvapāla, one of the later kings of Mālava who was already known to us, was related to preceding rulers, and as they give us the names of two sons of his, Jaitugidēva and Jayavarman [II.], who, one after the other, succeeded him.

A.—MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF DĒVAPĀLA ; [VIKRĀMA]-SĀMVAṬ 1282.

These plates were found, in May 1905, near the temple of Siddhēśvara at Māndhātā, an island in the Narmadā (Narbada, Nerbudda) river attached to the Nimār district of the Central Provinces.¹ They were discovered enclosed in a chest made of two stones, 1' 8½" long by 1' 5½" broad. They are now in the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur, to which they have been presented by Rao Jaswant Singh of Māndhātā. The first account of them was given by an old pupil of mine, Mr. Lele, Director of Education in the Dhār State,² and a transcript of the inscription engraved on them, with a translation and notes, was afterwards furnished to the authorities by Mr. Pyari Lal Ganguli, pleader of Nimār. The text and a translation, with an introduction, have also been sent to the Government Epigraphist by Pandit Hiranand Shastri, Curator of the Nāgpur Museum. At Prof. Hultzsch's request, I edit the inscription which is on these plates from impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Cousens.

The inscription is on three plates, which are stated to measure about 1' 5½" broad by 1' high, and of which the second is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third plates are

¹ See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p 257 ff.; *Constable's Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, C d; and above, Vol. III p 46. On the temple of Siddhēśvara see also *Archaeol. Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-04*, p. 57.

² Mr. Lele at the time most kindly offered to send me impressions of the plates, but was somehow or other prevented from doing so. I take the opportunity of thanking him here also publicly for the generosity with which he has made over to me his valuable impressions of the Dhār inscriptions published in Vol. VII. of this Journal.

- 29 hāvanasthāna-vinirggatāya Kātyāyana-gōtrāya¹ Śā(śā)ma² ēd-ādhyāyine³ tri⁴
 Rāmésya(śva)ra-pautrāya tri⁵ Jasōdhara-³putrāya tri⁶ Sūrasarmmanē⁴
 vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ē-
- 30 kam 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-⁵gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āngirasa-
 Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-pravarāya Kanthumaśākh-ādhyāyi-
- 31 nē tri⁵ Dālana-pautrāya tri⁶ Āśādhara-putrāya tri⁷ Visvēsvaraśarmmanē⁴
 vra(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvā-
- 32 ja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āngirasa-Vā(bā)rhasya(spa)ty-ēti tri-pravarāya Mādhyamdina-
 śākh-ādhyāyine³ di⁸ Kēlhana-pautrāya di⁹ Madhu-putrāya di¹⁰ Rā-
- 33 masa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanā[y]a vamtakam=ēkam 1 Tripurīsthāna-
 vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āngirasa-Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-
 prava-
- 34 rāya pam¹¹ Haridhara-pautrāya pam¹² Mahīdhara-putrāya pam¹³ Bhṛigu-
 śarmmanē⁶ vrā(brā)hmanāya sārddham vamtakam=ēkam 1½ Mutavathūsthāna-¹
 vinirggatāya
- 35 Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyapa(p-Ā)vatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-
 ādhyāyine³ cha¹⁰ Prithvīdhara-pautrāya cha¹¹ Āśā(śā)dhara-pu-
- 36 trāya agni¹¹ Nārāyanaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1
 Akōlāsthāna-vinirggatāya Parāvaśu(su)-gōtrāya Parāvaśu(su)-Kāmākāya-
- 37 na-Kaikaśya¹² tri-pravarāya tha¹³ Bharatapāla-pautrāya tha¹⁴ Dālana-pautrāya
 rāja-Gōśa(śa)laśarmmanē¹⁴ vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthā-
- 38 na-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyine³ Vāsī(su)shtha-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-
 Vāsī(su)shth-ēti tri-pravarāya chaturvēda-Janārdhana-pautrā-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 39 ya chaturvēda-Dharauīdhara-putrāya mahārājapamdita-srī-Gōśēśarmmanē⁶
 vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtaka-dvayam 2 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Ā-
- 40 śvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyine Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnurān¹⁵
 Aurvva-Jāmadagny-ēti pamcha-pravarāya cha¹⁶ . . . 16-pautrāya cha¹⁷
- 41 Vishnu-putrāya cha¹⁸ Rāmésya(śva)rasa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=
 ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalā[y*]nasākh-ādhyāyine³ Kāśyapa-
 gōtrā-
- 42 ya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya cha¹⁹ Samuddhara-pautrāya cha²⁰
 Dēvadhara-putrāya cha²¹ Gadādharaśa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=
 ēkam 1 Ma-
- 43 thurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyine³ Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava-
 Vatahavya-Sāvētas-ēti tri-pravarāya cha²² Pavitra-pautrā-
- 44 ya cha²³ Dharauīdhara-putrāya cha²⁴ Garbhēśva(śva)raśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya
 vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyi-

¹ Kātyāyana-gōtrāya was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line. Here, again, the *pravaras* are omitted.

² Here and below for *tri*², i.e. *trivēda*.

³ For *Yasōdhara*.

⁴ For *Sūrasarmmanē*.

⁵ In the place of the *akshara ra* originally *dva* was engraved.

⁶ Read *Vīśvēśvara*².

⁷ Thus, or *pam*¹⁰, here and below, = *pamdita*.

⁸ The *śākhā* of this man is omitted.

⁹ Below, in lines 47 and 49, the name is *Mutavathā*¹⁰.

¹⁰ I.e., here and below, *chaturvēda*.

¹¹ I.e., here and below, *agnihōtri*.

¹² Read *Kaikaśa*.

¹³ I.e., here and below, *thakkura*.

¹⁴ The *śākhā* of this man is omitted.

¹⁵ Read *Āpnavāna*; see below, lines 52 and 66.

¹⁶ Here an open space is left for a name of four syllables which has been omitted.

40

42

44

46

48

50

52

34

1

1

222.

60

02

10

72

74

79

1

1



- 45 né Kāśyapa-gôtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Samuddhara-
pautrāya cha° Dēvadhara-putrāya cha° Lōhataśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanā-
46 ya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Dīmdvānakasthāna-vinirggatāya ¹Śāmkshāyanaśākh-
ādhyāyinē Gautama-gôtrāya Gautam-Āmgirasa-Autatthy-ēti² tri-prava-
47 rāya cha° Dharanidhara-pautrāya cha° Vra(bra)hma-putrāya cha° Purushōttama-
śarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mutāvathūsthāna-vinirggatāya
Mādhyam-
48 dinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Kāśyapa-gôtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya
dvi°³ Gōvinda-pautrāya dvi° Vāsadhara-putrāya dvi° Gadā-
49 dharaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtaka(k-ā)rdham $\frac{1}{2}$ Mutāvathūsthāna-
vinirggatāya Mādhyamdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Kāśyapa-gôtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-
Naidhru-
50 v-ēti tri-pravarāya di° ⁴Gamgādhara-pautrāya di° Kēśava-putrāya Udaīsar-
mmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtaka(k-ā)rdham $\frac{1}{2}$ Mahāvanasthā[na*]-
vinirggatāya Kau-
51 thumaśākh-ādhyāyinē Gautama-gôtrāya Gautam-Āmgirasa-Autatthy-ēti tri-
pravarāya pam° Madana-pautrāya pam° Kāhna(nha)ḍa-putrāya pam°
Kuladharasa(śa)rmmanē
52 vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya⁵ Kauthumaśākh-
ādhyāyinē Vatsa-gôtrāya Bhāggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvān⁶ Aurvṣa-Jāmadagny-ē
3 ti pamcha-pravarāya tri° Janāddana-pautrāya tri° Naraśim(sim)ha-putrāya āva°
Abhinamdaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Madhyadēśa-
vinirggatā-
54 ya Mādhyamdī[na*]śākh-ādhyāyinē Mudgala-gôtrāya Āmgirasa(sa)-Bhara . . sa-⁸
Mudgal-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Chchhītū-pautrāya agni° Dharanidhara-putrā-
55 ya agni° Anantaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Madhyadēśa-
vinirggatāya Mādhyamdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Śāmdilya-gôtrāya Śāmdilya-Āśi(s)ta-
56 Déval-ēti tri-pravarāya yājñi°⁹ Nāgadēva-pautrāya yājñi° Kṛishna-putrāya agni°
Sthānēsva(śva)raśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-
vini-
57 rggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyinē Dhaumya-gôtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-[Nai*]dhruv-
ēti¹⁰ tri-pravarāya cha° Vishnu-pautrāya cha° Sādhārana-putrā-
58 ya cha° Ūdha[ra]śarmmanē¹¹ vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-
vinirggatāya ¹²Rānāyimisākh-ādhyāyinē Bhāradvāja-gôtrāya Āmgi-
59 rasa-Vā(bā)rhaspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya tri° Mādharma-pautrāya¹³ tri°
Sômēsva(śva)ra-putrāya tri° Kuladharasaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=
ēkam 1

Third Plate

- 60 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Rānāyimisākh-ādhyāyinē Bhāradvāja-gôtrāya Āmgirasa-
Vā(bā)rhaspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya tri° Ru(ri)shī-pautrāya tri°

¹ Read *Śāmkshāyana*° or, more correctly, *Śāmkhāyana*°

² *Autatthy-* = *Auchatthy-*; see below, B, line 33.

³ *I e*, here and below, *dviṣṭā-*.

⁴ Originally *Gāmgā*° was engraved, but the first *g* has been struck out

⁵ Originally *sthanam vi*° was engraved

⁶ Read *-Āpnarāna-*.

⁷ *I e*, here and below, *avasathika-*

⁸ In this name an open space is left for two syllables

The name which one would have expected is

Bhārmayasta

⁹ *I e*, here and below, *yājñika-*

¹⁰ The *akshara* *ē* is engraved above the line.

¹¹ Originally *Ūdhapa*° was engraved

¹² Read, here and below, *Rānāyanīyanaśākh-*

¹³ The *akshara* *dha* is engraved above the line

- 61 Mārkaṇḍa-putrāya tri° Madhusūdanasarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1
Saravatisthāna-vinirggatāya Kathasākh-ādhyāyinē [Har]ita-Kutsa-
- 62 gōtrāya Āngirāsa(sa)-¹ Amva(ba)riśha-Yauvanāsv(sv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Vijayī-
pautrāya cha° Ajayī-putrāya cha° Allisarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=
ēkam 1
- 63 Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Kāśyapa-gōtrīya Kāśyap-
Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya upā°² Nārāyana-pautrāya agni°³
- 64 ⁴Jasadēva-putrāya di° Lāhadasarmmanē⁵ vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1
Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Śāmdilya-gōtrāya A-
- 65 śi(śi)ta-Dēvala-Sām(śām)dily-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Katuka-pautrāya di° Puru-
shōttama-putrāya āva° Narasimhasarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1
Ma-
- 66 dhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Mārkaṇḍeya-gōtrāya
Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvān°⁶ Aurvva-Jāmadagny-ēti pamcha-pravarāya agni°
Chchbitū-pau-
- 67 trāya upā° - Dāmōdara-putrāya āva° Mārkaṇḍeyasarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya
vamtakam=ēkam 1 Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē
Bhāradvāja-gō-
- 68 tiāya Āngirāsa(sa)-⁷Vā(bā)ṛhaspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya dvi° Nārāyana-
pautrāya dvi° Padmanābha-putrāya pātha°⁸ Vāyudēvasarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya
vamtaka-
- 69 m=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanasākh-ādhyāyinē Kautsa-gōtrāya
Āngirāsa(sa)-Amva(ba)riśha-Yauvanāsv(sv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Hari-pau-
- 70 trāya cha° Janārdana-putrāya cha° Rājēśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=
arddham $\frac{1}{2}$ Hastināpura-vinirggatāya Kauthumasākh-ādhyāyinē Parāsa(śa)ra-gōtrā-
- 71 ya Pārāsa(śa)ra-Śakti-⁹Vasi(śi)shth-ēti tri-pravarāya pamcha°¹⁰ Kāhna(nha)da-
pautrāya pamcha° Kumara-putrāya pamdi°¹¹ Kusumapālasarmmanē
vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1
- 72 samastō=pi grāmaś=chatuhkamkata-¹²visu(śu)ddbah sa-vrikshamālakulah sa-
hiranyabhāgabhogah s-ōpankarah sarvādāya-samētah sa-midhnikshēpiḥ sha-
- 73 mhalātama[ka]-¹³samanvitō mātāpitṛrōr-ātmanas=cha punyaśaś-¹⁴bhivriddhayō
chamdrārkaṛnnavakshiti-samakālam yāvat=paraya(yā) bhaktyā śāsā(sa)nēn=ōdaka-
pūrvvam pradattah [I*] tan=ma-
- 74 tvā tannivāsi(śi)-pa[ta]kilajanapadair=yathādiyamāna-bhāgabhogakarahirayādīkam
dēvavrā(brā)hmanabhukti-varjjam=ājñā-vidhēyair=bhūtvā sarvām=ēbhayō vrā(brā)-
hmanēbhayō dātavyam [I*]
- 75 sāmānyam ch=aitat=punya-phalam vudhvā¹⁵ smadvamśajair=anyair=api bhāvi-
bhōktrībhīr=asmatpradatta-dharmmadāyō¹⁶ syam=anumantavyah pālānyas=cha¹⁷ ||
Uktam cha || ¹⁸Va(ba)hubhīr=vaśu(śu)dhā

¹ Originally *Āngirāsa* was engraved

² This sign of abbreviation is engraved at the commencement of the next line

³ For *Yatōdēva*

⁴ Read *Āpnuvāna*

⁵ I.e. *pāthaka*

⁶ I.e., here and below, *pañchakalpi* (?).

⁷ The *akṣhara* in brackets might possibly be read *chha*. As will be seen from the facsimile, the space between *lā* and *ta* at the commencement of line 73 is larger than it generally is between two *akṣharas*.

⁸ Read *punyaśaś*

⁹ One would have expected *dharmmadāyō*, but *dharmmadāyō* is the reading of most of the Paramāra copper-plates

¹⁰ Originally *śiśhaka* was engraved

¹¹ I.e., here and below, *upādhyāya*

¹² Originally *Lāhada*° was engraved

¹³ Originally *Āngirāsa* was engraved

¹⁴ Read *Śakti*, and see above, p. 109, note 8

¹⁵ I.e. *pamdi*

¹⁶ Read *chatuskarakāṣa*

¹⁷ Read *buddhvā*

¹⁸ Metre of this verse and the next ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

- 76 bhuktā rājabbhīh Sagar-ādibhīh | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
phalam || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō haṛēta vasumdhārām | sa
viśthāyām kṛmīr=bhūtvā pīṭribhīh saha
- 77 majjati || ¹Sarvvān=ēvam bhāvinō bhūmipālān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē
Rāmabhadrah [*] sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētur=nripānām kālē kālē pālānī-
- 78 yō bhavadbhīh || Iti² kamaladalāmnu(bu)vīndu-lōlām śrīyam=anuchintya
manushya-jīvitam cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitam cha vudhvā³ na hī pu-
- 79 rushaiḥ para-kīrtitayō vilōpyā iti || Samvat 1282 varshē Bhādra-sudī 15 Gurau ||
Dū⁴ śrīmu 3||⁵ Rachitam=idam[*] mahāsāndhi-
- 80 vīgrahika-pamḍita-śrī-Vī(b)lhana-sammatēna ⁶ rāja-gurunā Madanēna | Sva-hastō=
yam mahārāja-śrī-Dēvapālādēvasya || Mangalam mahā-śrīh [||*]

TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-22

Om ! Om ! Obeisance to *dharma*,⁷ the crest-jewel of the aims of man !

(Verse 1) May (the Moon), the Lord of the twice-born, gladdener of the world, after having openly accepted the earth in the guise of its reflection,⁸ bestow blessings on you !

(V 2) May that Paraśurāma be victorious, for whom, when he granted the earth (to the *Brāhmans*,) the very orb of the twilight-sun, pierced by the Kshatriyas slain (by him) in fight, became the copper-plate⁹

(V 3) May Rāma minister to your welfare, he who in battle quenched the fire of separation from his life's mistress by the water of Mandōdari's¹⁰ tears !

(V 4) May Yudhishtira be victorious, whose feet even Bhīma placed on his head, (and) whom the Moon, the progenitor of his race, framed as it were equal unto himself !

(V. 5) There was a king, great like Kamsa's conqueror,¹¹ an ornament of the Paramāra family, the glorious Bhōjadēva, who occupied the surface of the earth by the van of his army.¹²

¹ Metre Śālinī

² Metre Pushpitāgrā

³ Read *buddhvā*

⁴ I.e. *dūtakah* or *dūtah* (as in the inscription B)

⁵ For the exact shape of this mark, which is not a sign of punctuation, see the accompanying photo-lithograph.

⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁷ I find no English word by which I could fully express all the meanings of the Sanskrit *dharma*, in the present case 'religious merit' would perhaps best convey some idea of what is intended. The four aims of man are *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mōksha*

⁸ The spot (*kalanka*) in the moon is by poets taken to be the reflected image of the earth. Prof. Jacobi, who first drew my attention to this notion, quotes *Raghuvamśa* XIV 40, and especially *Haravijaya* XII 64, and I find that the idea is clearly expressed in verse 1982 of the *Subhāshitāvalī*, according to which 'others have said' that the spot in the moon is 'the reflected image of the earth' (*bhūmēś=cha bimbam parē*), compare also *ibid* v 2594, *śaśakekmanah parinatā pṛithvī kalankāyatē*. With *pratibimba-nibhāt* compare *pratibimba-mishāt* in the *Pārijātaṃgārī*, above, Vol VIII p 110, line 50, and with *jagad=āhlādayan*, as applied to the moon, *āhlādayan=viśvam* in *Ind Ant* Vol XVI p 208, line 1 — The Moon being a *devya* (or *Brāhman*), one of his privileges is to receive gifts (*prati-graha*), just as it is his duty to make them (*dāna*)

⁹ The verse has been called awkward, because it has not been understood. Since warriors slain in battle enter heaven through the sun, this luminary, covered with their blood, assumes the reddish hue of copper. In this state it appears in the twilight sky, and is thus represented to be the very copper-plate charter (*tāmra*) by which Paraśurāma granted the earth to the *Brāhmanas*. For the idea of warriors who are slain in battle splitting the sun compare, e.g., *Ep Ind* Vol II p 192, v. 33, *Subhāshitāvalī*, v 2274, and the pretty verse, given to illustrate the figure of *sākshma*, in *Ēkāvatī*, Bombay ed., p 325 *Navēshu kantiēshu kṛtābhīlāshāh svargāngandh prēkshya martīshimālī | Nṛsimha bhūpāla tav=ākarēshu kampākulam darśayati svalimbam ||*, afraid of being split, the sun trembles

¹⁰ Mandōdari was Ravana's favourite wife

¹¹ I.e. the god Kṛishṇa

¹² The word *nāstra* (i.e. *sānd-mukha*) occurs in the *Pārijātaṃgārī*, above, Vol VIII p 116, l. 78, also, e.g., in the *Naiṣadhyācharita*, XII 73 and XIII 23

(V 6) When the lustre of the moonlight of his glory overflowed the lap of the regions, there closed the day-lotuses of the glory accumulated by hostile kings

(V 7) Then came Udayāditya, whose one desire was constant enterprise, who, of unequalled glory as a hero, made inglorious his adversaries

(V 8) As lofty mountains, abounding in ridges, at the end of a mundane period are uprooted by impetuous winds, so in fierce contest how many rulers of the earth, abounding in armies, were not uprooted by his irresistible arrows!

(V 9) From him sprang king Naravarman, who cleft the vital parts of adversaries, the acme of kings, wise in upholding religion

(V 10) At every dawn freely granting shares of villages to Brahmins, he made religion, one-footed though it is (in this Kali age), possessed of several feet¹

(V 11) His son was Yaśovarman, the chaplet of Kshatriyas, (and) from him sprang his son Ajayavarman, renowned for the glory of victory

(V 12) His son, of auspicious birth, the foremost of heroes, was Vindhavarman, long of aim, eager to extirpate the Gûrjaras.

(V 13) The sword of this (king) skilled in war, with Dhârâ rescued by it, assumed three edges,² to protect as it were the three worlds

(V 14) Then the son of that illustrious one, king Subhatavarman, abiding by religion, ruled the surface of the earth, glorious like India

(V 15) The fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters, whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest-fire even to-day blazes in the town³ of the blustering Gûrjara!

(V 16) Now⁴ that he has attained unto godhead, his son king Arjuna supports with his arm the circle of the earth like a bracelet

(V 17) When in the battle which was his childhood's frolic Jayasimha took to flight, his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the quarters' guardians

(V 18) A treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (Sarasvatî) of the burden of her books and lyre

(V 19) This triple hero⁵ made his fame triply sprout. How otherwise did the three worlds acquire their whiteness?

¹ In the golden age *dharma* had four feet, of which it lost one in each subsequent age (*Parâsarasmriti*, ed. by Vâman Shastri Islampurkar, Vol I P I p 82). The word for 'share' in the original being *pada*, i.e. 'foot,' the king by granting shares of villages increased the number of *dharma's* feet and so brought back as it were the golden age. Compare *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 218, l 19 *mahâdândy asûnyâni kurovan=parvâny=anêlâishâ dharmasy=âtridhad=yô=mrîtn*, see also *ibid* Vol XII p 159, l 7

² By itself the sword had two edges (*dhârâ*), the town of Dhârâ, retaken by it, became its third edge (*dhârâ*). The author suggests that the sword became like the *tridhârâ*, i.e. the 'three streamer' Gangâ, which flows through, and purifies, heaven, earth, and the lower regions

³ The word *pattana* may also be taken as a proper name of the well-known Pattana (see e.g. above, Vol VIII. p 224, No XII, and p 229, No XXXII)

⁴ *Gaiyyad-Gûrjara* occurs also above, p 35 l 27, compare also *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII. p 217, l 11 *m=avam G[û]rjara garjya*

⁵ This 'now' is really inappropriate in inscriptions of Arjunavarman's successors, but the verses 16-19 have been taken over unchanged from that king's own grants

⁶ I.e. a hero in fight, in compassion (like Jimûtavâhana), and in bounty (like Bali)—*yuddha-vira*, *dayâ-vira*, and *dâna vira*, compare Vâmanâchârya in his edition of the *Kâryaprakâsa*, p 113, *Śringâratilaka*, III 14 (*trividhâ nâyakah*), and similar works. In the *Pârîvâtamâñjarî*, above, Vol VIII p 102, l 7, and p 103, l 13, Arjunavarman is styled *trividhâvira-chûddâman*. The same epithet I find applied to a person named Udaya, in three Mount Âbû inscriptions of the Vikrama years 1245 and 1291 (Mr Cousens' List, Nos. 1725, 1726 and 1840). With the whole verse one may compare *Ēkavâlî*, p 258 *Narasimha mahâpâla kîrtis=tripathagâ tava | na kasya bhavitâ ślâghyâ punânâ bhuvanatrâyaṃ |*

(V 20) Then, through the want of merit of suppliants and through the merit of the lovely-browed damsels of paradise, he who was both marvellously bountiful and amorous went to heaven

(V. 21) Then Dēvapāla, full of prowess—the son of Hariśchandra, the moon of the Pramāras—came to rule the Mālava country

(V 22) Because of the pouring out of the water of donations by him who holds *kūśa* grass in his lotus-hand, we know no difference between Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods [whom the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas caused to take the *argha* in his lotus-hand (to make a respectful offering)]¹

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71.

Number	Name of donee	Description.	Gôtra	Śākhā or Vēda	Place of origin	Shares
1	Gangādihara ²	śrôtriya	Parāśa[ra]	Vāṇimādhyamdina	Āśrama ³	1
2	Bhadreśvara	śukla	Pavitra	Āśvalāyana	Mahāvana	1
3	Chandrakaptha	"	"	"	"	1
4	Nārāyana	dikshita	Audalya	Mādhyamdina	"	1½
5	Śūra	trivēda	Kātyāyana	Sāmaveda	"	1
6	Viśvēśvara	"	Bhāradvāja	Kauthuma	Takāri	1
7	Rāma	dikshita	"	Mādhyamdina	"	1
8	Bhṛigu	pandita	"	omitted	Triपुरi	1½
9	Nārāyana	agnibōtrīn	Kāśyapa	Āśvalāyana	Mutāvathū	1
					Carried over	10

¹ The king Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods (*dēvapāla*, i.e. the god Indra) are alike because either of them is *dānavāri-vijimbhitaḥ pavitrakarapadmah*. About the exact meanings of the first of these two words there can be no doubt, it means both 'the pouring forth of the water of donations' (*dāna-cāri*), and 'the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas' (*Dānava-ari*, i.e. the god Vishnu-Krishna). I am not so sure about the two meanings of the second word. Referred to the king, it means 'holding *pavitra* (i.e. *kūśa* or *darbha* grass, which is taken up by the person who is about to make a donation) in his lotus-hand.' Applied to Indra, I take it to mean that Indra, pleased with the exploits of the conqueror of the Dānavas, took up the *pavitra* (i.e. the *argha* vessel) to make a respectful offering to Vishnu. In support of this explanation I would quote *Ep Ind* Vol I p 124, v 2, where Brahman offers to Vishnu the *argha-salila*, when he sees how the latter has cheated Balh. But I am myself not quite satisfied with this explanation, because I suspect the word *padma* to have been used in two different senses in the compound.—From inscriptions we may compare with our verse especially the verse in *Ind Ant* Vol. XVIII p 218, ll. 19 and 20 *Śriyam babhāra vidhivad=dānavārātītōshitah | Mahēndravād=divyatrēshthavarggas=tat-samgam-āgatah* ||, where *dānavārātītōshitah* means both 'excessively pleased by the water of donations' and 'pleased by the enemy of the Dānavas'. *Dānavāri* also has a third meaning, 'the rutting-juice of elephants' (*mada-jala*), and in that sense as well as in the sense of 'the enemy of the Dānavas' the word is used in the *Naiṣhadhīyacharita*, XIII vv 3 and 23, the first of which, in so far as it is applicable to Indra, seems to have suggested the *śriyam babhāra . dānavārātītōshitah Mahēndra[h]* of the verse quoted above from an inscription. (Incidentally I may mention that *Pañchanallīya* is not 'the title of a work,' but a name of the 13th *sarga* of the *Naiṣhadhīyacharita*) In *Ākāvalī*, p 200, the hand of a king is compared with the ocean, because both hold the *dānavāri*.

² All these names have the word *śarman* attached to them.

³ With the exception of *Madhyadēva* and *Rastināpura*, these names have the word *sthāna* attached to them.

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71—*contd.*

Number	Name of donee	Description	Gôtra	Śākhā or Vēda	Place or origin.	Shares
					Brought forward	10
10	Gôsala	rājau	Parāvasu	<i>omitted</i>	Akôlā	1
11	Gôsô	malārājapandita	Vnsishtha	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	2
12	Rāmēśvara	chaturvēda	Bhārgava	"	"	1
13	Gadādihara	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
14	Garbhēśvara	"	Bhārgava	"	"	1
15	Lôhata	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
16	Purushôttama	"	Gautama	Śāṅkhāyana	Dindvānaka	1
17	Gadādihara	trivēda	Kāśyapa	Mādhyamdina	Mutāvathū	‡
18	Udai (Udayi)	<i>omitted</i>	"	"	"	‡
19	Kuladhara	paṇḍita	Gautama	Kaṭhuma	Muhāvana	1
20	Abhinanda	āvasathika	Vatsa	"	Takāri	1
21	Ananta	agnihōtrīn	Mudgala	Mādhyamdina	Madhyadēsa	1
22	Śhāncīśvara	"	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
23	Ūdha[ra]	chaturvēda	Dhaumya	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	1
24	Kuladhara	trivēda	Bhāradvāja	Rāṇāyini	"	1
25	Madhusūdana	"	"	"	"	1
26	Alli	chaturvēda	Harita-Kutsa	Kaṭha	Sarasvatī	1
27	Lāluda	dikshita	Kāśyapa	Mādhyamdina	Madhyadēsa	1
28	Narasimha	āvasathika	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
29	Mārkaṇḍēya	"	Mārkaṇḍēya	"	"	1
30	Vāyudeva	pāthaka	Bhāradvāja	"	"	1
31	Rājē	chaturvēda	Kautsa	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	‡
32	Kusumapāla	paṇḍita	Parāśara	Kaṭhuma	Hastināpura	1
TOTAL						32‡

NAMES OF THE FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS OF THE DONEES.

Ajayi, chaturvēda, l 62

Āśādihara, trivēda, l 31, chaturvēda, l. 35

Bharatapāla, thakkura, l 37.

Rahman, śrōtriya, l 23, chaturvēda, l. 47

Chhitū, agnihōtrīn, ll 54, 66

Pālaṇa, trivēda, l. 31

Dāllana, thakkura, l 37

Dāmōdara, śrōtriya, l. 23, upādhyāya, l. 67.

Dēvadihara, chaturvēda, ll 42, 45.

Dharanīdhara, chaturvēda, ll 39, 44, 47; agnihōtrīn, l 54

Gangādhara, dikshita, II 25, 50.
 Gōvinda, dvivēda, I 48.
 Hari, chaturvēda, I 69
 Haridhara, pandita, I. 34
 Janārdana, chaturvēda, II. 38, 70, trivēda,
 I. 53
 Jasadēva, agnihōtrin, I 64
 Jasōdhara, trivēda, I 29.
 Kānhada, pandita, I. 51, pañchakalpin(?),
 I 71.
 Kaṭuka, agnihōtrin, I 65
 Kēlhana, dikshita, I 32.
 Kēsava, dikshita, I 50
 Krishna, yājñika, I. 56
 Kumara, pañchakalpin(?), I 71
 Madana, pandita, I 51.
 Mādhava, trivēda, I 59
 Madhu, dikshita, I 32
 Madhukantha, śukla, I 27
 Mahāditya, āvasathika, I 25.

Mabīdhara, pandita, I. 34
 Mārkaṇḍa, trivēda, I 61
 Nāgadēva, yājñika, I 56
 Narasimha, trivēda, I. 53.
 Nārāyaṇa, upādhyāya, I 63, dvivēda, I. 68
 Padmanābha, dvivēda, I 68
 Padmasvāmin, dikshita, I 28
 Pavitra, chaturvēda, I 43
 Prithvidhara, chaturvēda, I. 35
 Purushōttama, dikshita, I 65
 Rāmēśvara, trivēda, I 29
 Rishi, trivēda, I 60
 Sādhārana, chaturvēda, I 57,
 Samuddhara, chaturvēda, II. 42, 45.
 Simhakantha, dikshita, I 26.
 Sômēśvara, trivēda, I 59
 Trilōchana, dikshita, I 28
 Vāsadhara, dvivēda, I 48
 Vijayī, chaturvēda, I. 62
 Vishnu, chaturvēda, II. 41, 57.

B.—MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN II. ; [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1317.

These are two plates which were found by Mr. Lele,¹ some time in 1904, at the village of Godarpura opposite the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the Narmadā in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces. They were sent by the Deputy Commissioner of Nimār to the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur, where they are now deposited. They measure about 1' 5½" broad by 10¾" high, and are held together by two rings, now cut, for which there are two holes in either plate. I edit the inscription which they contain from impressions sent to me by the Government Epigraphist.

The first plate is inscribed on one side, and the second on both sides. The writing both on the first plate and on the first side of the second plate covers a space about 1' 4" broad by between 9½" and 10" high, that on the second side of the second plate 1' 4½" broad by 8" high. The three sides together contain 53 lines of well-engraved writing which throughout is in a perfect state of preservation. On the proper right of the second side of the second plate, between lines 42 and 50, a vertical line marks off a space 3" broad by 4" high, which contains an engraving of Garuda, with, below it, the words *sva-hastō-yaṁ mahārājasya* ||, in smaller characters than those in the body of the inscription. The bird is represented in human form, kneeling towards the left, but with the head turned towards the right, and with four hands, the two inner ones of which are joined over the breast, while the two others are lifted up on either side, the one on the left holding a snake, the head of which looks like a bird's head. The size of the letters is about ⅜". The characters are Nāgarī, closely resembling those of the inscription A., and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is so carefully written that in respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. The sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*, the dental sibilant is used for the palatal only in *sata-*, I 25, as is often the case elsewhere, *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* are employed instead of *ddy*, *ddv* and *ddhv*, Janārddana- is written *Janārjjana-* in line 34, and *shadbhr-* as *shaṭbhvr-* in line 37. The sign of *avagraha* is employed seven times; and, excepting in *sāṁprataṁ*, I 16, *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse

¹ The plates were first mentioned by Mr. Lele in a Report of his on the progress of Archaeological work in the Dhār State, dated the 24th August 1904.

is denoted by the sign for *m*, not by that of *anusvāra*.—In lines 1-23 the inscription has 23 verses, chiefly containing genealogical matter, 21 of which are already known to us from the inscription A, and in lines 25-27 we again find the verse commencing with *Vātābhra-vibhramam=īdam vasudh-ādhipatyam*, and in lines 42-48 five benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which here too is the verse commencing with *Iti kamaladalāmbuvindu-lōlām*. There are besides two verses in lines 50-52, which record the names of persons who had to do with the writing of the grant. In the prose part of the text, attention may be drawn to the peculiar construction in lines 25-28, *asmābhūh . Gāṅgadēva-pārsvāt . grāmō=yam tribhyō brāhmanēbhyō dāpitah*, 'we have caused Gāṅgadēva to give this village to three Brāhmins'¹

The inscription records an order by the Paramāra *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayavarman [II] of Mālava, dated, as will be shown below, in A D 1260 and 1261. Of the 23 verses with which it opens, verses 1-21 are identical (except for two various readings²) with the same verses of the inscription A, and contain therefore the same list of kings from Bhōjadēva to Dēvapāla. The two new verses, 22 and 23, may be rendered thus —

"When³ that king, the glorious Dēvapāla, had joyfully resorted to Indra's abode, his son, a death-dealing god to enemies (*while*) ever pleasing the people by his good qualities, the wise king Jaitugidēva, the glorious Mālava chief, ruled this land, by his noble exploits a young Nārāyaṇa"⁴

"Now that he, after enjoying the delights of royalty, has gone to the habitation of the gods, his younger brother, king Jayavarman, rules the land"

Dēvapāla, therefore, was succeeded by his son Jaitugidēva, and he by his younger brother Jayavarman [II] — Jaitugidēva was known already from the *prastā* in Āśādharma's *Dharmāmṛita*, referred to above,⁵ according to which the commentary on that work was completed during the reign of the Paramāra Dēvapāla's son Jaitugidēva, on a date which corresponds to Monday, the 19th October A.D 1243. In my *Northern List*, No 223, I have assumed that Jaitugidēva is identical with a king who is mentioned in a Rāhatgadh inscription of the 28th August A.D 1256, noticed by me in *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 84, where I have given the king's name as *Jaya[simha]dēva*. But with what we now know from the present inscription, I am not sure whether Sir A. Cunningham⁶ was not right in reading the same name as *Jaya[varmu]dēva*, and would therefore suspend my judgment on the matter till we possess proper impressions of an inscription at Udaypur in Gwālor,⁷ which seems to be of the reign of a king Jayasinghadēva and to be dated in the [Vikrama] year 1311 (in Jan-

¹ Exactly the same construction occurs in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS*, Bombay, 1881, p 11 *tēna . . lēkhaka-Sōhada-pārsvāt=likhāpūtā*, 'he caused the writer Sōhada to write (a certain MS)'. With the use of *pārsvāt* we may compare that of *hastāt* in Prof Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p 29 *Udayachandraganinā Jinabhadralēkhaka-hastād=Vimalachandraganī-hastāch=cha Ūghaniryuktisātram lēkhitam*

² In verse 17 this inscription has *Jaitrasimhē* instead of *Jayasimhē*, and in verse 21 *prastā* instead of *tasimha* and *Jaitrasimha*. If any importance could be attached to the new reading, it would in my opinion show that the Jayasimha, who was defeated by Arjunavarman, undoubtedly was the Chaulukya Jayantasimha (Jayasimha) Abhinavasiddharāja

³ The text actually has "Now that Dēvapāla has resorted to Indra's abode, his son Jaitugidēva rules this land". The verse undoubtedly was taken over unchanged from an inscription of Jaitugidēva himself.

⁴ 'Bāla-Nārāyaṇa' most probably was an epithet of the king. Compare *Kumdra-Nārāyaṇa*, as an epithet of the Paramāra Sindhurāja, in the *Navasahasānkhacharita*, I. 59.

⁵ See above, p 107

⁶ See *Archaeol Survey of India*, Vol X. p 31. Judging from Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription which I have again examined, the two *aksharas* between *Jaya* and *dēva* are almost completely broken away.

⁷ I am writing this with Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription before me

nary 1255) For the present, what is certain is, that Jaitugidēva¹ was reigning in A.D. 1243 and his younger brother Jayavarman in A.D. 1260-61

In lines 23 ff of our inscription Jayavarman informs all king's officers, Brāhmans and others, and the *Paṭṭakīla* and other people dwelling at the village of Vadauda in the Mahuada *pathaka*, that, while staying at Mandapadurga, in the year 1317 (given in words), he caused the *Pratihāra*² Gāngadēva to give the village of Vadauda to three Brāhmans

And, according to lines 28 ff, the *Pratihāra* Gāngadēva, on Sunday, the third *tithi* of the bright half of Āgrahāyana (Mārgaśīrsha) of the year 1317, while the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshādhā and the *yōga* Śūla, at Amarēśvara-kshētra on the southern bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā), after bathing at the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapilā and worshipping the holy Amarēśvaradēva (Śiva) with the five offerings,³ gave the village of Vadauda, divided into six shares (*vanṭaka*) so that—

four shares (*pada*) were assigned to the *agnihōtrin*⁴ Mādhanāśarman—a son of the *pāṭhaka* Hariśarman and grandson of the *divēda* Vēda—a Brāhman of the Bhūrgava *gōtra*⁵ and student of the Mādhyamdina *sūkhā*, who had come from Navagāmva,⁶

one share (*pada*) to the *chaturvēda* Janārdana—a son of the *divēda* Limadēva and grandson of the *divēda* Lāshū—a Brāhman of the Gautama *gōtra* and student of the Āśvalāyana *sūkhā*, who had come from Takāri, and

one share (*pada*) to the *divēda* Dhāmadēvaśarman—a son of the *dikshita* Divākara and grandson of the *dikshita* Kēkū—a Brāhman of the Bhūradvāja *gōtra* and student of the Mādhyamdina *sūkhā*, who had come from Ghatāushari

From line 37 to line 48 the text contains so well-known phrases that it may be passed over here. The remaining part of the inscription yields the following information —

On Thursday, the 11th of the bright half of Jyēsthā of the year 1317, this king's order (*rāja sāsana*) was written 'here, at Mandapadurga,' by Harshadēva, a son of the learned Gaviśa, with the approbation of the *sāndhivigrahika* (or minister of peace and war), the *pandita* Māladhara, an official of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Jayavarmadēva; and the king's document was corrected by the grammarian (*sābdika*) Āmadēva, a disciple of the learned Gōsēka (Gosē),⁷ who knew the boundless essence of legal science. The grant was engraved by the *rūpalāra* Kānhada. The *dūta* was the great minister (*mahāpradhāna*), Rājā Ajayadēva.

The words 'this is the own hand (i.e. the sign-manual) of the *Mahārāja*' are engraved, as has been already stated, under the engraving of Garuda on the second side of the second plate.

The dates contained in this inscription are both correct. The first date, in lines 28 and 29, for the expired (*Chaitrādī* or *Kārttikādī*) Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Sunday, the 7th November A.D. 1260. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h 13 m; the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h 4 m, according

¹ In the first half of the 13th century A.D. we find the name *Jaitugi* twice in the family of the Yādavas of Dēvāgiri, and there was a [Śīlāra] *Konkanachakravartin Jaitugidēva*, an unpublished inscription (belonging to the Bombay As. Soc.) of whom apparently is dated in A.D. 1207.

² Given in the abbreviated form *pratī*. The word *pratihāra* means 'a door-keeper', but denotes a high official.

³ Compare *pañchōpachāra-pūjā*, e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII p. 347, l. 10, and above, Vol. III p. 215, l. 5, and p. 300, l. 42. The five articles presented are *gandha*, *pushpa*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa* and *navōdya*; compare *Sūdra-kamalākara*, p. 140 f., where *pañchōpachāra*, *dasōpachāra* and similar terms are explained.

⁴ These epithets here too are given in the abbreviated forms *agni*°, *pā*°, *div*°, *chā*°, and *dī*°.

⁵ In the original the *pravara*s also are given.

⁶ The names of the places of origin here also have the word *sthāna* attached to them.

⁷ See above, p. 106.

to Garga for 22 h 20 m, and by the equal space system from 10 h. 30 m.; and the *yōga* was Śūla for 20 h 46 m, after mean sunrise. And the second date, in lines 48 and 49, for the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Thursday, the 12th May A.D. 1261, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 46 m after mean sunrise. The dates show that the year 1317 of the inscription was a *Kārttikādi* year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Mandapadurga, from where the king's order was issued, is Mandogaiḥ (Māndū), a deserted town in the Dhār State, in Long 75° 26' and Lat 22° 21' (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, B d). From the same place was issued the order in the Piplānagar plates of king Arjunavarman.¹ On Mahuada, see above, p 106. Vadauda perhaps is the village of 'Burud' which according to the *Indian Atlas* is about three miles north-east of 'Satajana,' the village granted by the inscription A. I have already pointed out that *Mahuada-pathakē* of this inscription is equivalent to *Mahuada-pratijāgaranaḥ* of the inscription A, and I may state that a (or the ?) village of Vadaūda is mentioned also in the plate of the Paramāras Yaśovarman and Lakshmi-varman, in *Ind. Ant* Vol. XIX. p 352, ll. 5 and 13. Amarēśvara-kshētra is the Amarēśvara-tīrtha from which the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII. p 27 was issued, and the Amarēśvara mentioned in the plates of Jayasimha, above, Vol III p. 47; it is near the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the river Narmadā. The grant in *Journ Am. Or. Soc.* quoted just now also mentions the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapilā, which is now called 'Kapila Sangam, where a small stream joins the Narbadā'.² Of the places of origin of the donees, Takāri-sthāna is one of the places mentioned in A; Navagāmva-sthāna may be the town of Nawegāon in the Chāndā district, mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p 370, but there is at least one other place of the same name in the Central Provinces, Ghatāushari-sthāna I am unable to identify.

TEXT 3

First Plate

- 1 || Ōm namah purushārtha-chūdāmanayē dharmmāya || ⁴Prativimva-⁵nibhād-bhūmēḥ
krivā sākshāt-pratigrahaṃ | jagad-ā-
2 hlādayan-diśyā[d*]=divijēmdrō⁶ mangalāni vah || 1 [||*] Jiyāt=Paraśurāmō=sau
kshatraih kshunnam ran-āhataih ⁷ samdhyārka-vaṃvam=⁸ā-
3 v=ōrvvī-dātur=yasy=aiti tāmratām || 2 [||*] Yēna Mamdōdarīvashpa-vāribhūh
samtō mridhō [||*] prānēśvai-riyōgāgnih sa
4 Rāmah śrēyasē sstu vah || 3 [||*] Bhīmēn=āpi dhritā mūrdhni
yat-pādāh sa Yudhiṣṭhnaḥ | vams-ādyēn=ēmdunā jiyāt=sva-tulya i-
5 va nirmmitah || 4 [||*] Paramārakul-ōttamsah Kamsajin-mahimā nripah |
śrī-Bhōjadēva ity=āsin=nāśirakrānta-bhūtalah⁹
6 || 5 [||*] Yad-yaśāśchamdrik-ōdyōtā¹⁰ digutsamga-taramgitā | dvishannripa-
yaśahpumjapumdaikair=nnimlītam || 6 [||*] Tatō śbhūd=U-
7 dayādityō nityōtsāh-āikakautukī | asādharana-viraśrīr=āśrī-hētur=vvuōdhinām ||
7 [||*] Mahākalaha-kalpā-

¹ See *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol V p 379 — The town is called *Mandapapura* in line 16 of the Deōgadh inscription published *ibid* Vol LII P I p 70

² See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p 258

³ Metre of verses 1-21 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

⁴ After *drō* another vertical stroke was engraved, but has been struck out.

⁵ Thus sign of punctuation was originally omitted

⁶ In the place of *ta* originally *la* was engraved.

⁷ Read -ōddyōtā — Between the *aksharas ta* and *scham* a vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out

⁸ From an impression supplied by Dr Sten Konow.

⁹ Read *pratiśimba-*

¹⁰ Read -bimbam=

- 8 ntê yasy-ôddâmabbir-âsngaih | kati n-ônmlîtās-tungâ bhûbhritha katak-ôlvanañ
 1(II) 8 [II*] Tasmâch=chhinna-dvishanmarmmâ Narava-
 9 rmmâ narâdhipah | dharmm-âbhyuddharanê dbimân=abhût=simâ mahîbhujâm ||
 9 [II*] Prati-prabhâtam viprêbhyô dattair-grâma-padañ svaya-
 10 m | anêkapadatâm ninyê dharmmô yên=aika-pâd=api || 10 [II*] Tasy=âjanî
 Yasôvarmmâ putrah kshatriya-sêkharah | tasmâd=Ajayava-
 11 rmm=âbhûj=jayaśrî-vîśrutah sutah || 11 [II*] Tat-sûnur=vvîra-mûrddhanyô
 dhany-ôtpattir=ajâyata | Gûrjjarôchchhêda-nirvvamdhî¹ Vimdhyavarmmâ
 mah[â]-
 12 bhujah || 12 [II*] Dhâray-ôddhritayâ sârdham dadhâti sma tridhâratâm |
 sâmyuginasya yasy=âs=trâtum loka-trayim=iva || 13 [II*] Tasy=â-
 13 mushyâyanah putrah Sutrâma-srîr=ath=âśishat | bhûpah Subhatavarmm=êti
 dharmmê tishthan=mahî-talam || 14 [II*] Yasya jvalati da(d)g-jê-
 14 tuh pratâpas=tapana-dyutâh | dâvâgni-chchhadmâ(dma)n=âdy=âpi | garjjad-
 Gûrjjara-pattanê || 15 [II*] Dêva-bhûyam gatê tasmin=namdanô-rjuna-
 bhûpati[h*]
 15 | dôshnâ dhattê sâhunnâ dhâtri²-valayam valayam yathâ || 16 [II*]
 Vâ(bâ)lalil-âhavê yasya Jaitrasimhê³ palâyitê | dikpâlâhâ-
 16 sa-vyâjêna yasô dikshu vimrmbhitam || 17 [II*] Kâvyagâmdharvva-sarvvvasva-
 nidhunâ yêna sâmpratam | bhâr-âvataranam dêvyâś=chakrê
 17 pustaka-vinayôh⁴ || 18 [II*] Yêna trividha-vîrêna tridhâ pallavitam yasah |
 dhavalatvam dadhus=trîni jaganti katham=anyathâ ||
 18 19 [II*] Ath=ârthunâm=apunyêna punyêna svargga-subhruvâm | sô sdbhuta-
 tyâgâśilâś=cha śrîmgârî cha divam gatah
 19 || 20 [II*] Tatah Pramâra-chamdrasya Hariśchamdrasya namdanah ||(I)
 prasâstî⁵ Mâlava-kshônîm Dêvapâlah pratâpavâ-

Second Plate, First Side

- 20 n || 21 [II*] ⁶Tasminn=Aindra-padam mud=âśritavati śrî-Dêvapâlê⁷ nrîpê
 tat-sûnur=dvishad-antakô niya-gunnir=lôkâ-
 21 n=sadâ ramjayan | dhimân(n)=Jaitugidêva êsha nrîpatih śrî-Mâlav-âkhamḍalah
 śâstî kshônîm=imâm=udâra-cha-
 22 ntaih svair=Vâ(bbâ)lanârâyanah || 22 [II*] Bhuktâ⁸ rājya-sukham tasmin=
 prâptê tridâśa-mamduram | śâstî tasy=ânujah kshônîm Jaya-
 23 varmmâ janâdhipah || 23 [II*] Sa êsha nara-nâyakah sarvv-âbhyudayi ||⁹
 Mahuada-pathakê Vadauda-grâmê samasta-râjapurushân=vâ(bâ)-
 24 hman-ôttarân=pratinivâsi-pattakîla-janapad-âdimê=cha vò(bô)dhayaty=astu vah
 samviditam yathâ ||⁹ śrîman-Mamdapadurgga-sthitair=a-
 25 smâbbih saptadâśâdhika-trayôdâśasa(śa)ta-samvatsarê ||⁹ samsârasy=âsâratâm
 drishtvâ || tathâ hi || ¹⁰Vâtâbhra-vibhramam=idam vasu-
 26 dh-âdhipatyam=âpatamâtra-madhurô vishay-ôpabhôgah | prânâs=trinâgrajalavimdu-samâ
 narânâm dharmmah sakhâ param=ahô

¹ Read -nirvbbamdhî

² Originally dhâtri- was engraved.

³ In A. and in the three grants of Arjunavarman the name is Jayasimhê.

⁴ In the place of originally cê was engraved.

⁵ Instead of this word A. has rarakêśa

⁶ Metre Śârdûlavikrîdita

⁷ The akshara pā of this word seems to be corrected out of lē which was originally engraved.

⁸ Metre Ślôka (Anushtubh).

⁹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

¹⁰ Metre - Vasantatilakâ.

- 27 paralôka-yânô [||*] iti sarvvaṃ vimpiśya dāpan-ādriśataphalam=amgikrīṭya |
 prati² śi-Gāmgadēva-pārsvāt³ Vadauda-grāmō-yam
 28 tribhyō vrā(brā)hmanēbhyaō dāpitah | Tēna cha prati³ śri-Gāmgadēvōna
 sammat⁴ 1317 Āgrahana-⁵śukla-tritīyāyam tithau
 29 Ravi-vāsarē Pūrvvāśhādihā-nakshatrō Śūla-nūmni yōgō śrīmad-Amarīśvara-
 kshētrē Rēvāyā dakṣiṇō kūlā Rēvā-Kapilā-
 30 samgamē snātva bhagavamtam cha⁶chhura-gurum śrīmad-Amarīśvara-
 dēvam pamoh-opachārāṇ samabhyarchya ||¹ jivitam vidyuch-chamchalām
 jñātva
 31 Navagāmvasthāna-vinirgatāya Bhārgava-sagōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyāvana-⁷Āpnavāna-
 Anva-Jāmadagny-ēti pamoha-pravarāya Mādhyam-
 32 dinaśākh-ādhyāyīnō dvi⁸ Veda-pautrāya⁹ pś¹⁰ Hariśarma-putrāya agri¹¹
 Mādhasārmmanō vrā(brā)hmanāya padāni chatvāri
 33 4 Takāristhāna-vinirgatīya Gantama-sagōtrāya Gantam-Āngirara-Auchatth-ēti
 tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyā-
 34 yīnō dvi¹² Lāshū-pautrāya dvi¹³ Līmadīva-putrāya cha¹⁴ Janīrjjanā¹⁵armmapū¹⁶
 vrā(brā)hmanāya padam=ēkam 1 Ghatāusharisthā-
 35 na-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāya Āngirasa-Vā(bī)raspatya-Bhāradvāja-iti
 tri-pravarāya Mādhyamdinaśākh-ādhyāyīnō
 36 di¹⁴ Kēkū-pautrāya di¹⁵ Divakara-putrāya dvi¹⁶ Dhāmadēva¹⁷armmapū¹⁸
 vrā(brā)hmanāya padam=ēkam 1 ēvam=ibhyas=¹⁹tribhyō
 37 vrā(brā)hmanēbhyaḥ shatbhū²⁰vramtakair=Vadauda-grāmō-yam tama=to=pi
 chutuhkamkata-²¹visuddhah sa-vrikshamālakulāḥ sa-hiranyabhā-
 38 grbhōgaḥ s-ōparikarāḥ sarvādhyā-samētāḥ sa-nidhē(dhū)nikshīpō mātāpitṛor=
 ātmanas=cha punyayaśōbbhivriddhayē
 39 chamdrārkkārannava[ksh]jīti-samakālam yāvat=parayā bhaktiā dēvarā(brā)hmanā-
 bhukti-varjjam śāsanēn=ōdaka-pū-

Second Plate; Second Side

- 40 rva[m] pradattah || tan=matvā tannivāsi-pattakilajanapadair=yathādiyamāna-
 bhāgabdhōgakarahiranyādīkam=ājñā-vidhō-
 41 yair=bhūtā sarvva=ētēbhyaḥ samupanētavyam¹⁸ | sāmānyam ch=aitad=dla-m-
 phalam vu(ba)dāhv=āsmadvamśajair=anyair=api bhāva-bh. ibhi
 42 smatpiadāpita-dharmmadāyō¹⁹ syam=anunantavyah pulnīyas=cha || Uktam . a
²⁰Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājābhih Sagar-hiti-
 43 bhūh | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Sva-dattām
 para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdhārām

¹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

² I e, here and below, *prathāra*.

³ Read -*pārsvāt*-

⁴ Originally *sammāt* seems to have been engraved Read *samrat*.

⁵ Read *Āgrahāyana*-

⁶ The *akṣhara* *rē* of this word in the engraving is really *rara*

⁷ Read *Chyavana*-, this correction may have been made already in the original — Here and in some places below the rules of *samdh* have not been observed.

⁸ I e, here and below, *divēda*-

⁹ I e *pāthaka*-

¹⁰ I e *chaturvēda*-

¹¹ I e, here and below. *dikṣita*-

¹² Read *śatbhū*-

¹³ Originally *netavyam* was engraved

¹⁴ Metro of this and the next two verses Śīla (Anushubh)

¹⁵ Originally *-shautrāya* was engraved.

¹⁶ I e *agnihōtri*-

¹⁷ Read *Jandardana*-

¹⁸ Read *-bhāgas*-

¹⁹ Read *chatushkashkata*-

²⁰ Compare above, p 112, note 16

- 44 | viśthâyām sa kṛmir-bhūtvā pitṛibhū saha majjati | (II) Shashtim varaha-
sahasrāṇi svargē tishthati bhūmidah |
- 45 āchchhettā ch-ānumattā(ntā) cha tāny-ēva narakē vasēt | (II) ¹Sarvvān=ēvam
bhāvinō bhūmipālān=bhūyō bhū-
- 46 yō yāchatē Rāmabhadrah | sāmānyō syam dharmma-sētur-nripānām kālē kālē
pālānyō
- 47 bhavadbhūh || Iti² kamaladalām(vu)vimdu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya manushya-
jīvitam cha | saka-
- 48 lam=idam=udāhritam cha vudhvā³ na hi puruṣaḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā ita
||*|| Samvat
- 49 1317 Jyēshtha-śudī 11 Gurāv=ady=ēha śrī-Mamdapadurgē mahārājādhirāja-
śrimaj-Jayavarmma-
- 50 dēva-nirvṛt-⁴ sāmduvīrga(gra)hika-pam⁵ śrī-Mālādhara-sammatēna ||⁶
[m]ditēmdra-Gavīsasya sūnūnā vidushā spu(sphu)tam |
- 51 Haishadēv-ābhūdhēn=ēdam lēkhitam⁷ rāja-sāsanam⁸ | (II) Yō⁹ vētṭy=apāram
smṛtisāstra-sāram Gōsēka-nāmnō vu(bu)dha-pumgava-
- 52 sya | śishyah sudhīh sāvdi(bdi)ka Āmadēvō bhūpasya lēkhyam samasōdhi
tēna | (II) Utkirnam=idam ru(rū)pakāra-Kānhadēna |
- 53 Dātō mahāpradhāna-rāja-śrī-Ajayadēvah | (II)
¹⁰Sva-hastō=yam mahārājasya ||

No 14.—KANKER INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHANUDEVA,
THE [SAKA] YEAR 1242

By HIRA LAL, B A , NAGPUR

This inscription or *prastā*, as it is called in line 19, is lying in the veranda of the school house at Kanker, the capital of the Feudatory State of that name in the Central Provinces, and was brought away from the ruins between the Diwān and Śitalā tanks in that town. It was first brought to my notice by Mr. Bajnath, B A , Superintendent of the Bastar State, who kindly furnished me with an inked estampage, and further estampages were supplied to me by the Diwān of the Kanker State and the Agency Inspector of Schools, Chhattāgarh Feudatories.

The stone is a cubit square and half a cubit thick, and the writing covers a space of 18" by 17" in 19 lines. The letters are bold and well formed, the average size being $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Dēvanāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the commencement (*ōm siddhīh*) in line 1, and the concluding portion (ll 18 and 19) containing the date and the names of the erector and the writer of the inscription. There are altogether eight verses, of which six are in the Śārdūlavikṛīḍita metre, and the first and the last in Sragdharā and Anushtubh respectively. The principal orthographical peculiarities are the indifferent use of *ś* for *s* and *vice versa* (ll 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 15, 17, 19) and the use of *b* for *v* (ll 2, 12, 14). Some of the letters with a superscribed *rēpha* have been doubled (especially *m* and *t*), others not. The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all. Final forms of *t* occur in ll. 12 and 18.

¹ Metre Śālī.

⁴ Le -pamditā-

⁷ Read lēkhitam

¹⁰ These words are engraved in small letters under the figure of Garuda which is on the proper right of the plate between lines 42 and 50

² Metre Pushpitāgrā

⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Originally -śāsanam was engraved.

³ Read buddhā

⁶ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

⁹ Metre Indravajrā

The inscription is an eulogy of the *Nāyaka* Vāsudēva, the minister of king Bhānudēva of Kākaira.¹ It states that he constructed two temples of Mahādēva, and another in honour of the local deity of the fields, besides a building with a gateway, and excavated two tanks. It is dated in the [Śaka] year 1242 bearing the name Raudra, on the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Jyāishṭha, corresponding to (Tuesday), the 27th May A.D. 1320. Unfortunately the week-day is not mentioned, and hence the date does not admit of verification. It is also possible that it may have been Wednesday, the 28th May, as there was a repetition of the Hindū date *pañchamī* in that fortnight and month. The record gives the genealogy of the minister for four generations, and that of his sovereign for seven generations. It is stated that Vāsudēva's ancestors were elephant-catchers (?). Though in the Kanker State wild elephants are not now found, they are still to be met with in the division in which it is included.² The most important part of the inscription is that which gives the genealogy of the Kākaira chiefs, mentioning in order the following—Simharāj, Vyāghra, Vōpadēva, Kṛishna, Jaitarāja, Sōmachandra and Bhānudēva. The dynasty is stated to be lunar, and the want of any epithet indicating paramount sovereignty postulates a subordination to another power. The epithets applied to them—*avanīśa* (l. 1), *nripa* (ll. 2 and 5), *dharaṇīdhara* (l. 6), *bhūpāla* (l. 7) and *nripati* (ll. 10 and 13), are all synonyms of the word 'king.' In two copper-plate grants of Pamparājadēva found in the Kanker State³ the king is styled *Sōmavamsānvaya-prasūta-mahāmandalika* (feudatory chief of the lunar race), which supports the above statement. The present Rāj family of Kanker is doubtless connected with these kings. It belongs to the lunar race and has always claimed to be a very ancient family.⁴ According to its own traditions it claims to have come from Orissa. Its original ancestor was ruling at Jagannāthapurī, but, on suddenly becoming a leper, in which state he could no longer occupy the throne, left the place and went out in search of a cure. At Sihāwā, close to Kanker and now in the Dhamtarī tahsil of the Raipur district, a spring was found, by bathing in which he got rid of the loathsome disease. The local people⁵ persuaded him to stay on at Sihāwā and installed him king, and he and his descendants continued to rule there. There can be little doubt that Sihāwā was once the capital of this dynasty, as its ruins and temples testify. There is still an inscription there, which is dated in the Śaka year 1114. The capital was finally removed to Kanker. This must have been done prior to Bhānudēva's times. For in line 12 we read: *Kākairē nripa-Bhānudēva-nagarē* (in Kākaira, the town or capital of king Bhānudēva), and in lines 3 to 5: *Kākairē . . . śrī-Jaitarājō-bhavat* (there was the illustrious Jaitarāja in Kākaira). This Jaitarāja was the grandfather of Bhānudēva. Thus Kākaira has been the capital of the State for over 600 years. Kanker once included the rich Dhamtarī tahsil of the Raipur

¹ This is really the correct name of the town and State, but it is now officially written as Kanker. In General Cunningham's *Report* for 1873-74 it is spelt as Kākēr, showing that the nasal had not been till then inserted. The local people at present still call it Kaikar.

² The Central Provinces, called Gondwānā by the Musalmāns, were so infested by these animals that even revenue was levied in elephants. Even places like Jabalpur, which were and are far less jungly than Kanker, had their quota of wild elephants. See Jarrett's *Annals*, Vol. II p 196, where the following occurs:—"Garha (2 miles from Jabalpur) is a separate State abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in mohurs and elephants." About a dozen years ago 40 elephants were captured in Bairākhōl, a State now transferred to Bengal, and I had once an occasion of riding one of them.

³ These have not yet been published and are at present in my possession.

⁴ *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p 236.

⁵ It is said that the installation of the Kanker chief is up to this day confirmed by the Halbās by anointing the Rājā before the shrine of Maulidēvi. The Halbās are an aboriginal tribe mostly living in that State and the adjoining tracts. These Halbās claim to have come from Orissa along with the leper king and are still the chief domestics of the Kanker chief. They speak a dialect which is a curious mixture of Oriyā, Chhattisgarhi (a form of Eastern Hindī) and Marāṭhi, see Dr Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p 331.

district, but is now limited to an area of 1,429 square miles lying between 20° 6' and 20° 34' N. and 80° 41' and 81° 40' E

As regards the buildings and tanks mentioned in the inscription, there can be no doubt that the two tanks are identical with the present Diwān and Śitalā talāos, between which the ruins of the temples may still be seen. It is very probable that the Śitalā talāo—a name which gained currency since a hut dedicated to the goddess Śitalā was constructed on its bank—is the Kaudika-bandha of the inscription, the unnamed tank being called Diwān talāo or 'minister's tank,' thus keeping up the memory of its original constructor, who by calling it a *taḍāga* apparently distinguished it from the *bandha*, i.e. the tank formed by merely damming up a stream. The very name Kandika-bandha indicates its secondary importance. In the first place it was merely a *bandha* (dam), and secondly it was probably constructed by the payment of *kaḍikas*,¹ a Sanskritised form of *kaḍīs* (cowries) or shells, a currency of the lowest value

The temples and buildings have all fallen or been pulled down, and from the materials a fresh temple was constructed by the predecessor of the present chief. The old temples were seen by Mr. Fisher, who was Deputy Commissioner of the Raipur district (to which Kanker was formerly attached) about 1873 A D, and he alludes to them in his private Journal² thus:—“Saw some very curious old temples to the west of the village; one has a *bījāk* giving, as I was told, some particulars of its history. They are very old and utterly neglected now.” This *bījāk* was seen on the gate of the Mahādēva temple about the year 1825 as recorded in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p 505, where its date is also stated, which is the same as that of our inscription in all details. A noteworthy point in our inscription is the mention of the construction of a *puratōbbhadra* with a *pratōlī*, about which latter Dr Vogel has written an article in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July 1906, p 539. He has proved that *pratōlī* really meant a gate-way, evidently strongly built and of considerable height. It was sometimes provided with a flight of steps.³ I have not been able to find *puratōbbhadra* in the *Kōśas* to which I have access, but *sarvatōbbhadra* is described as a kind of house with 4 doors facing the 4 quarters.⁴ From this I infer that a *puratōbbhadra* was a building with only one door in front. And the Kākara *puratōbbhadra* was actually furnished with a gate-way (*pratōlī*)

¹ In this part of the country a good deal of transactions were done in cowries (shells, Sanskrit *kapardikā*), which are still used as currency by the poor people. It must not however be supposed that there were no coins here. In the copper-plates of Pamparājadēva alluded to before, the coin *tanka* of local mint finds a mention. It is still a practice in some places to get work done, chiefly digging and throwing of earth, by what is called *kaḍīkai*, a mode of piecework payment, 2 or 4 cowries or more according to the labour involved being paid for each basket of earth thrown out. A man with cowries stands at a place where the earth is to be thrown, and as each labourer turns up and throws down the earth, he receives immediately the fixed number of cowries each time. This mode of labour automatically punishes the idlers and saves a good deal of supervision and account-keeping where a large number of labourers are engaged simultaneously on such a work.

² Quoted in Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. VII p 147

³ Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 43

⁴ The idea seems to have been taken from a *sarvatōbbhadra* village, which is described in the *Mānasāra*, a book of the highest authority on Hindū architecture, as “a town or village of quadrangular form, containing in the middle a temple dedicated to one of the triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Mahēśvara. It has 4 streets of equal length on the 4 sides at right angles, and 2 more crossing each other in the middle. Between these may be formed 3, 4, 5, or as many more streets as the extent of the village will admit, on each side, parallel to the middlemost street. Without the walls should be placed the shrines of the deities who preside over and defend the several quarters of the village, at the angular points should be erected halls, porticoes, colleges and other public edifices, and towards the quarter of Agni (south-east) a watershed for the accommodation of travellers and passengers. The whole village should be secured by a quadrangular wall and a ditch around it, with 4 large and as many small gates in the middle of the sides and at the angular points. Without the northern gate should be erected a temple for the worship of Mahākālī, and the huts of Chandālas or outcastes should be a *krōśa* distant from the village. A tank or reservoir should be constructed either on the south or north side or near either of these 2 points for ablutionary and culinary purposes.”—See Ram Raz's *Architecture of the Hindus*, 1824, p 43

TEXT.

- 1 श्री सिद्धिः ॥ आशीहंशे¹ हिमांसीर्भहितगुणगणसिंहराडेरिसिंहस्तस्मादग्राव-
नीशीभव-
- 2 दतुलयशा तेजसापास्तशूर्यः² ॥ जज्ञे सोपि स्ववीर्योचितनृपतिलक³ वीपदेवं
स चैवं कृश्या-⁴
- 3 ख्यं वैरिराजव्रजदलनपरं विक्रमाक्रांतविल्लं⁵ ॥१॥ काकैरेवनिपालमीलिमुकुट-
प्रोद्धा-
- 4 'सिहीरांकुरज्योतिद्योतितपादपंकजनखज्योतिस्त्रकाशा' भुवि ॥ संग्रामांगणवीर-
विक्र-
- 5 मगुणः श्रीजैतराजोभवत्तस्मादद्भुतसत्प्रतापमहसः श्रीसोमचन्द्रो नृपः ॥२॥
तस्मात्स्त्री-⁶
- 6 गुणसागरादभिनवस्सर्वांगवेधोज्वलः⁷ श्रीभानुर्द्धरणीधरः क्षितितले⁸ लक्षप्रतिष्ठो-
दयः [1*]
- 7 जागर्ति¹¹ प्रतिपक्षपक्षदलनो भूपालचूडामणिर्यस्मिन्शाश्रति¹² लोक एष सुकृती
जागर्ति श-¹³
- 8 द्वासनः ॥३॥ देशः¹⁴ पुण्यनिरोतिशास्त्रतधनस्सत्कर्मनिष्ठा द्विजाः स्वेष्टापूर्त-
पराः प्रजाष्कि-¹⁵
- 9 मपरं पौराः परं धार्मिकाः [1*] सभ्याः¹⁶ शास्त्रविचारधीतमनसो धर्माव-
तारे कलौ राज्यं शास-
- 10 ति भानुदेवनृपतौ किं किं न लोकोत्तरं ॥४॥ वंशे नागदलोपजीवन-
जनस्तीतेभवन्ना-
- 11 यकः श्रीदामोदरसूनुस्त्वलयशा¹⁷ पो[लू]प्रजानायकः ॥ ख्यातस्तत्तनयः
स्वभावसर-
- 12 लो भीमाभिधस्तक्षुतो काकैरे नृपभानुदेवनगरे¹⁸ श्रीवासुदेवोभवत् ॥५॥
स्तंभोयं [न]-
- 13 गरस्य जातिजनतानध्यप्रभानायको¹⁹ विख्यातष्किल²⁰ भानुदेवनृपतेः²¹ पादांजुजा-
राधकः [1*]

¹ Read आसीहंशे हिमांशो°.⁴ Read कृश्याव्य.⁷ Read °ज्योति प्रकाशी°.¹⁰ Read लक्ष°.¹⁵ Read सहासन.¹⁶ The original has *idstra*°.¹⁸ Read °मध्य°.² Read °सूर्य°.⁵ Read °क्रान्तविश्व°.⁸ Read तस्माच्छ्री°.¹¹ Read जागर्ति°.¹⁴ Read °शास्त्र°.¹⁷ Read °रुक्मल°.²⁰ Read विख्यात. किञ्च भानुदेव°.³ Read वीप°.⁶ Read °ज्योतिर्द्योतित°.⁹ Read °वीर्यलक्ष°.¹² Read °अभिधासति°.¹⁵ Read प्रजाः कि°.¹⁸ Read श्रीवासु°.²¹ Read पादांजुजा°.

- 14 संग्रामांगणसादिवर्गपुरतः ख्यातप्रभावो ¹महाग्जागर्त्यद्भुतविक्रमो ²धृतिधरः
श्रीवा-³
- 15 सुदेवो भुवि ॥६॥ देवश्रीशसिभूषणस्य⁴ कतिना देवालयं कारितं युग्मं
मंडपशोभितं च
- 16 पुरतोभद्र प्रतोल्या सह । जेवेशस्य तथा सुरालयवरं स्मीतं [त*]-
डागं तथा वधं कौडिकसंज्ञकं
- 17 बहुजलं दीर्घं तथा खानितं ॥७॥ ⁵हृष्टापूर्तपरस्याशीत्सत्कीर्त्तिशसि-
चंद्रिका⁶ [I*] वासुदे-
- 18 वस्य विस्फारा स्थिताचन्द्रार्कतारकं ॥८॥ संवत् १२४२ रौद्रसंवत्सरे ।
ज्येष्ठ⁷ वदि
- 19 पंचम्यां । ⁸प्रसस्तिस्समारोपिता नायकवासुदेवेन ॥ लिखिता ⁹सत्तिकुमा-
रेण ॥ शिवं [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Om Success! (Verse 1) In the race of the Moon there was (born) Simharâj, a (very) lion to enemies, (and) praised as possessing numerous virtues. From him was born king Vyâghra, of unequalled fame, who outshone the sun by his splendour. He also begot an ornament of kings befitting his own manliness Vôpadêva; and the latter, likewise, (had a son) named Kṛi[shna], who was given to destroying crowds of hostile kings, (and) who dominated the universe by (his) valour.

(V 2) (Then) there was in Kâkaira the illustrious Jaitarâja, the lustre of the nails of whose lotus-feet was rendered (still more) brilliant by the light emanating from the shining diamonds in the diadems on the heads of kings (prostrating themselves before him) to the ground, (and) who had the merit of conquering heroes on the battle-field. From him who owned the glory of wonderful great valour (was born) the illustrious king Sômachandra.

(V 3) From him, the glorious ocean of virtues, (was born) a young king the illustrious Bhânu, who was brilliant by (his) whole body and apparel, who acquired honour and prosperity, the destroyer of the party of opponents, a crest-jewel of kings (He) is (now) protecting the earth. While he is ruling, the people are (all) virtuous (and) well-intentioned.

(V 4) The country is replete with permanent wealth and virtue and is devoid of (all) calamities, the twice-born are devoted to good actions, the subjects are intent on performing sacrifices and doing charitable acts. What more? The citizens are very virtuous (and) refined, (and) their minds are purified by the study of the Śâstras. What wonder does not (happen) in (this) iron age, while king Bhânudêva, the incarnation of virtue, is ruling the kingdom?

(V 5) In a family which abounded in men subsisting on (catching?) groups of elephants there was the Nâyaka Pô[lû], of brilliant fame, a leader of men, the son of the illustrious Dâmôdara. His famous, straightforward son was called Bhîma. His son was the illustrious Vâsudêva, (who resided) in Kâkaira, the town of king Bhânudêva.

¹ Read महाग्जाग°.² Read श्रीवा°.³ Read °शशि°.⁴ Read हृष्ट°.⁵ °सासीत्° and °शशि°.⁶ Read ज्येष्ठ°.⁷ Read प्रशस्ति°.⁸ Read शक्ति°.

(V. 6) This illustrious Vāsudēva, the pillar of the city, the chief gem (*shining*) with priceless splendour amongst (*his*) caste fellows, famous, devoted to the lotus-feet of king Bhānudēva, known to be very valorous before the array of knights on the battle-field, great, of wonderful power (*and*) patience, is (*now*) administering the country.

(V 7) (*This*) clever (*minister*) caused to be built two temples of the god whose ornament is the moon (*viz* Mahādēva), together with halls, a *puratōbhādra* with a gate-way, and an excellent temple (*dedicated*) to the guardian deity of the fields. Moreover (*he*) caused to be dug a large pond (*taḍāga*) and a long tank (*bandha*) called Kaudika, which contained a great quantity of water.

(V 8) The moon-light of the true fame of Vāsudēva, devoted to sacrifices and charitable works, has expanded (*and*) become established so long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure.

(Lane 18.) Samvat 1242, in the Raudra year, on the 5th (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of Jyaishta, (*this*) *prastā* was erected by the Nāyaka Vāsudēva. Written by Śaktikumāra. Hail!

POSTSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E ; GÖTTINGEN.

Prof Hultsch has asked me to express an opinion on the date of the stone inscription published above, of which he has sent me an impression. He also, at the instance of Mr Hira Lal, has requested me to give my readings of, and, if possible, to verify, the dates of two copper-plate inscriptions of the Kākairā (Kanker) chief Pamparājadēva, which are about to be published by Mr Hira Lal, and of which impressions have been forwarded by him.

The date of the stone inscription clearly is, as given by Mr Hira Lal *Samvat 1242 Raudra-samvatsarē | Jyēshṭha-vadī pañchamyaṁ* |. It does not admit of exact verification, and the only question concerning it is, to which era the year 1242 should be referred so that the date may fall in a *Raudra-samvatsara*. *A priori* the expression *samvat 1242* would be taken here to denote the Vikrama year 1242; but there is no Vikrama year 1242 that could be called a Raudra year. Nearest to V 1242, Raudra, by the southern system, would be the expired *Chaitrādī* Vikrama year 1257, and by the northern mean-sign system it would indicate the time from the 13th November A.D. 1195 to the 8th November A.D. 1196, in the expired *Chaitrādī* or *Kārttikādī* Vikrama years 1252 and 1253. If the year of the date were 1252 instead of 1242, it might be taken to be the expired *Kārttikādī* Vikrama year 1252, in which case the 5th of the dark half of Jyaishta would undoubtedly fall in a Raudra year; but there is nothing to prove that the writer erroneously put 1242 instead of 1252.

Assuming, then, the figures for the year and the Jupiter's year to have been correctly given, it would only remain to take the expression *samvat 1242*, as has been done by Mr Hira Lal, to denote the expired Śaka year 1242, which by the southern system was a Raudra year. But here we are at once met by a difficulty. In my paper on the dates of the Śaka era in inscriptions I have shown¹ that among 400 Śaka dates of inscriptions only five do not contain the word *Śaka* or *Śāka*, and that of even these five dates three are spurious or suspicious, while the two others are in verse. There is therefore every reason to assume that the writer of the inscription would have denoted the Śaka year 1242 by some such expression as *Śakē* 1242, not by *samvat* 1242. And there might be the further objection that in the Central Provinces, where the date comes from, the system of Jupiter's years ordinarily followed seems to have been the northern system, not the southern system by which alone the Śaka year 1242 can be described as a Raudra year.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXVI p. 149.

As the date cannot be verified, it would be useless to indulge in further speculations¹ To me the wording of it seems certainly to be suspicious And I can only say that, assuming the figures for the year to be correct and the date to be really a Śaka date, it would correspond to the *pūrnimānta* Jyaishta, to Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1320, and for the *amānta* Jyaishta as stated by Mr. Hira Lal, to Tuesday, the 27th, or Wednesday, the 28th May,² A.D. 1320

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of Pamparāja, one is clearly dated as follows —

[L 7] Īśvara-
[L 8] samvatsarē Kārttika-māsē Chitrā-rikshē Ravi-dinē suryōparāgē . . .
[L 10] samvat 966 . . .

i.e. "in the Īśvara year, at an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, in the *nakshatra* Chitrā in the month Kārttika, . . . in the year 966"

I have no doubt that the year 966 of this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era

In *Festgruss an Roth*, p. 53 ff, I have tried to prove from the 12 dates between the years 793 and 958, which hitherto have been available, that the Kalachuri (Chêdi) era commenced on the 5th September A.D. 248, that the years were *Āvinādi* years and the months *pūrnimānta* months, and that therefore, to convert an expired Kalachuri year into an expired year of the Kalyuga, we must add 3349 when the date falls in the bright half of Āvinā or in any month from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 3350 in all other cases Applying this here, we find that our date, for the *pūrnimānta* Kārttika of the expired Kalachuri year 966 = Kalyuga expired $966 + 3349 = 4315$, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, when the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h 33 m, and when the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Gaigā for 2 h 38 m, after mean sunrise On the same day there was a total eclipse of the sun, the greatest phase of which at Kanker (in about Long. 82° and Lat 20°) was four digits³

It will, I think, be generally admitted that Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of our date, but, in connection with this date, the writer apparently has wrongly quoted the year Īśvara instead of the immediately following year Bahudhānya. By the northern mean-sign system Īśvara lasted from the 2nd September A.D. 1212 to the 29th August A.D. 1213 By the northern luni-solar system therefore Īśvara was the proper name of Kalyuga 4314 expired, and not of the year of our date, viz Kalyuga 4315 expired, which according to the northern luni-solar system, as already intimated, would have received the name Bahudhānya For the present, I can ascribe the error only to the writer's carelessness, but the error is of such a nature that it confirms rather than invalidates our general result⁴

The date of the other copper-plate of Pamparāja I read thus —

[L 9] | samvata | 965 Bhādiapadē vadi 1[0]
[L 10] Mriga-rikshē Sō[ma]-dinē |

Here everything is perfectly clear and certain in the impression excepting the number of the *tithi* and the second *akshara* of the name of the weekday As regards the latter, it appears to

¹ If the year were 1244 (instead of 1242), it might be taken to be a Kalachuri year, in which case the date would have fallen in a Raudra year I do not mean to suggest hereby that the inscription could be assigned to so late a period (A.D. 1492-93)

² The 5th *tithi* commenced 1 h 4 m before mean sunrise of the Tuesday and ended 0 h 30 m after mean sunrise of the Wednesday

³ Between A.D. 1201 and 1250 this is the only solar eclipse in the month Kārttika that could have been visible at Kanker

⁴ Mr. Hira Lal quite lately has sent me for calculation a date from the Central Provinces, which undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1065 According to the original date, this day should fall in the year Parābhava, but by the northern luni-solar system it would fall in the year Plavanga which follows immediately upon Parābhava, and by the southern system in the year Viśāvasu which immediately precedes Parābhava

me evident that the engraver after the *akshara sô* in the first instance by mistake engraved the letter *d* (of *dinê*), and that he then altered this *d* to *ma*. Under any circumstances there could be no doubt that the intended weekday is *Sôma-dina* or 'Monday.' Nor can there be any real doubt about the number of the *tithi*. The date clearly gives us the dark half of the month Bhâdrapada and during it the *nakshatra* Mriga (*Mṛgaśirsha*). Now in the dark half the *nakshatra* will ordinarily be Mriga about the 8th *tithi* of the *amānta* and the 10th *tithi* of the *pûrṇimānta* Bhâdrapada, and a careful examination of the impression shows that the word *vadi* is actually followed by 10, the 0 of which is engraved quite on the margin of the plate. I therefore take it that the date gives us for calculation "the year 965, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of (the *pûrṇimānta*) Bhâdrapada, with the *nakshatra* Mriga and a Monday." And treating the year again as a Kalachuri year, I find the following equivalents.—

For the expired Kalachuri year 965 = Kalyuga expired 965 + 3350 = 4315. Saturday, the 2nd August A.D. 1214, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimānta* Bhâdrapada ended 18 h 25 m, and the *nakshatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h 40 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 20 h. 21 m, after mean sunrise.

For the current Kalachuri year 965 = Kalyuga 4315 current Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimānta* Bhâdrapada commenced 7 h, and when the *nakshatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h 46 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h 27 m, after mean sunrise.

Of the two, I do not hesitate to accept Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, as the true equivalent of our date. That the *tithi* of the date was a current *tithi* can cause no difficulty. And the fact that Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years is proved by another date, in an inscription of which Mr D. R. Bhandarkar some time ago has been good enough to send me a photograph. The inscription referred to is one at Scorinârāyan which the late Sir A. Cunningham had stated to be dated—

Kalachuri-samvatsarê || 898 || Āsvina-sudî 2 Sôma-dinê.

According to the photograph the date really is—

Kalachuri-samvatsarê || 898 || Āsvina-sudî 7¹ Sôma-dinê, and with this reading the date regularly corresponds, for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday, the 21st September A.D. 1145, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Āsvina ended 20 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

No. 15 —NOTE ON THE TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE, GÖTTINGEN.

While I was reading the final proof of my paper on the two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, published above p. 1 ff., I received from Prof. Hultzsch excellent ink-impressions of the two inscriptions which had been supplied to him by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. The impressions enabled me to make one or two slight corrections in my texts, but it was impossible to insert in my article Mr. Venkayya's description of the original plates, and to get ready in time the collotype facsimile of the second of the two inscriptions, the plates of Avanivarman II Yôga, which Prof. Hultzsch had at once ordered to be prepared and which is now published herewith.

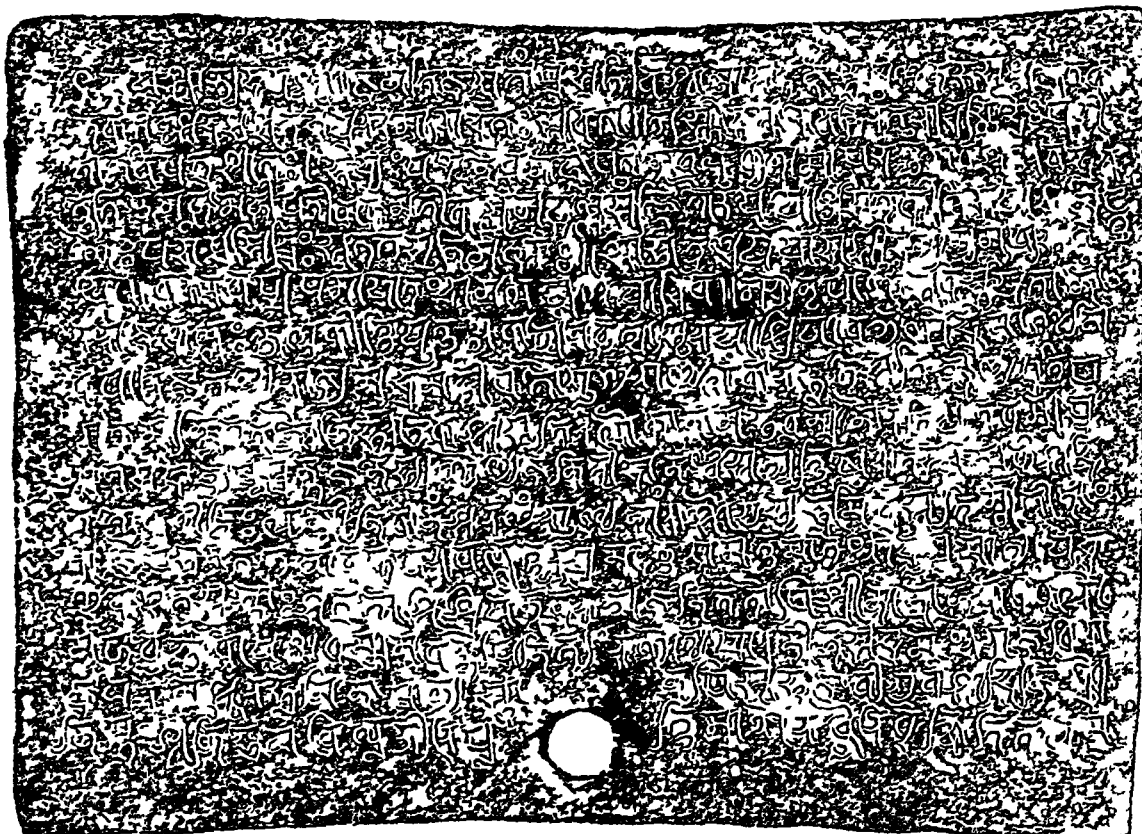
On the plates A, those of Balavarman, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows —

"The two plates are about 13" broad and about 9½" high, somewhat less in the middle. They are strung on an almost circular ring, 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured below

¹ So the *tithi* was already given, correctly, in *As. Res.* Vol. LV p. 505.

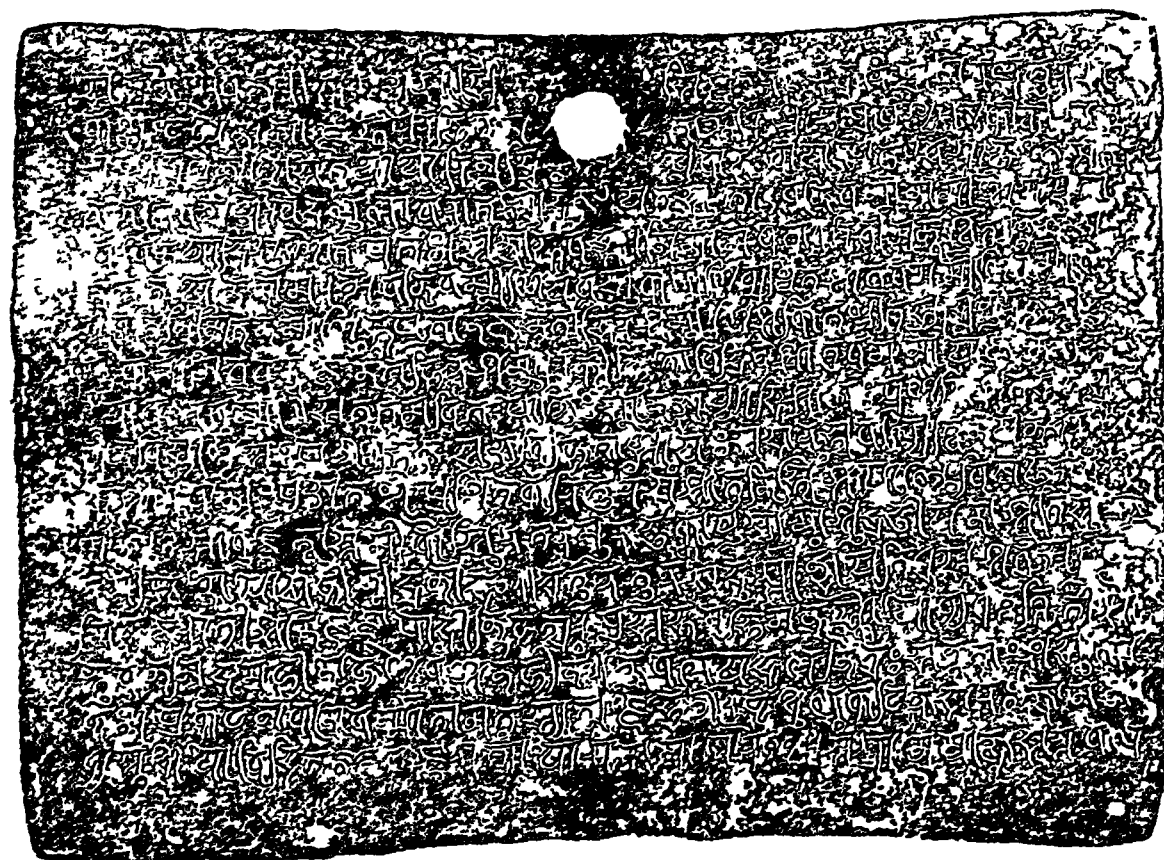
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Scale 45

E Hultzsch

Collotype by Gebr Plettner, Halle Saale.

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya.

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a circular seal, which is slightly damaged and measures nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. It is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick, and bears in relief a squatting figure, perhaps representing a god, the right hand of which seems to be raised, as if to indicate the *abhayaḥasta* Either plate near the top has a ring-hole which is about $\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter "

On the plates B, those of Avanīvarman II Yōga, Mr Venkayya writes —

"The three plates are between $12\frac{1}{8}$ " and $12\frac{1}{4}$ " broad and between $8\frac{3}{8}$ " and 9" high. They are strung on an oval ring which measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of the ring are secured below a circular seal, which is slightly mutilated and measures nearly 2" in diameter. The seal bears in relief a squatting figure, similar to the one on the seal of the other plates. Each plate contains a ring-hole which is about $\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter."

On the excellent facsimile published herewith I have to say only a few words. It will show that the inscription in some places is not very easy to read. As regards individual signs I would merely draw attention to the forms of the initial *ṛ* and *ṣ*, e.g. in *ṛha*, l 33, and *ṣam*-, l 45, to the sign for *ry*, e.g. in *auryasya*, l 11, to the final *t*, e.g. in *=bhūt*, l 32, and to the numeral figures, especially that for '9', in line 68.

In my text of the inscription the word *śrī-* has by an oversight been omitted before *Ta[ru]nā-*, above, p 10, l 57.

No. 16 —VANDRAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE)

These plates were found in the backyard of Buddhārāja Venkatarāja of Vandram, a village in the Bhīmavaram tāluka of the Kistna district, and were forwarded by the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur through the Collector of Kistna to Rāj Bahadur Venkayya, who sent me two sets of ink-impressions of them, with the following remarks. —

"These are five copper-plates, measuring $7\frac{3}{4}$ " in length and $3\frac{5}{8}$ " in height. They have high rims more than $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ring on which the plates are strung was cut by me for the first time and soldered subsequently. It is oval, measures $3\frac{1}{8}$ " by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ", and is nearly $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured in an expanded eight-petalled lotus at the bottom of a circular seal, which measures $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. The seal is much damaged, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvānāmkuṣa*, with a boar facing the proper left over it and a floral device below. The other symbols cut in the seal are not quite distinct. Traces of the sun over the boar, of the crescent of the moon behind his tail, and of an elephant goad in front of him are visible."

The first and last plates bear writing only on one side, and the three remaining plates on both sides. The plates are in a bad state of preservation. Of plate i a small portion is missing. Plate ii b is a palimpsest, and part of its writing is effaced. The two first lines of plate iii b and some letters of the two last lines of plate iv a are damaged by corrosion. Of plate iv b the two first lines and part of the third are in a still worse condition. On the last plate (v) some letters are more or less doubtful.

After the MS of this article had gone to the press, I received from Mr Venkayya the original copper-plates, with the help of which I was able to improve my readings of several indistinct words.

The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the usual type. I would only draw attention to the peculiar form of the secondary *ṛ* in *-mūrtīr*-, l 18, and *samāhūya*, l 36 f. The language is Sanskrit, but the four first lines of the last plate contain some Telugu words. The Sanskrit portion consists of both prose and verses.

The inscription opens with the genealogy of Ammarāja (II) of the (Eastern) Chālukya (15) dynasty. Ll. 1-17 are practically identical with ll. 1-23 of the Elavarū grant of the same king¹ But Vikramāditya (I) receives the title Yuvarāja (l. 13), and the name *Kollabiganda* is twice (ll. 14 and 17) spelt with *b*, not with *bh*.

Ammarāja II is then praised in seven verses, all of which occur in his Padankalūru grant,² where they are however differently arranged.³ The two verses (5 and 6) recording the date of his coronation are also found in the Mahyapūndi grant⁴ It is a curious fact that the major portion of plate ii b (consisting of verses 3-5 and nearly the whole of verse 6) of the Vandram plates is engraved over another grant of Ammarāja II, which seems to have been partially effaced by the writer, but of which distinct traces are still visible⁵ I subjoin a transcript of those lines of the original inscription on plate ii.b which can still be made out.

- 20 स समस्तभुवनाय्यश्रीविजयादित्यम-
 21 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुध्या-
 22 यी वेङ्गिसहस्राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान् कुटुंबिनस्तमाह्वयेत्यमाज्ञा-
 23 पयति [!*] विदितम् स वंशे वशिष्ठगोत्रो विद्वान् आ-

The poetical description of Amma's reign is followed by a prose passage (ll. 30-37) which is worded in nearly the same manner as ll. 30-36 of the Elavarū grant⁶ Ammarāja II., who is here styled '*Samastabhuvanāśraya*, the glorious Vijayāditya (VI.) *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the very pious one, who meditates at the feet of (his) mother and father, thus commands, having called (them) together, the ryots, headed by the *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, inhabiting the twelve villages (the chief one of which is) Prāndorū in the Pāvunavāra district (*vishaya*)'

So far the text can be easily transcribed and understood. But the remainder of the inscription cannot be deciphered in full, as a number of words in the damaged portions are doubtful or quite illegible. Besides, the author of the long metrical passage describing the donee (ll. 37-61) knew so little Sanskrit, or got his draft copied in such an imperfect way, that I am unable to propose satisfactory corrections even of some of the well-preserved portions of it. The whole of this passage seems to be in verse. Making allowance for the damaged and lost lines I number the verses as 8-23. Verse 8 praises the family (*gōtra*) named Mitrāyu. A descendant of it was Tūrkkaya-Peddiya⁷ (v. 9), who lived in the large village Rāviparū (v. 10), his son Vijayāditya (v. 11) and his grandson Tūrkkaya-Yajvan (v. 12). The last had by Kandamāmbā a son named Kuppānaya (v. 14), who seems to have enjoyed the titles of minister (*amātya*, v. 15) and vassal (*sāmānta*, v. 16). He had the surname Vipranārā[yaṇa] (v. 21) and founded a shrine of Śiva at Drākshārāma.⁸

"To this Kuppān[ā]mātya, who is devoted to Me, the village named Tānderū has been given by Us, having made (it) an *Agrahāra*; to whom (the village) named [Beṭi]pūndi (in the neighbourhood) of Prāndorū⁹ in your district¹⁰ (*vishaya*), together with the share of gold,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 91 ff.

² *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 15 ff.

³ The verses of the Padankalūru grant (ll. 23-37) correspond to the following verses of the Vandram plates : 1, 4, 3, 5, 6, 7, 2, and an additional verse is inserted between 1 and 4.

⁴ Above, p. 47 ff.

⁵ Both sides of plate v. also exhibit traces of obliterated writing. A grant of Bhūma I. is a similar palimpsest; see Prof. Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol. V. p. 127.

⁶ In the latter the epithet *mātāpitrūpādānudyātāh* (l. 35) is however missing.

⁷ With Tūrkkaya compare the names Tūrkaśarman (above, Vol. V. p. 120, note 14) and Tūrkkama (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII p. 214, text l. 49).

⁸ *Drākshārāmē kṛta-Śiva-niṣayā*; v. 22 (l. 58).

⁹ *Prāndorū* is the Telugu genitive of *Prāndorū* (l. 35).

¹⁰ *I.e.* in the Pāvunavāra-*vishaya* of l. 35.

was given with exemption from all taxes, having made (it) an *Agrahāra* " I subjoin my reading of this passage, which is so peculiarly worded, that it remains doubtful whether the present grant refers to Tānderu or to Betipūndi or to both, and whether only the second or both of them belonged to the Pāvunavāra-vishaya

61 तस्मै कुप्यन[र*]म[र]त्या[य]

62 मङ्गलाय¹ ताण्डे²नामग्राममग्रहारिकृत्योस्माभिदत्त³ । य[स्य भव]द्दि-

63 षवे प्रान्दो⁴ति [विटि]पूण्डिनाम सह[र*]टकभागमग्रहारा[री*]कृत्य सर्व[कर]-

64 पर⁵ दत्त इति विदितमस्तु वः[] ॥ अस्य (स) ग्रामस्यावधय[ः*] ॥

Of the subsequent description of the boundaries of the village granted (II 64-67) I am unable to furnish a satisfactory transcript The remainder of the inscription (II 67-72) is nearly identical with II 57-60 of the *Elavarru* grant⁴ The last line (72) seems to read —

य(र) ते कृमिः ॥ [२५*] आज्ञप्तिः कटकराजः [र*] महा[का]भट्टक[र*]व्यं [र*]
जोन्ताचार्येण लिखितं ॥

Accordingly the *Ājñapti* was the *Kaṭaharāja*,⁶ the poet⁷ Mahā[kā⁸]bhāṭṭa, and the writer Jontāchārya⁸

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Drākshārāma is well-known,⁹ and the Pāvunavāra-vishaya is probably the same as Pāgunavara-vishaya in a grant of Bhīma II.¹⁰ The villages Prāndoru, Betipūndi, Tānderu and Rāviparru I am unable to identify

FIRST HALF OF THE TEXT¹¹

First Plate

1 ✽ स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हा-

2 रीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालीतानां¹² स्वा-

3 मिमहासेनपादानुध्यायीनां¹³ भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादित-

4 वरवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानाम-

5 ¹⁴श्वमेधावभृतस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषा चालुक्यानां कुलम-

6 लंकरिणीः सत्य[र*]श्रयवक्त्रभेन्द्र[स्य*] भ्राता कुजविष्णुवर्धनोष्टाद-

7 श वर्ष[र]णि वेगिदेशमपालयत् ॥ तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिशतं । त-

8 दनुजेन्द्ररा[जनन्दनो] विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तत्पुत्रो गियुवराजः पञ्चविं-¹⁵

9 शतिं । तत्पुत्रो जय[सिंहस्त्रयोदश] । तद्वरजः कोकिलिः षण्मासान् ॥

¹ Read मङ्गलाय

² Read °हारौकृत्योस्माभिदत्त

³ Read परिहारिण

⁴ Instead of *tath-ōktam Vyāsēna*, I 69 reads *tathā ch-ōktam Vyāsa-bhāṭṭi[ā*]rakēna(na)*

⁵ Read कटक°

⁶ See above, p 49 f

⁷ I.e. the author of the verses describing the donee In other grants of Ammarāja II Pōtanabhāṭṭa and Mādhavabhāṭṭa are mentioned as 'poets'

⁸ The same person was the writer of the *Elavarru* and *Padankalūru* grants

⁹ See e.g. above, Vol IV p 37, note 3

¹⁰ *Ind Ant* Vol. XIII p 213

¹¹ From two sets of ink-impressions and the original copper-plates

¹² Read °पालितानां.

°ध्यायिनां

¹⁴ Read °मृध°.

¹⁵ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

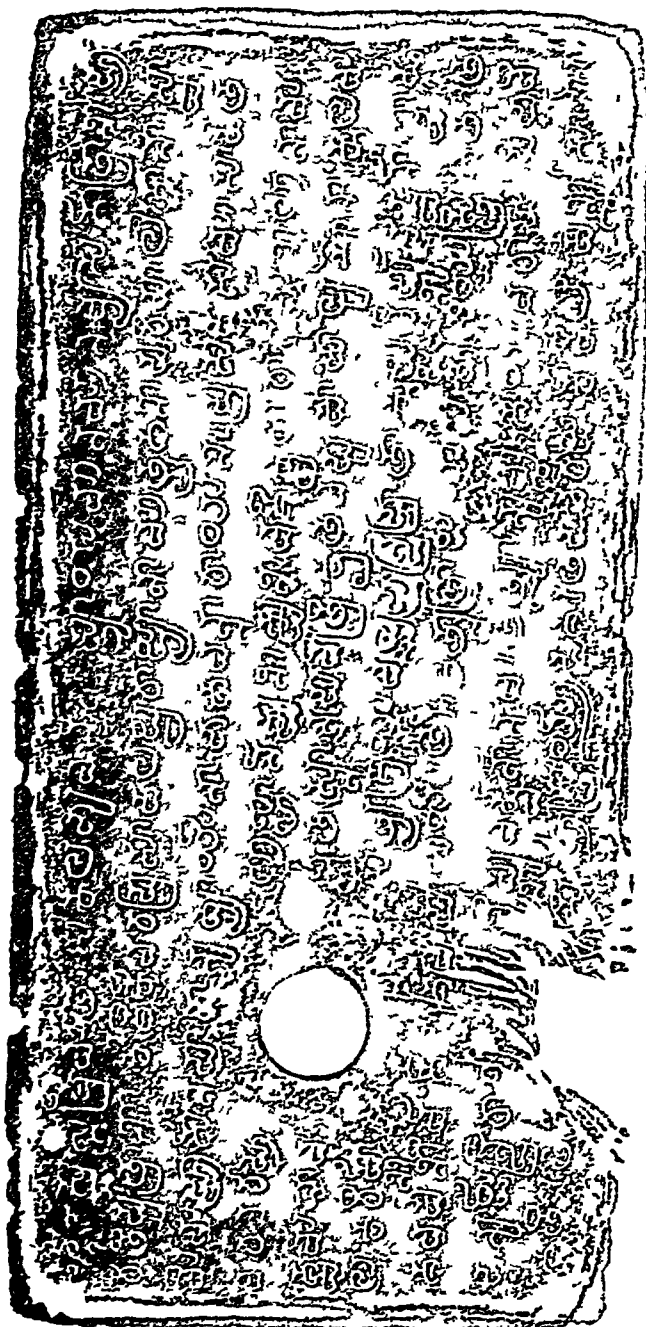
Second Plate, First Side

- 10 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्चाद्य सप्तत्रिंशतं । तत्पुत्रो विजया-
दित्यभट्टार-
- 11 कोष्टादश । तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्द्धनः षट्त्रिंशतं । तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यनरेन्द्र-
मृगराज-
- 12 आष्टाचत्वारिंशतं । तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोद्वर्द्धवर्ष । तत्पुत्रो गुणगां-
कविजया-
- 13 दित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशतं । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यभूपतेः सूनुश्चालु-
- 14 क्यभिममूपालस्त्रिंशतं । तत्पुत्रः कोल्लविगण्डविजयादित्यः पण्मासान् ।
तत्सूनुर-
- 15 म्मराजः सप्त वर्षाणि² । तत्पुत्रविजयादित्यं वालमुच्चाद्य तालपो मासमेकं [1*]
- 16 त जित्वा चालुक्यभीमतनयो विक्रमादित्य एकादश मासान् । ततस्ता-
लपराजस्य सुतो युद्ध-
- 17 मल्लः सप्त वर्षाणि । तं जित्वा कोल्लविगण्डविजयादित्यसुतो भीमराजो
द्वादश वर्षाणि । तस्य म-
- 18 हे[श्व]रमूर्त्तैरुमासमानाकृतेः कुमारारामः [1*] लोकमहादेव्याः खलु यस्मिन्-
भवदम्भराजा-

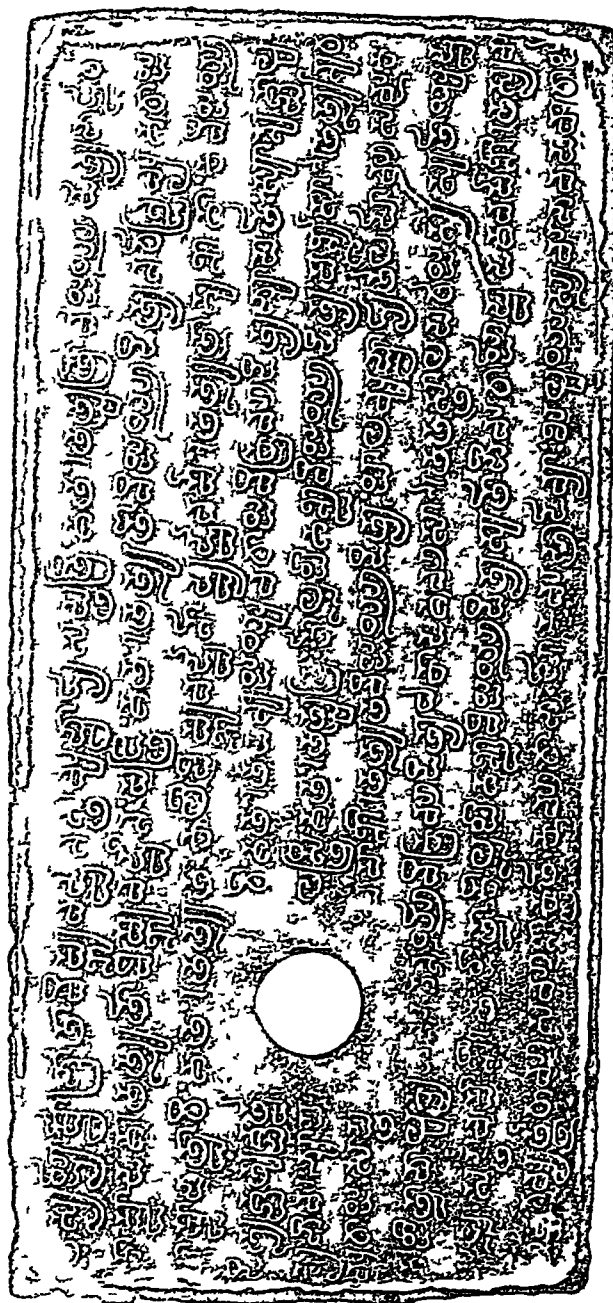
Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 ख्यः ॥ [1*] यो रूपेण मनोजं विभवेन सहेन्द्रमहिमकरसुरमहसा
[1*] हरमरियुग्द-
- 20 हनेन न्यकुर्व्व(1)न्माति विदितदिगवजिकर्त्तिः³ ॥ [२*] कधिगायककल्पतरु-
द्विजमुनि-⁴
- 21 दीनाम्बवन्मुजनसु(न)रभिः । याचकजनचिन्तामणिरवनिशम-⁵
- 22 निर्महोयमहसा द्युमणि[ः*] ॥ [३*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो वि-
- 23 विधायुधकोविदो [विलीनारिकुल]ः । करितुरगागमकुश-
- 24 लो हरचर मधुपः⁶ श्रीमान् ॥ [४*] गिरिर-
- 25 सवसुसंख्याब्दे⁷ सक[स] [शी]र्वमासेस्मिन् [1*] कृष्ण-
चयो-
- 26 दशदिने भृगुवारे मैत्रनक्ष[त्रे] ॥ [५*] धनुषि रवौ घटलग्ने द्वाद-
- 27 [श]वर्षे तु [जन्मनः] पट्ट । योधादुदयगिरिन्द्रो⁸ रवि[रि]व लोका-

¹ Read °क्यभीम°.² Read वर्षाणि³ Read °कौचि° From here to the end (1 27) this side of the plate is a palimpsest⁴ Read °तर्द्धिज°⁵ Read °रवनीशमणि°.⁶ Read °व्याब्दे शकसमये मार्गशीर्ष°⁷ Read हरचरपाभीजयुगलमधुप .⁸ Read °बिरौन्द्री रविमिव.



11a

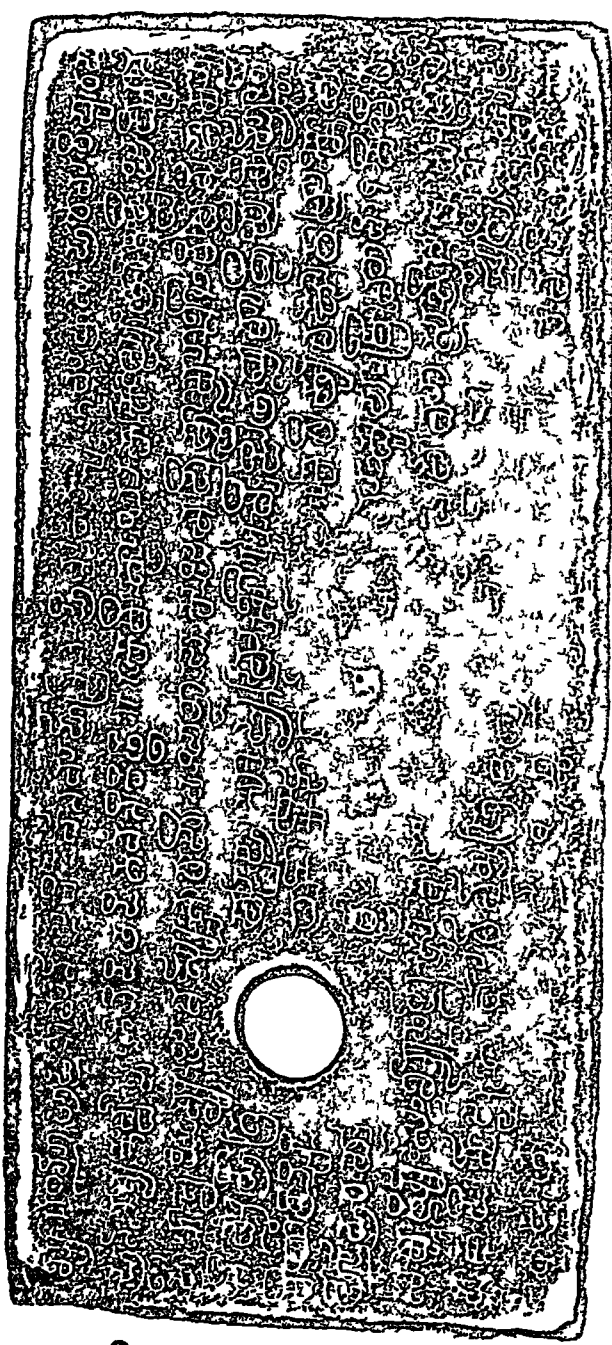


E. Hultzschi

Scale 8

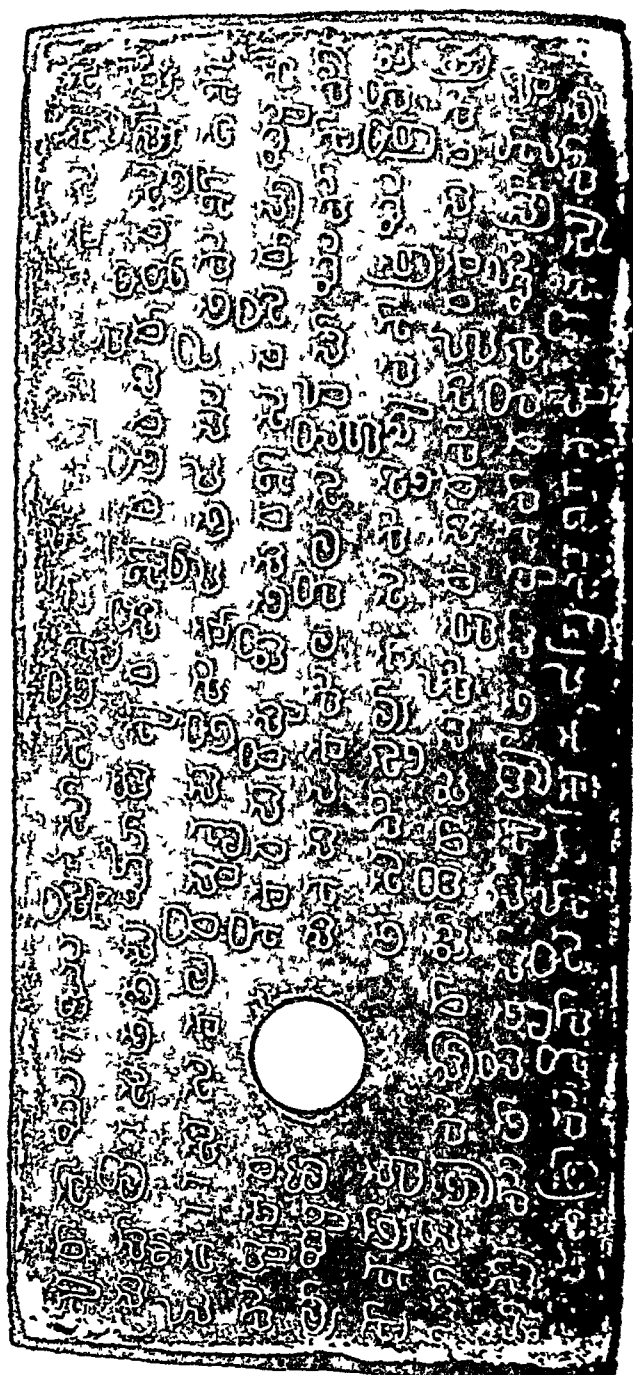
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Third Plate, First Side

- 28 नुरागाय ॥ [६*] यस्मिन्^१ सासति नृपतौ परिपक्वानिकसस्यसं-^२
 29 पच्छालिः । ^३सततपयोधेनुरभिर्णिरीतिरपरुग्निरस्तचोरो
 30 देशः ॥ [७*] स सकलरिपुनृपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगण-
 31 मधुकरनिकरपरिचुंवितचरणसरसिरुहयुग-
 32 लोयु[ग*]लोचनपदकमलविलसद्विरेफायमानो^४ मा-
 33 नोन्नतोदतः^५ समस्तलोकः समस्तभुवनाययथीविज-
 34 यादित्यमहाराजाधिराजप[र*]मेश्वरः परमभट्टारक. परमव्र-
 35 ह्मण्यः मातापितृपादानुध्यात. पावुनवारविपये प्रान्दो७१-
 36 [द्वाद]शग्रामनिवासिनो गद्रकृटप्रमुखाकुटुंबिनस्समाह-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 37 वेद्यमाज्ञापयति ॥

No. 17.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

By F. W. THOMAS, M.A., LONDON

The Mathurā lion-capital was discovered by the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrapr under circumstances detailed in his article on *The Northern Khatrapas* edited and published by Professor E. J. Rapson the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol XXVI 1894, pp 541-554; see in particular pp 542-4. It was found embedded in the steps of an altar devoted to Śītalā on a site belonging to some low-caste Hindus at Mathurā, but not more definitely located. Having been with difficulty secured by Dr Bhagvanlal, the capital was conveyed to Bombay, subsequently, on his death, it was despatched to England, and it can now be seen in the Buddhist Room at the British Museum.

The inscriptions incised on the capital were transcribed and translated by the discoverer himself; but owing to his death the task of publishing the MS. was entrusted by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to the late Professor Buhler, who was able to compare the readings with the stone itself and with paper impressions presented to him in 1889 by Dr James Burgess. At the commencement of the published account, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol XXVI 1894, pp 525-540, Prof Buhler observes that "the collation has made necessary some alterations in the transcript and in the translation, among which the more important ones have been pointed out in the notes. But I may confidently assert that all really essential points have been fully settled and explained by Dr. Bhagvanlal, whose great acumen and scholarship are as conspicuous in his interpretation of these inscriptions as in his other epigraphic publications. For convenience's sake, I have prefixed an introduction, summarising the chief results deducible from the inscriptions."

^१ Read यस्मिन्नासति.^२ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line^३ Read °रमीर्णिरीति°.^४ Read °माणी.^५ The El. appu grant (l. 32 f.) supplies the correct reading मानोन्नतो नतीरुवसमनलोक.

While endorsing in the main these statements of so great an authority, from all points of view, as the late Prof Bühler I have endeavoured, in re-editing the inscriptions with Plates, which before were wanting, to give an unbiased reading based upon new impressions supplied by the kindness of the Department in the Museum (at the instance of Dr J F Fleet, who originated the suggestion of this article), and upon frequent inspections of the stone itself. The present versions will therefore be found to differ in some particulars from those of Dr. Bhagyanlal and Prof Bühler.

The shape and dimensions of the capital will be best realized from the accompanying Plates, but some particulars demand a verbal description. In the first place, the circular hole in the upper square surface, corresponding to a similar hole in the under surface, proves that the capital was surmounted by a shaft or some other continuation. Prof Bühler remarks that various representations on slabs from the Amarāvati Stūpa prove this shaft to have supported a *Dharma-chakra*, referring to the Archaeological Survey Plates published by Dr. Burgess (Plate xxxviii figs 1 and 6, and Plate xl figs 3 and 4). But it has already been pointed out by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, pp 216 and 464, that the use of lion-capitals of actual pillars was a common feature in Indian architecture, derived from Persian models. Examples may be seen in the Archaeological Survey publications relating to Bharhut (Cunningham, Plates vi, viii, x.), Sâlichî (Maisey, Plates xix, xxxiii), Mathurâ (V A. Smith, Plates xliii-xlvi. and xlix-1.), Amarāvati (Burgess, p 93, Plates xlix liii, liv, lv, and Burgess, 1882, Plate xiv), and elsewhere. The presumption, therefore, is that the lion-capital formed the crown of a real pillar.

Secondly, the state of the stone has been somewhat impaired by time and accident. In some cases, e.g. in the loss of the horn-like projections of the two heads, this has involved no curtailment of the text. The chippings at the two bottom corners have been, no doubt, equally harmless. But the front, which would be the most exposed portion of the stone, has in part so peeled away as to render some characters illegible. In the second line of the large inscription carved on the body of the lion to the spectator's left (J 1 1) the large *rva* is followed by traces of two or three *aksharas* of equal size leading to a partly visible *sa* (?), after which intervene three doubtful characters before we come to firm ground again in *pul*.¹

In size the *aksharas* vary considerably. We may distinguish five groups: (1) the inscriptions B E F I. J M on the front and back of the stone (among which I perhaps exceeds the others slightly in size), having characters about 2-2½ in in height; (2) G N P E'', on the back and under surface of the stone, circa 2-1½ in; (3) A (on the unpolished top and back of the stone), K. L (on the breast of the left lion), O Q R (underneath), J' (front, on the leg of the left lion), circa 1½ in; (4) C. D E' (which may be estimated from E', slightly the largest, visible among the characters of E), circa 1 in; (5) H H', slightly incised in small characters, of about ¾ in, at the places indicated on the front. In the same inscription the *aksharas* generally maintain a fair average size, but sometimes they become a little cramped by limitations of space. It is clear that the inscriptions in the larger characters (1), (2) and (3) were carved first, and those of a smaller size were afterwards crammed in wherever space offered.

In type, on the other hand, the characters present an uniformity which, like the subject-matter of the records, forbids any supposition of additions during the subsequent history of the stone. They have been compared by Prof. Bühler to those of the Shâhbâzgarhî and Mansehra versions of the Edicts of Aśoka. But the degree of similarity and dissimilarity may now be more exactly estimated from Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, where the columns viii and ix

¹ In quoting Kharoṣṭhî records, length of vowels is noted except where the intention is to insist upon the exact reading supplied by the original in question.

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital
in the British Museum
Front of the capital



FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS
W. GRIGGS COLLOTYPE

4

5

of Plate No 1 are based chiefly upon these inscriptions. The type may be described as intermediate between the Aśoka forms and the cursive derivatives of the Dhammapada MS and those discovered by Dr Stein, to which approximate the vase scratchings from Māmkālā and other places and the inscription of Sue-Vihār (see the Plate given by Dr Hoernle in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol X. facing p 325). It does not, however, appear to be quite identical with that exhibited in any of these or in the Taxila plate (see the facsimile above, Vol IV. facing p 56), where on account of the historical contiguity we should expect to find, and do find, a near congener. The inscriptions edited by M. Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér IX Vol XIII (1899), p 526 ff. and Vol IV. (1894), p 504 ff (No. 35), are also in similar characters (see the Plates).

The forms of the individual letters may be seen from Plate IV. Those of *ṭha*, *su*, *mu*, *spa*, the position of medial *e* and the looped form of *u* have been described by Bühler. Attention may be called to the *rda* in Q 1, the *spa* in A 7, the *rna* (?) in I 1, the curious form in J 1 interpreted by Bühler as *shṭe*, the archaic *ma* with the original angle beneath in A 2. A few points call for further consideration. The form of *ta*, which occurs many times, has in other records the value of *tra* (see the Plate). Although we have certainly one case (J 2, in *kārta*), and perhaps two others (E" in *krakārta*?, and R 1 in *Tachhīlāsa* or *Bachhīlāsa*?), where the bottom curve is wanting, the character occurs so often that there can be no doubt as to what it denotes. In supposing it to be a *da* Bühler, who in his articles in the *Z D M. G* Vol XLIII. pp 133 and 294-6 has read a similar character as *tt* (so also Johansson, *Der Dialekt der Shāhbāgarhī-Redaktion*, I p 126), was influenced by finding it in *pratésō* (M 2) and similar cases. But the regular form of *da* is several times instanced, and the *t* for *d* in *pratésō* and elsewhere is a dialectical, not an orthographical, feature, found in other Kharōṣṭhī records.

The only question remaining, as concerns *ta*, is part of a larger matter. How do we find represented the conjunct *r*? In a number of cases the addition is made by a stroke inclined to the left attached to the lower curve. This occurs in A 1 (*chhatira*°), A. 6 (*mātrā*), A. 7 (*putrā*°). In these examples there was some slight danger of confusion with *tō*, which shows (see the Plate) a similar stroke attached to the upper curve. Perhaps for this reason another device is more frequently adopted, namely a dot in place of the stroke, see B 1 and 3 (*chhatira*°), B. 2 (*putra*), M 1 (*chhatira*°), Q. 2 (*chhatira*°). There remain A 3 (where *te* is written), A. 5 (where I can detect no clear indication of the *r*-stroke or dot), G. 1 (where there is nothing attached to the *ta*, though the reading may be *chhratava*, if not *chchhatava*), G 2 (*chhatava*), A. 9 (where we seem to have *atraūrēna* for *atē*°). In A 1 we have two strokes, both of which seem to be intentional; one of them, which resembles the downward stroke of the Aramaic and Pahlavi *t*, I have conjectured to denote a doubled *t* before the *r*. Of a cerebral (*ṭa*) I can find no trace, unless indeed it is contained in the mysterious third sign of A. 13.

With other consonants than *t* the *r* is regularly inserted where required. We may quote *bhra* in A. 7 (where it takes the form of a detached stroke), *gra* in A. 2 and N. 2, *pra* in A. 10 (*pradhraṭipra*°), A. 11 (*prati*°), M 3 (*pratésō*), N. 3, *dhra* in A. 10 and M 2, *chhra* (*chchha*?) in G. 2 and I 1 (*chhratava*° and *chhratrava*). In the last example, as also in *pradhraṭi* (A. 10, *paḍhraṭi* in I 2), it would seem to be even repeated; but this may be a feature of pronunciation rather than of writing. A really otiose *r*-stroke is found in *mahēshri*, A. 2, and probably in *Pispasri*, A. 7.

The case of *kra* is peculiar. If we disregard the doubtful inscription E", it is found four times, in *bhakraṭatō* (A. 12), *nākraruasa* (F 1 and N. 1), and *sakrastānasa* (P. 1), *ie* in places where we expect a simple *ga*. This can hardly be accidental; it would seem probable that in these cases the combination *kra* represents a spirantic pronunciation of *ga*, analogous to the Persian *ḡ*, more especially as in the name of Seistān (Pahlavi *Saghasstān*) this sound no doubt prevailed at the time.

A few further points remain to be noticed (1) In *ateurēna* and *hōrahāparivārēna* (A. 9 and 10) we find a perhaps intentional stroke diverging from the tail of the *na*, though not in both cases on the same side. Have we here *na*? The rather noticeable variations in the form of the nasal may be observed in Plate IV.

(2) *Sa* varies between the forms with and without the small adjunct near the centre (see Plate IV). In N 3 the addition of the *r*-stroke makes *sum*. In E 4 a slight curve at the foot may also indicate *sum*, anticipating as in the Stein documents, the following nasal. A writing *sya* is certainly to be seen in G. 1 and probably also in B 2.

(3) The two occurrences of *kharaōsta* (A. 4 and E 1) seem both to show a small diverging mark in the place where *h* is usually appended, a circumstance which, together with the probable derivation of the word, suggests a reading *rha=hra*.

(4) In A 2 *a* has a small stroke added as a sort of head.

(5) In A 13 we have the distinguishing mark of *ś* vertical and at the top, elsewhere it is horizontal and at the centre.

(6) The *śē* of A 11 has two small (head and foot) strokes differentiating it from the *śē* of the previous line,—apparently without reason.

(7) The complicated *jo* of C. 2 recalls the varieties on the coins (see Gardner, *The Coins of Bactria*, pp. 55, 83).

(8) Lastly we may mention that the stone presents a number of dots and other small marks which must apparently be ascribed to accident or wear. In some cases we might be tempted to trace the *anusvāra*, e.g. in J, where we should thus arrive at a reading *Sarvāstivātannam*.

The Prākṛit in which the inscriptions are composed has been described by Bühler and perhaps need not be discussed at length. It is distinguished by closeness to Sanskrit. Elision of medial consonants occurs, if we neglect the suffixal *h* (*nāgarāa*, *kuśūlāa*, *māhāsānghia*), only in *ateurena* (for *°vurēna* ?), *saśpa*[t]ē. In *ayana* and *puya* (= *āchārya* and *pūjā*) we have a weakening of *ch* to *y*. I have suggested (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 205) that the sound denoted by this *y* was that of the French *j*, and the matter will arise again in connection with the proper names. The changes apparent in the word *chhatrava* are not necessarily Indian. The hardening of *g* and *d* to *kr* and *t* has been already dealt with, on the other hand *p* appears in *thūa* and *pratiḥāvitō* as *v*, never *b* as *p*. Conjunction *s* is, except in foreign and technical names (*kharaōsta*, *sakastāna*, *sarvāstivāda*), assimilated ([t] *thūva*, *kadhavāra*, *prati*[t] *thārita*, *bhi*[h] *khu*), *r*, on the other hand, remains both as prior (*sarva*, *khadaa*), and as posterior, member of a conjunction. The forms of the *a* and *ā* declensions are very well preserved. The nominative sing. masc. appears both as *a* (in *thūva*, etc.) and as *o* (*kharaōstō*, etc.), the neuter is in *a*[m] (*śarīra*[m]), the genitive singular in [*s*] *sa*, twice written *sya*. In *-munisa* the *i* declension shows the Prākṛit form, of the *i* inflexion we have several forms (instrumental *-iā*, etc.). The *r*-stems seem to be regular (*dhite* in A 3 being a miswriting for *dhitrā*), while in *yuvarāṇa*[h] in A 4 we have an ultra-Sanskrit use of the consonant paradigm. We may note the employment of *sarvāstivāda* in place of *°vādin*. The only pronouns occurring are *imō*, nominative masculine, and *iśē*, a locative, and the only finite verb *bhūsavī* (certainly not *bhūsati*, as Bühler read) presents a problem, see the note to A 13. The false concord *śarīra pratiḥāvitō* is found elsewhere (see the note *ad loc*).

We now come to the historical matter, which has been discussed both by Bühler, pp. 529-33, and by Professor Rapson (p. 541 ff. of the same volume). The object of the chief inscription (A.) is to record a religious donation on the part of the Chief Queen of the Satrap Rājula, with whom are associated various members of her family and her whole court. In the other inscriptions we find honourable mention of (1) certain other members of the Satrap family at Mathurā, (2) other Satraps, and (3) a Buddhist teacher, or two Buddhist teachers, bearing the

names Buddhila (or Buddhila) and Bu[d]dhadêva. The last named, who is termed an *âchôrya* and represented as a champion of the Sarvâstivâdin school against the rival Mâhâsânghikas, bears a name which cannot have been rare; one teacher of this name is mentioned by Târanâtha as a leader of the Vaibhâshikas (see Schiefner's translation, pp. 4 and 67, and the references in the St Petersburg Dictionary), and we have therefore no sufficient means of identification. It is different with some of the other names.

In the first place, the Great Satrap Râjûla himself and his son, the Satrap Śudâsa, have both been identified with rulers named on coins and in other inscriptions from Mathurâ (see Bühler, pp 531-2, *Ep Ind.* Vol. I pp 195-6, 199, Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. III p 30, and Vol XX pp 48-9, V. A. Smith, *Mathurâ*, p 21, Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p 9, § 33). These identifications were made by Cunningham, who also proposed to identify the *Yuvârîja* Kharaôsta with the Kharamôsta, son of Artas, known from coins, a suggestion which is scarcely tenable (Bühler, *op. cit* p 532). The further identification of the Great Satrap Kusûlaa Pâtika with Pâtika, son of the Satrap Laaka Kusûlaka, named in the Taxila plate, is important not only as supplying a date, though in an unknown era,—for the Taxila Plate is dated in the year 78, (in the time) of the Great King Môga,—but also as implying that the other Satraps mentioned may also have ruled in distant places. It appears therefore that the inscriptions make a point of naming with respect the chief representatives of the Kshatrapa dominion in Northern India, and this is a strong argument for retaining the evident interpretation of inscription P as 'in honour of the whole Saka realm' (*Sakastâna*). It is therefore important to ascertain what other indications of nationality the inscriptions supply.

In an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906 (pp 181-216, see also pp 460-4) I have endeavoured to prove (1) that Sakas inhabited the region now known as Seistan as early as the time of Darius the Great and Alexander, (2) that the inscriptions of the lion-capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Saka nomenclature, and I have inferred that the Kshatrapas of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Saka domination. I think that all these propositions must be adhered to. Upon the first of them we need not dwell here. The second is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Pâtika of Taxila, who bears himself a distinctively Persian name, mentions as his overlord the Great King Môga, whose name is with equal distinctiveness Saka.

I may here refer to a small point in the Taxila inscription which is not without interest. The form of the phrase *chhatrapasa Laakô Kusûlakô nâma tasa* (for *chhatrapasa Laakasa Kusûlakasa*), which recurs in a second phrase, has been by Bühler compared with passages in two of the Jama inscriptions from Mathurâ. We may perhaps find something of the kind in later Sanskrit inscriptions and in the style of the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitôpadêśa*. But the turn of the phrase is so conspicuous a feature of the edicts of the Achæmenids that we are strongly tempted to regard it as, like the earliest Indian architecture, derived through the Satraps from a Persian model.

This is not the place for resuming at length the discussion of the etymology of all the names occurring in the inscriptions. A few points may be mentioned—

1. The name *Kharaôsta* or *Kharha(hra)ôsta*, as = *khshathra*, 'sovereignty,' + *ôsta*, 'blessing,' is practically certain. The initial *kha*, which reappears in *khaharâta* with variant *kshaharâta*, presents no difficulty, it recurs in the *khapallâna* (no doubt = *khshathraphlâna*, 'defence of sovereignty,') of the new Sârânâth inscription (above, Vol VIII p. 173 ff). The variation in the initial consonant group, of which we find a third form in *chhatrapa*, is of the same nature as that in *cavalier* and *chivalry*, that is to say, it is due to historical and dialectical differences.¹

¹ On a coin given by Prof. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. III No 1, we have *Kshahardta* in Brâhmî together with *Chhaharâta* in Kharoshthî, some of the Nâsik inscriptions have *Khahharâta*, etc.

The *hra*, from *thra*, arose (with other forms) on Iranian soil, *Mihra* (Skt *Mihra*) being a variant of *Mithra*,¹ of which a still more simplified form is found in *Miraboyana* of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (see M. Boyer's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. X Vol. III. (1904) pp 463-4); the old Persian dialect had also *s*, concerning which it may be sufficient to refer to the grammars

2 *Mévaki* is no doubt a variant of the Scythian name *Mauakes* Μευακης, which we find attached to the king Manes and Môga (= *Mauaka*).

3 The two names *Kâlûi*, *Kâmûiô* show a Pahlavî suffix *ûi*, in the second case with addition of an Indian termination.

4 *Nauludo* is no doubt for *Naurûdô*, 'New Growth,' with a Pahlavî or Afghan *l* for *r*.

5. The element *Khala-* appears in *Khalama* and *Khalasamušo*.

6 The termination *-ûs* in *Kômûsâ* and *°samûšo* seems to be Scythic

7. The element *-si* in *Âyasi*, *Kômûsâ*, *Nandasikasa*, *Paspasi* is certainly not the Sanskrit *śrī*, which would have been so written in these inscriptions. It is a derivative element, perhaps identical with the *-cî*, *-zî* (Pahlavî *-cîk*) which appears in many Iranian names

8 The *y* in *Âyasi*, *Hayuarana*, *Âyimisa*, found also on the coins as an alternative for *z* in *Âyilisa*, etc (see Gardner, *op. cit* pp 93, 173), most probably represents a *j* sound resembling the French *j*, for which reasons it must also remain undetermined whether the *ayaria* (= *âchârya*) and *puya* (= *pûjâ*) of our inscriptions were intended or not to represent a pronunciation with a *y*.

9 The name *Abûhólâ* doubtless consists of two members, *Abû* (of uncertain meaning) to be traced in Αβουλιτης (see Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s v) + *hólâ*, a variant of the *hóra* in *Spâlahóra* and the *hórakâ* of our inscriptions. That *spâla* is a Pahlavî form of O Pers. *spâda* = Zend *spâda* = Neo-Pers *spâh* is plain from its occurrence in *Spalapati*, which corresponds to the Persian *Ispahbad*, Pahlavî *Spâhpat* (see Justi, *op. cit* and Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, No. 699). As the Zend-Persian *ahura* is used in the sense of 'prince' and as the form *hóra* is to be traced in the common (Sassanian) name *Hormisdas*, there can be no reason to doubt that this is the meaning of the second part of the name of *Abûhólâ* and that her *hórakâparivâra* was a 'retinue of princesses (or ladies)'

10. As regards the term *Kusûlâa* (= *Kusûlaka* of the Taxila Plate), it seems to me extremely unlikely that the word is unrelated to the *Kuyûla*, *Kujûla*, Κοζουλα applied to Kadphuses and Kanishka, more especially now that the Sârnâth inscriptions have brought Kanishka into relation with the northern Satraps. The word seems to me to have been probably a title of the order of *Śâkhib*, *Bahâdur*, and the like.

It will now be sufficient to enumerate the persons occurring in the inscriptions. These are —

(1) The family of Râjûla :—

(a) Râjûla himself with his sons Kharaôsta (*Yuvarâja*,² son of the Chief Queen Abûhólâ), Sudâsa (entitled Satrap), Khalama (entitled *Kumâra*³), and Maja (entitled *Kamshîha*),—the two last also being possibly children of the Chief Queen Abûhólâ—and his daughter Hana

(2) Five other, probably princely, persons *Kâlûi*, *Naurûdô*, *Kâmûiô*, *Âyimisa*, *Khalasamušo*. These were perhaps relatives of Râjûla

(3) Friendly satraps, namely *Kusûlâa Pâdika*, *Mevaki Mîyika*,³ *K(r)ônina*, *Khardaa*, *Tachhila* (*Rachhila*).

(4) A Buddhist *âchârya*, named *Buddhila* (*Budhila*), and a second (perhaps identical with the former), named *Buddhadêva*

¹ Cf Husing in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol XXXVI p 562 ff, and Foj, Vol XXXVI. p 489 ff

² On this and other similar titles see M. Lévi's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX Vol XIX p 95 ff

³ The name of a satrap *Meraî* is traced by Prof. Rapson on a coin (J. R. A. S 1894, p 548)

The inscriptions supply in themselves no means of dating. But the style of the monument of which they celebrate the foundation seems to have been strongly Persian. This is in favour of an early date; but for a definite determination of it we must continue to rely upon the more or less contemporary Taxila plate belonging to the year 78 (in the reign) of the Great King Mōga, who is usually placed (see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 29) as early as 120 B. C.

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES.

A. I.

- 1 Mahachhatra(ttra)vasa rajulasa [Mahāchhatravassa Rājūlassa]
- 2 agra(ggra)maheshriyasia(o ?) [agramahēshī-Āyasiā]
- 3 komusaa dhite [Kômūsāā dhite]
- 4 khara(rha ?)ostasa yuvarāṇa [Kharaōstassa yuvarāṇah]
- 5 mata nadadi(si ?)akasa .. [mâtâ Namdadi(si ?)akasa ..]

A. II.

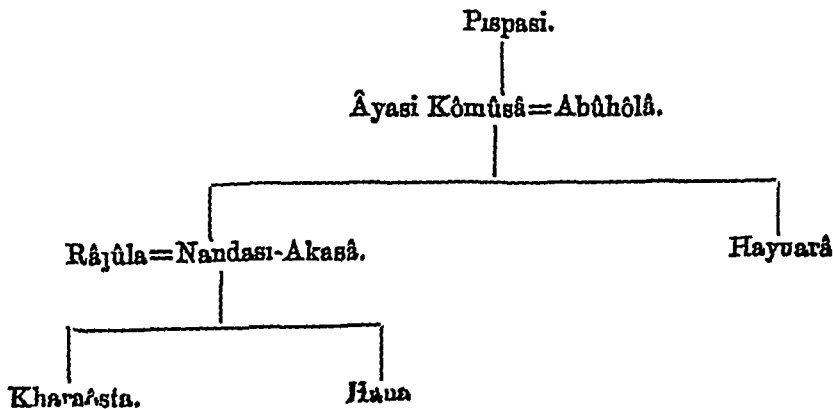
- 6 sadha mata(tra) abuholaa(e ?) [sadha mâtâ Abûhōlâ]
- 7 pitramahi pispasria bhra [pitāmahi-Pispasiâ bhrâ-]
- 8 tra hayuarana sadha banadhitra(?) [-trâ Hayuarânâ sadha Hana-dhitrâ]
- 9 atra(te)ûrena horakapa [amtêûrēna hōrakâpa-]
- 10 rivarena ise padhraviprate [-rivārēna isâ pradhraṇipratê-]
- 11 še(êre ?) nisime sarira pratithavito [-sê nissimê sarira[m] pratithāvitô]
- 12 bhakravato śakmunisa budhasa [bhakravatô Śakamunissa Buddhassa]
- 13 ma(mra ?)kite(hi ?)ra(?)ya saśpae bhusaveti(?) [. . . rāya saśpae bhūsā-v-iti]
- 14 thuva cha sagharama cha chatu [thûva cha samghârâma cha chatu-]
- 15 disesa saghasa sarva [-ddisassa samghassa Sarvâ-]
- 16 stivatana parigrahe [-stivâtānam parigrahê]

TRANSLATION.

By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājūla, daughter of Āyasi Kômūsā, mother of the Heir Apparent Kharaōsta, Nandasi-Akasā (by name), together with her mother Abûhōlâ, her paternal grandmother Pispasi, her brother Hayuarâ (?), her daughter Hana, her household and court of *horakās* (ladies), a relic was deposited in this piece of land in a *stûpa* with the thought : 'May it be for the eternal of the Holy Śākya sage Buddha.' And the *stûpa* and the monastery are for the acceptance of the universal *Sangha* of the Sarvāstivādins.

NOTES.

Genealogy.—The scheme appears to be as follows :—



Readings.—L 1. The additional stroke in the *tra*, if not accidental, may denote a doubling. At least I learn from Prof. Rapson that a (cross) stroke is used in the Stein documents for that purpose.

L 2, *agga* with a cross stroke; *ma* in *mahēshi* has the original form with a subscribed angle, *shri* has the otiose *r*-stroke found elsewhere.

L 3, *te* in *dhate* is quite clear; it must be due to an error, as the regular form of *tra* occurs several times in the inscription.

L 4 Is the side stroke in the *r* of *kharaōstasa* accidental, or does it possibly represent *h*? See p 138 above. It occurs in the place, though not with the shape, of aspiration in other consonants

L 5 No doubt *namdasi* should be read, on the analogy of the other names. But the lower stroke of the *akshara* is curtailed (being at the edge of the stone) in such a way as to produce the appearance of the cursive *da* in Bühler's Table, col viii. After *sa* nothing can be clearly seen on the stone. The analogy of the other names would lead us to expect *-saā*. On the *ta* in *mātā* see p 137 above.

L 8 From what nominative form the instrumental *Hayuarānā* is to be derived is not obvious.

L 9, *a[m]teurēna* presents a case, rare in these inscriptions, of disappearance of a medial consonant. The only other cases are (1) *saīpāē* for *saīvatē*, l 13 (if that is the correct reading), (2) *k* in *nākraraassa* and *māhāsamghāna*; and (3) *khārdaassa*. As in general the medial consonants are sharpened rather than weakened, this seems to show a mixture of dialects. On the word *hōrakā* see p 140 above.

L 11, *nsime* Bühler takes this as denoting a *stūpa*, and he quotes Professor Pischel's view that it is a Prākṛit form of *nīhsama*, used in the sense of 'high', hence = *stūpa*. The word is certainly a substantive and the name of a manufactured object, as appears from the phrase *nisimō kārita niyātītō* in inscription J, but in point of etymology it may perhaps be related to the *nissimamālaka* of the *Mahāvamsa*, c xxxii *rannō śarīram jhāpēsum yasmin nissimamālaka*.

L 13 The last *akshara* is doubtful, and it is indeed possible to question whether any sign is intended after *vi*. Bühler's reading *bhūsati* is out of the question. We must apparently take *bhūsā* as a strange optative form.

L 12 The sign for *tō* is, owing to misplacement of the vowel stroke, that usually in these inscriptions denoting *tra*. I do not detect a sign for *r*.

L 6 Whether *mātā* or *mātrā* is inscribed I cannot determine.

L 7, *tra* is clear in *pitra*, and *sri* in *Pispasri*.

L 9 The second *akshara* resembles *tra* more than anything else, if it is really *tō* (which in any case must be meant), the sign for *ē* is added to the earlier form of *ta*.

L 13. Bühler's reading *mukihitāya*. The first *akshara* is certainly not *mu*, but might be *mra*, unless it is simply *ma*, and the third is far from being an ordinary *hi*, the expression *Buddhasya mukihitāya* does not present an orthodox appearance.

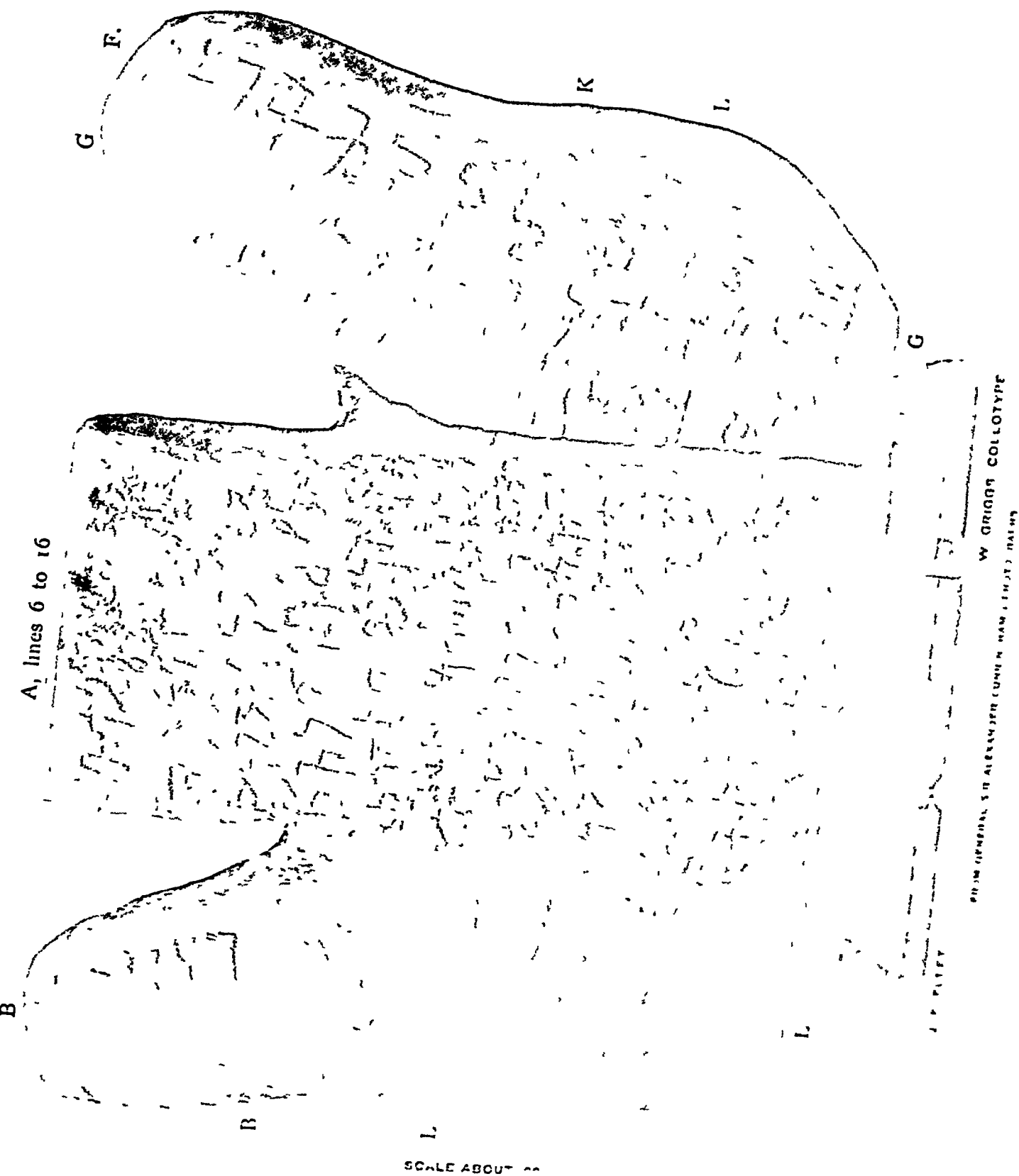
L 15, *śē* seems clear, compare *śē* in l 10.

Grammar and interpretation — L 1, *ū* in *Rājūla* is supported by the *J*, *Lu ā*, etc., of the coins.

L 2 It is doubtful whether *mahēshi Āyasi*° or *mahēshīā Yesi*° is to be read. In the former case we have an omission (or postponement) of the sign of declension, as in *pitāmahi* l 7. It would however not be entirely out of the question to take *pratiḥāvitō* as an active participle with the subject *mātā* in the nominative and a false concord. Bühler observes (p 535) that '*pratiḥāvitō* is the neuter, as frequently in the *Prasargarhi* version of the Rock-Edicts'. We may quote *imam katarō* in Edict XI. Generally however in cases parallel to the present (e.g. in

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital
in the British Museum

Back of the capital



the Māpikāla, Taxila, and Wardak inscriptions) the active construction (*pratiṣṭhāvēti*) is preferred.

B.¹

- 1 Mahachha(chrchha?)travasa [mahāchhatravassa]
- 2 vajulasya putra [Rājūlasya putra]
- 3 śudase chatrave [Śudāsē chhatravē].

TRANSLATION.

Śudāsa, son of the Great Satrap Rājula, being Satrap

NOTES.

L 1. A cross stroke, apparently intentional, on the *chha* may indicate duplication, as in the cases already noted.¹

L 2, *va* (*etc*)

L 3 As these inscriptions seem to present no other nominatives in *-e*, *Śudāsē* may best be regarded as a locative, in M. it is plainly so.

C.²

- 1 Kalui a [Kālūi a-]
- 2 varajo(jho?) [-varajō]

TRANSLATION.

Kālūi, younger brother.

D.³

Naūludo [Naulūdō].

E.⁴

- 1 Khara(rha?)osto yuvaraya [Kharadstō yuvarāyā]
- 2 khalamasa kumara [Khalamasa kumāra]
- 3 maja kanthā [Maja kanittha]
- 4 sa(sam?)manamota

TRANSLATION.

Kharadsta, Heir Apparent, Khalamasa, *kumāra*, Maja; youngest,

NOTES.

Bühler read *Jalama*^o in l 2, but the *akṣhara* seems to be a *kha*. He also regarded *kumārā(t)maja* as a single word. The last line is uncertain, but I may perhaps suggest that the cross stroke in *mā* is accidental, in which case we may understand the words *samānā mātā* as indicating that the three sons named were *uterine* brothers. Bühler's reading *chha* is by no means borne out by inspection.

E'.⁵

Kamuio [Kāmūiō?].

NOTE.

Apparently a proper name, like Kālūi

E''.⁶

kra ka(rva?)nta (yu?) [-kra kāmā?]

¹ See Plate II.

² In small letters at the place indicated in Plate III

³ In smaller letters within E, see Plate II

⁴ On the right cheek of the right lion, not shown in the photographs

⁵ See Plate III

⁶ See Plate II

NOTE.

The *ta*, if it is so to be read, has the earlier form.

F.¹

- 1 Buddhilasa nakraraasa [Buddhilassa Nākraraassa]
- 2 bhikhusa sarvastivatasa [bhikkhussa Sarvāstivātaasa]

G.²

- 1 Mahachhatavasya kusulaasa padikasa meva(na)kisa [mahāchhatravasya Kusūlaassa Pādikassa Mevakissa]
- 2 miyikasa chhatavasa puyae [Miyikassa chhatavassa pūyāē]

J. (3) ³

Sarvastivatana padi[ri ?]grahē [Sarvāstivātāna padi(ri ?)grahē].

TRANSLATION.

F.—Of the Nāgara *bhikkhu* Buddhila, a Sarvāstivādin.

G.—For the honour of the Great Satrap, the Kusūlaka Pādika, and the Satrap Mevaki Miyika.

J.—For the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins.

NOTES.

These three inscriptions, written in *aksharas* of about the same size, adjoin each other, and may form a single whole.

Readings.—G 1.—The *va* or *na* of *mēva(na)kisa* is a single straight stroke *Mēvak* is however more probable than *mēnaki* (*mānāki*), see above

J. (3).—The *di* in *padi*grahē (= *pratigrāhē*) is identical with that in *Pādika*; nevertheless *parigrāhē* is on the whole more probable in view of A. I 16 The *bhikkhu* Buddhila may be, but need not be, identical with the Buddhādēva of the inscription K. He belongs to Nāgara, no doubt the famous city of Nāgarahāra (but see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol I. p 184 ff., 201 and ref.) Concerning the remaining persons see the introductory remarks. There seems to be no ground for joining the inscription J. (3), as Bühler does, to the lines J (1 and 2), on the opposite face (the front) of the stone

M ⁴

- 1 Chha(chohha)trave sūdise [chhatravē Śūdisē]
- 2 imo padhravi [imō padhravi]
- 3 pratešo [pratēśō]

I. ⁵

- 1 veyā aṁ (u ?) dīrna (dīnam ?) kadhavaro busapa
- 2 ro kadha
- 3 vaṛo
- 4 viyāa

¹ See Plate II.

⁴ See Plate I.

² *Ibid*

⁵ *Ibid*.

³ *Ibid*

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital in the British Museum

Top and bottom of the capital



J. (1 and 2.)¹

- 1 *viya rva palishte (??) na*
 2 *nissamo karita niyatito [nissīmo kārīta niyyātītō].*

These three inscriptions present the most difficult problems of all those inscribed on the capital. They are written in *aksharas* of approximately the same size. As M. has no verb (unless we here make use of the *-krakāritu* (?) of E''), we should naturally expect it to be in connection with one of the others. It certainly seems to join the *vēya*° of I 1. But here we enter upon a very obscure passage. Bühler with great ingenuity has elicited the reading *vēya-udīno kadhavaro busaparo kadhavaro=vēgōdīrnō skandhāvārō busaparō skandhāvārō*, which he renders 'the army has started in haste, the army is intent on wealth'. But to this there are, apart from the inappropriateness of the sense, the following objections — (1) *skandhāvāra* does not mean 'an army,' but 'an encampment,' (2) the meaning 'riches' attached to *busa* is attested only by Wilson's Dictionary; (3) it is doubtful whether the third *akshara* is really *u*, it is unlike the other *u*'s of these inscriptions and rather resembles *am*, while the bottom curve may even be a part of the accidental indentation in the stone (see the Plate), (4) a weakening of *g* to *y* in *vēya* is contrary to the tendencies of the languages employed in these inscriptions. On the other hand, the *ro* of I 2 plainly follows the *pa* of I 1, and a reading *veyaamādmān kadhavaro=varjayanīnām skandhāvārō* appears but little promising. The *viya* which precedes the large *rvā* in J. 1 is in small characters and no doubt an independent addition. Can it possibly be an insertion to show that the large *rva*, which apparently joins on to nothing, is an error for *vya=viya*? The sign which Bühler renders by *skś* (reproduced in his *Indian Palæography*, Plate I col xii), is quite clearly inscribed; but its meaning is anything but clear. It is more like *rdi*, which seems very unlikely. With the preceding *pālī* (Bühler *pulī*) it composes no doubt a proper name. What came before *pālī*, occupying a space sufficient for 7 or 8 *aksharas*, is quite obscure owing to the stone having peeled away. We seem to have the remains of a *sa*; but what is to be done with the large *rva* commencing the line? Even adopting the suggestion that it is an error for *vya* we have no ground for proceeding further. The words *nissimō kārīta niyyātītō*, 'a *stūpa* was caused to be made and presented,' are quite satisfactory. We have already noted the older form of *ta* in *kārīta*. With these remarks I must be content so far as these inscriptions are concerned.

J'.²

- 1 *Khalaśamu-*
 2 *śo.*

The *aksharas* are perfectly clear, though Bühler read *khalaśāna śo*. We seem to have here a proper name.

K. & L.³

- 1 *Ayariāsa [Āyāriassa]*
 2 *budhatevassa [Buddhatēvassa]*
 3 *utaena āyīmisa [utāēna Āyīmisa]*

TRANSLATION.

Through the elevation of the *śāhārya* *Buddhadēva*, *Āyīmisa*.

The exact meaning is not clear. We might take *Āyīmisa* as a genitive with *dānam* understood. But what then was the *dāna*? The last *akshara* of *Āyīmisa*, which lacks the tail of the *sa*, was read by Bühler as *ta*.

¹ See Plate I

² On the leg of the left lion, under his tail

³ Not shown in the Plates: incised in very clear characters on the breast of the left lion between J and F-ū. (see Plate II). plainly a single independent record.

H.¹

Guhavihara [Guhāvihārē]

TRANSLATION.

In the cave *vihāra*.

Bühler would translate. 'In the Guha-monastery,' and the matter cannot be considered certain, as we have a Hamsasānghārāma near Gaya (*Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. I p. 18) and a (Jaina) *Mihiravihāra* mentioned in an inscription published by him in *Ep. Ind* Vol. II. p. 212

H'.²

Dhamada(?)na(?) [dhammadānam].

TRANSLATION.

Religious donation

N.³

- 1 Ayariasa budhīlāsa nakraraasa bhikkhu [āyārīassa Buddhīlāssa Nākraraassa bhikkhu-]
- 2 sa sarvastivatāsa pagra [-ssa Sarvastivātassa pāgrā-]
- 3 na mahasāghāna pra [-nam Māhāsānghānam prā-]
- 4 ma(?)ñāvitave khalulāsa [-māñāvittavē khalūlāssa]

TRANSLATION.

To the Sarvastivādin *ācārya* Buddhīla, a *bhikkhu* of Nāgara, an exercise-ground in the knowledge of the nature of proof to the vanguard of the Māhāsānghikas.

L. 1. Buddhīla is, of course, the *bhikkhu* already mentioned in the inscription F. The rendering 'of Nāgara' (Bühler) seems to be the most satisfactory among the meanings of *Nāgaraka*, for which see the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Concerning the place probably denoted see Watter's *Yuan Ohwang*, Vol. I. pp. 184 ff., 201 and reff.

Ll. 2-3 Of the *sa* which Bühler inserts after *gra*, in order to get the word *prakāsamā* I can see no trace.

L. 4 The reading seems certain, the only difficulty is the word *khalula*. Halāyudha gives *khadūrikā* in the sense of 'a military exercise-ground,' and the Atharva-Vēda has *khadūra* with indeterminate sense. If the rendering given above does not seem quite acceptable, we may at least find in *khalula* some form from the root *khand*, so common still in titles of controversial works. That the Māhāsānghikas were opposed to the Sarvastivādins Bühler has already observed. I conjecture that *pramāñāvitave*=*prāmānyavittvē*

O.³

- 1 Sarvabudhāna pūya dhamassa [sarvabuddhānam pūyā dhamassa]
- 2 pūya saḡhasa pūya [pūya saḡhassa pūyā]

TRANSLATION

Honour to all the Buddhas, Honour to the *Dharma*, Honour to the *Saḡha*

P.³

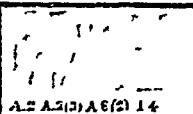


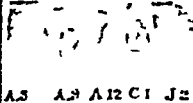

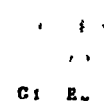
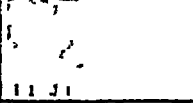
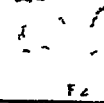
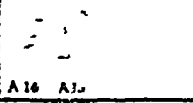
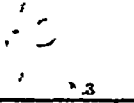
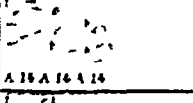
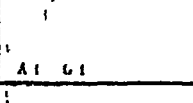
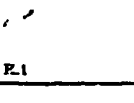
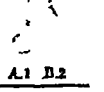
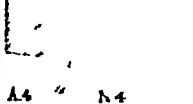
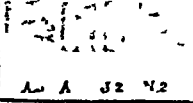

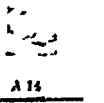
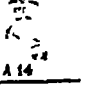
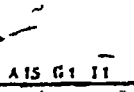
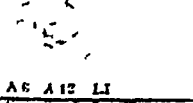

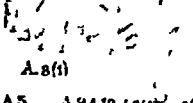
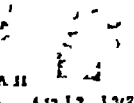
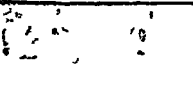
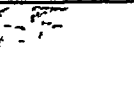
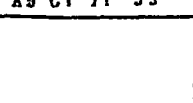
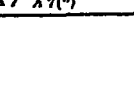
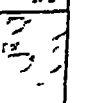
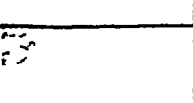
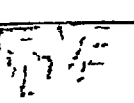
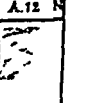
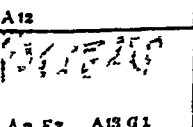
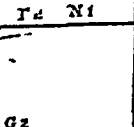
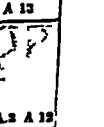
- 1 Sarvasa sakrasta [sarvassa Sakrastā-]
- 2 nasa pūyae [-nassa pūyāe]

¹ In small characters below the letter H in Plate I.

² In small characters, as H', below the letter H' in Plate I.

³ See Plate III.

INSCRIPTIONS

	a	i	u
A	 A.2 A.2(2) A.6(2) 1.4	 A.10	 A.3 1.1
K	 A.5 A.9 A.12 C.1 J.2	 A.13	 G.1 E.
Kh	 1.1 J.1		 F.2
G			
Gh	 A.16 A.1	 1.3	
Ch	 A.18 A.16 A.14		
Chh	 A.1 G.1	 E.1	
L			 A.1 D.2
N	 A.4		
T	 A. A J.2 1.2	 A.11	 A.14
Th			 A.16
D		 A.15 G.1 1.1	
Dh	 A.6 A.12 L.1	 A.3 A.8 N.1	
N	 A.8(1)	 A.11	
P	 A.5 A.9 A.10 (1)(1) 2(2)	 A.12 J.2 J.3(2)	
B	 A.3 G.1 1.1 J.2	 A.7 A.7(6)	 H.2
Bh	 A.12	 1.2 N.1	 A.13
H	 A.2 E.2 A.13 G.1	 G.2	 A.3 A.13

TRANSLATION.

For the honour of all Sakastāna.

The objections raised by Dr Fleet (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, pp 703-9, 1905, pp 154-6) to this rendering of Bühler seem to me ineffective. As regards the presence of Sakas at Mathurā, see the introductory remarks, where it is also shown that the form of the word exactly represents the name of Sakastāna. Nor is there any difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Sakas,' since we find in the Wardak inscription (and elsewhere, e.g. in the inscriptions of Sue Vihār, Anyor, and various Mathurā inscriptions, which have regard to the 'good and happiness of all living creatures,' *sarvasattvānām*) even more comprehensive expressions, nor again is there any difficulty in the use of *sarva* (uncompounded) with the meaning 'whole' (see the St Petersburg Dictionary). As regards *svaka*, 'one's own,' (a common word), and the Pāli *sakaṭṭhāna*, 'one's own place (home, etc),' it may be remarked that, while it is natural to say, as in the passages cited by Dr Fleet, 'he went to his own home,' etc., it seems less natural to inscribe on the stone 'honour to (somebody's) own home,' etc. [This inscription has been recently discussed by M Barth, *Comptes Rendues de l'Académie*, 1907, pp 384 ff, with his accustomed perspicacity. I am, however, unable to admit that the name of a donor is required here any more than in the inscriptions G and O. A *pūjā* addressed to a country is certainly unusual, but inscription G. contains a similar *pūjā* addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dominion.]

Q.¹

- 1 Khardaasa [Khardaassa]
- 2 chhatravasa [chhatavassa].

TRANSLATION.

Of the Satrap Khardaa.

R.²

- 1 Ra(ta?)chhīlāsa [Rā'Ta?)'ih. 350.]
- 2 kromīlāsa [K, nīlāsa.]

TRANSLATION.

Of Raḥhīlā (Tachhīlā?) Kaundinya (?)

Kaundinya is a suggestion of Bühler, who also regards *Tachhīlāsa* as = *Takshāsilāsa*

Additional Notes

1 A number of questions relating to, or connected with, the inscriptions on the Lion Capital—for instance the forms of the names Moga, Rājula, and Kharaosta, and the date of Moga—have been discussed by Dr J. F. Fleet in an article entitled 'Moga, Manes, and Vonones,' published in the *J. R. A. S.* for October 1907, pp 1013-40.

2. P. 137, l. 9. Insert after 'pp. 526 ff' the words '(where *sapana* is perhaps = *sappana* = *sattvānām*, see Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen* §300)'

3 P. 137, l. 38. Insert after 'detached stroke' the words 'to the left together with the same curve to the right that in *śe* denotes *e*, see below'

4 P. 139, l. 44. Insert after the words 'defence of sovereignty' the words 'see the Iranian *Grundriss* II. p. 97'

¹ See Plate III and Plate I. where R. has been printed in error. The word *chhatravasa* is inverted on the stone.

² See Plate III.

No. 18.— MOUNT ABU VIMALA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION
OF [VIKRAMA-] SĀMVAT 1378.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

In 1828 H. H. Wilson, in *As. Res* Vol XVI p 284 ff., published an account of the inscriptions on the mountain Arbuda, the modern Mount Âbū in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, from copies presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Captain Speirs, Political Agent at Sirohi. In that account Prof Wilson gave full translations of one of the two large inscriptions at the temple of Nāminātha, the texts of which were first published in 1883 by Mr. A. V. Kāthavate, and which have now been edited, with facsimiles, by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII. p 200 ff., of the Guhila inscription in the neighbourhood of the temple of Achalēśvara, edited by myself in *Ind Ant* Vol XVI p 347 ff.,¹ and of the Achalēśvara temple inscription of which I have treated above, p. 79 ff.² Of other inscriptions only short abstracts of the contents were given, apparently based on an account in Hindi that had been drawn up by a native scholar.

For many years afterwards little³ was done for the study of the Mount Âbū inscriptions. But in the cold season of 1900-01 Mr. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, while staying at Âbū, had impressions (or, in a few cases, eye-copies) prepared of all inscriptions which are now found on the mountain; and by sending them to the Government Epigraphist he for the first time has placed at our disposal trustworthy materials for a critical examination of these records. Most of these inscriptions are very short; none of them go back beyond the middle of the 11th century A.D.; and considering their great number, the *data* furnished by them for the political history of the country are disappointingly few. In other respects, some are of considerable interest and well deserve to be made more generally accessible, while a good many contain some name, or expression, or date, or perhaps only some mark or letter, which, unimportant as it may seem at first sight, may prove of use on a future occasion.

The number of the inscriptions in Mr Cousens' collection, which has been sent to me by Prof Hultzsch, is 298, of which 270 are ink-impressions and 28 eye-copies only. Of the total number, 148 are from the temple of Rishabhā (Ādinātha) which was founded by Vimala,⁴ 97 from the temple of Nāminātha, founded by Tējapāla,⁵ 30 from the temple of Achalēśvara, and 13 from other localities. Of the Vimala temple inscriptions 126 are dated, the earliest date being of the [Vikrama] year 1119 (about A.D. 1062), in a short inscription (No 1780 of Mr Cousens' list) of a minister of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I, and the latest (in No 1674) of the [Vikrama] year 1785 (about A.D. 1728), between the two, the years which most

¹ A kind of facsimile of the inscription may be seen in *Bhāvnagar Inscr* Plate xxxvi.

² Prof. Wilson also gave a translation of the inscription of the Vikrama year 1265, published by Dr Cartallieri in *Ind Ant*. Vol XI p 221 ff., the original of which is now at the town of Sirohi, see *Progress Report of the Archaeol Survey of India, W Circle*, for 1905-1906, p 47.

³ For inscriptions that have been edited (in addition to those translated by Prof. Wilson) see my *Northern List*, Nos. 261 and 265.

⁴ In inscriptions the temple is called *Vimala-vasahikā*, *Vimalasya vasahikā*, *Vimala-vasahī*, and *Vimala-vasahikā-tīrtha*, in literary works also *Vimala-vasati*. Above, p 81, I have already stated that the names 'Vimala Sāh' or 'Vimala Shāh,' recently written 'Vimala Sā,' in my opinion owe their origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple.' Similarly, *Lāniga-vasahikā* has given rise to the name (for Tējapāla's brother) 'Lāniga Sāhikā,' in *As Res* Vol XVI p 309.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII p 200, Prof Lüders has shown that the ordinary name of the temple is *Lānasāhā* (or *Lānasāha*)-*vasahikā* or *Lānā vasahikā*. In inscriptions I also find *Lāniga-vasahikā*, *Tējapāla-vasahikā* and *Tējāla-vasahī*, and in literary works *Lāniga-vasati*.

frequently occur are the Vikrama years 1245 (22 times) and 1378 (25 times). Of the inscriptions at Têjahpâla's temple 77 are dated, and here the earliest dates are of the Vikrama year 1267 (about A D 1230), the very year in which the temple was founded, while the latest date (in No 1748) is one of the [Vikrama] year 1911 (about A D 1854), no less than 47 inscriptions are dated between the Vikrama years 1287 and 1297, and 9 between 1346 and 1389. Of the 30 inscriptions at the temple of Achalêśvara 22 are dated. Here the earliest inscription appears to be one (No 1950), unfortunately almost entirely effaced, of the [Vikrama] year 1186 (about A D 1129), and another (No 1941) seems to contain a date in the [Vikrama] year 1191. What I consider to be certain is, that No 1951 of Mr Cousens' List is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1207 (about A D 1150), in the reign of the [Paramâra] Mahâmandalêśvara Yaśôdhavaladêva (a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla, an inscription of whom is dated in the same year)¹ Two other inscriptions (Nos 1945 and 1946) are dated in the [Vikrama] years 122[5] and 122[8], the rest in 1377 and later years. Regarding the 13 remaining inscriptions, it will suffice to say that the Guhila inscription mentioned above (No 1953 of the List) is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1342, and that the dates which occur in others are of later years.

Of the inscriptions at the temple of Nêminâtha, the two largest and most important, together with 30 shorter ones, have been edited from Mr Cousens' materials by Prof Lüders, above, Vol. VIII p 200 ff. I now give the text of an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1378, which is at the temple of Rishabha, and the chief point of interest in which is the statement that that temple was founded in the Vikrama year 1088 (about A D 1031) by a certain Vimala, who had been appointed *dandapati* at Arbuda by [the Chaulukya] Bhîmadêva [I.]

Before I proceed to describe the inscription, I may state that the date here given for the foundation of the temple is known to us also from other sources. In *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 243, the late Dr Klatt gave an extract from a *Pañtâvali* of the Kharatara-gachchha, according to which 'the minister Vimala, who belonged to the Pôravâda (Prâgvâta) family, and who broke the parasols of thirteen Sultâns and established the town of Chandrâvatî, caused a temple of Rishabhadeva to be built on the mountain Arbuda — a temple which even now is known by the name *Vimala-vasahî*,' and which, it is added, was consecrated by Vardhamâna-sûri in the year 1088. The same story, with the same date, is more fully given in the extracts in Prof Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS*, Vol II pp 1036 and 1037, where we are moreover told that, to obtain from the Brâhmins the ground on which he intended to build the temple, Vimala had to cover it with gold coins, and that he expended 18 crores and 53 lacs (185,300,000) in the building of the temple. And the date also occurs in an interesting extract from Jinaprabhasûri's *Tirthakalpa*, in Prof Peterson's *Fourth Report*, p 92 f. There, again, the Vikrama year 1088 is given² for the foundation of the *Vimala-vasatî*, and 1288 for that of the *Lâniga-vasatî*,³ and it is also stated that, when the two temples had been demolished or damaged (*bhagna*) by the Mlêchchhas, they were repaired in the Śaka year 1243 (i.e. the Vikrama year 1378), the first by Lalla, the son of Mahanasimha, and the other by Pithada, the son of the merchant Chandasimha. We shall see below that our inscription actually records the restoration, in 1378, of Vimala's temple by Lalla (Lâlga), the son of Mahanasimha, and

¹ No 129 of my *Northern List*

² So far as I can see, there is something wrong in the verses 39 and 40, as given by Prof Peterson, but regarding the date of the construction of the *Vimala-vasatî* there can be no doubt.

³ According to the extracts, the *sâtradhâra*, who built the *Lâniga-vasatî*, was Śôbhanadêva, who is mentioned in the same way (as *prâśâdakâraka-sâtradhâra*) in Mêrutunga's *Prabandhachintâmanî*, p 259. This builder's name actually occurs in No 1674 of Mr Cousens' List, an inscription of the Vikrama year 1288 — Jinaprabhasûri's account of the mountain Arbuda, from which the extracts are taken, seems to be based on inscriptions and to be quite trustworthy.

Vijāda, the son of Dhanasīmha, and the name of the person who repaired the temple of Tējabpāla (the *Lūnya-vasati*) is given as Pēthada in an inscription¹ at that temple, the full text of which is.—

L. 1 Ōm² || ³Ā-chamdrārkkam namdatād=ēśha samghā-|⁴dhīśah śrīmā-
2 n Pēthadaḥ samgha-yuktaḥ | jīrnōddhāram Vastupāla-
3 sya chaityē |⁴ tēnē yēn=ēhāśrbudādrau sva-sārath ||

The inscription with which we are more immediately concerned here⁵ is on a black slab, built into the side wall of a shrine in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space between 1' 7½" and 1' 8" broad by 1' 1½" high, but of which only the first 22 lines extend over the full breadth of this space; lines 23-29 are only 1' 5½" long and line 30 (which contains merely a date) only 3½". The greater part of the writing is well preserved, but in line 16 about 10 *aksharas* and in line 17 about 4 *aksharas* are effaced, and in some places the writing is difficult to read, mainly, as it seems to me, because the letters have been formed carelessly and are so close to one another that they have not come out clearly in the ink-impression at my disposal.⁶ The size of the letters is between ¼" and ⅜". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the words *ōm* || *śrī-Arbudatīrīha-prasasti-r-likhyatē* || at the commencement, the words *atha rājāvalī* || in line 9, and the date in line 30, the text is in verse, the number of verses being 42. In respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. There are separate signs for the letters *b* and *v*, and the sign for the former has been wrongly employed also for *v* in *sarvajña*, l. 16, and *sañbhavaḥ*, l. 21. The palatal sibilant is used instead of the dental in *manasvi*, l. 4, *sāmha-* (for *simha-*), l. 6, and *sahasrē*, l. 8, and the dental instead of the palatal in *nivēṣitam*, l. 8, *pesala-*, l. 18, and *śasi-*,⁷ l. 29. Instead of the vowel *r* we have the syllable *ri* in *Rishabha*, ll. 26 and 29, and in line 24 the author himself has written *śaḍ-aritavah* instead of *śaḍ-ritavah*, which would not have suited the metre.⁸ What is more interesting is, that in line 4 we find *nripaśa* for *nripasya*, and in line 21 *vadājñū* instead of *vadānyā*. The latter reminds us of the name *Nyānaśakti* (instead of *Jñānaśakti*) in *Ind Ant* Vol. XIII. p. 93, l. 26, and shows that in Rājputāna as well as in the Kanarese country there could have been hardly any difference in pronunciation between *jña* and *nya*; and *nripaśa* recalls *taśa* and similar genitive cases of far more ancient inscriptions,⁹ without, of course, proving more than that the pronunciation of *s* must have been similar to that of the conjunct *sy*. In respect of grammar I need draw attention only to the word *vidadhāna*, in line 3, the reading of which is certain, and which the author undoubtedly has used as a 3rd person singular of the Perfect of *vi-dhā* (instead of *vidadhē*), probably misled by the participle *vidadhāna* which was more familiar to him than the proper verbal form.¹⁰ Though the writer or engraver in some places has done his work carelessly, I believe that, with the exception of what has been entirely effaced

¹ No. 1743 of Mr. Cousens' List, "on pilaster near shrine doorway of the principal temple in Vastupāla's temple"

² Denoted by a symbol

³ Metre Śalini

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

⁵ No. 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List

⁶ When my text was finished, I was able to compare impressions kindly sent to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha and by the Government Epigraphist, which in one or two places where there had been some doubt confirmed the correctness of my readings.

⁷ For curiosity's sake it may be stated that the Sanskrit *śaśa*, German 'hase,' English 'hare,' seems to go back to an original *śasa*; compare Prof. Wackernagel's *Altind. Gramm.* Vol. I. p. 225

⁸ Compare *śhadriśa* and *śhadarcha* in the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

⁹ See Prof. Rapson in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1900, p. 104 f, and Prof. Franke's *Pāli and Sanskrit*, p. 97 f, and compare the genitive cases *teraśa*, *sagaśa*, etc., in *Ep. Zeylanica*, Vol. I p. 18 ff

¹⁰ Proper Perfect forms which occur in the text are *babhūva*, *babhūvuh*, *chakāra*, *didāta*, *pra-pīḍē* and *kārayām-asatuh*

and of perhaps the last words of verse 21, the original text may everywhere be restored with confidence

The object of the inscription is, to record that in the [Vikrama] year 1378 two persons, Lalla (Lāliga) and Viṣaḍa, for the spiritual welfare of their parents repaired the temple of Rishabha (Ādinātha) on the mountain Arbuda. And the inscription is divided into three parts. The first part (verses 1-13) is a *prastāvi* or eulogy of the sacred Arbuda, but besides glorifying that locality and some mythical or divine beings (Ambikā and Śrīmātā) residing there, it also gives a few historical details connected with it, and especially records the foundation, in the Vikrama year 1088, of the temple of Ādinātha by Vimala. The second part (vv 14-23) contains a *riṣāvali* of the chiefs who at the time of the restoration of the temple were in possession of the mountain. And the third part (vv. 24-38) gives an account of the family of the men by whom the temple was repaired. The concluding verses (39-42) record the name and spiritual lineage of the priest or teacher who consecrated the restored building, and the exact date when he did so.

To omit what is of no historical interest, the first part begins with the well-known story how on the mountain Arbuda there sprang from the fire-pit (*anala-kunda*, *agni-kunda*) of the sage Vasishṭha the hero Paramāra. In his lineage appeared the hero Kāṇhadadēva; and in his family there was a chief named Dhandhu (Dhandhurāja), who was lord of the town of Chandrāvati and who, averse from rendering homage to the [Chaulukya] king Bhīmadēva [I] and to escape that king's anger, took refuge with king Bhōja, the lord of Dhārā. The author then, rather abruptly, tells us that in the Prāgvāta family there was a distinguished personage named Vimala in whom religion, immersed in darkness through the wickedness of the times, suddenly shone forth again in its splendour. He was appointed by king Bhīma *dandapati* (commander of the forces or governor) at Arbuda, and there one night was enjoined by the divine Ambikā to build on the mountain a beautiful dwelling for the Yūgādibhartṛi (Yūgādijina, Ādinātha). That Vimala obeyed the request the author intimates in the verse: "I adore the holy Ādinātha who was placed on the top of Arbuda by the glorious Vimala, when one thousand and eighty-eight years had passed since (the time of) the glorious king Vikramāditya."

The chief Dhandhu or Dhandhurāja, spoken of in the preceding paragraph, apparently is the Pramāra (or Paramāra) Dhandhuka mentioned above, p 11, whose son Pūrnapāla ruled the Arbuda territory in the Vikrama years 1099 and 1102¹. He would of course have been a contemporary of both the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I. and the Paramāra Bhōjadēva of Mālava — Vimala's name occurs in another inscription at his own temple, dated in the Vikrama year 1201. That inscription,² No 1767 of Mr Cousens' List, contains 10 lines of writing which covers a space about 2' 6" long by 5½" high, and contains 17 verses. In the ink-impression the first two lines of it cannot be read with any confidence, but so far as I can see, a man is spoken of in them who belonged to the Śrīmāla *kula* and was an ornament of the Prāgvāta *vaṁśa*. His son was Lahadha, who was somehow connected with the king Māla (= the Chaulukya Mālarāja I) and was also known by the name Vira-mahattama. Lahadha had two sons. The first of them was the minister Nēḍha, and the second Vimala, who in verse 7 is described thus:—

Dvitiyakō=dvaitamatāvalamvi(bi) damdādhipah śrī-Vimalō va(ba)bhūva |
yēn=ēdam=uchchair=bhavasimdhushētukalpam vinirmāpitam=atra vēśma ||

¹ The name Dhandhuka also occurs in the genealogy of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati, above, Vol VIII p 201.

² According to Mr Cousens the inscription is over the doorway of cell No 10 in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It is referred to in *As Res* Vol XVI p 311, in the words: "One inscription bears date S 1201, but as nothing else is decipherable, it is of no further value."

Nêdha's son was Lâliga ; his son was the minister Mahiduka,¹ and he again had two sons, Hêma and Daśaratha. And the object of the inscription is, to record that Daśaratha at the temple of Rishabha set up an image of Nêmijñêsa (Nêmitîrthakara, i.e. Nêminâtha), which was installed on Friday, the first *tithi* of Jyêshtha of the Vikrama year 1201, corresponding to Friday, the 5th May A.D. 1144. I may add that the genealogy here given is for the greater part corroborated by another inscription at Vimala's temple, No. 1768 of Mr Cousens' List,² the full text of which is —

- L 1 ³Śrī-Śrīmâlakulôdbhava-⁴ Vîramabâmamtri-putra-[sa]nmamtri- | śrī-
 2 Nêdha-putra-Lâliga-tatsuta-Mahiduka-⁵antên=êdam || Nijapu-
 3 trakalatra-samanvitêna ⁴ sanmamtri-Daśarathên=êdam | śrī-Nêmi-
 4 nâtha-[b]imvam⁶ ⁴ mōkshârtham kâritam ramyam ||

For us the main point of interest is the date which the first of the two inscriptions furnishes for Daśaratha, for that date, being of the Vikrama year 1201, shows that Vimala, the younger brother of Daśaratha's great-grandfather Nêdha, may well have lived in the Vikrama year 1088, the traditional date for the foundation of his temple.

The contents of the second part of our inscription (verses 14-23) I have already given above, p 81 f. This *râjâvalî* in verse 14 commences with Âsarâja, who belonged to the Châhuvâma (Châhuvâna, Châhamâna) family and was king of the town of Nadûla (Naddûla). After him came Samarasimha; and his son was Mahanasimhabhâta (v 15). Then came Pratâpamalla; and to him was born Vijada, the lord of the Marusthali *mandala* (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lûniga (v 17). Verse 18 then eulogizes Lundha 'who like a god of death devoured the host of adversaries,' and verse 19 Lumbha, of whom verse 20 records that he conquered the mountain Arbuda, and that, after having ruled the earth, he became the lord of heaven (i.e. died). Verse 21 then eulogizes Têjasimha, the son of Lûniga; verse 22 wishes long life to Tihunâka; and the mutilated verse 23 appears to say that Lumbhaka together with Têjasimha and Tihuna (*śrîmal-Lumbhaka-nâmâ samanvitas=Têjasimha-Tihunâbhyâm*) in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda.

Regarding the first part of this *râjâvalî*, as far as Vijada, there can be no doubt, and I have nothing to add to what I have previously said about it. A difficulty arises concerning the sons of Vijada. According to the inscription of Luntagadêva, above, p 80, Vijada, who is also called Daśasyandana (Daśaratha), had four sons — Lâvanyakarna, Lundha (Luntiga), Lakshmana, and Lûnavarman, of whom Lâvanyakarna is distinctly called the eldest (*jyêshtha*). According to the present inscription Vijada had three sons the first (*âdya*) of whom was Lûniga. After Lûniga the inscription mentions Lundha and Lumbha, without saying that they were his younger brothers or in any way specifying their relationship. In my account of Luntagadêva's inscription I have identified Lûniga with Lâvanyakarna, and have taken Lundha and Lumbha to be the names of his brothers, identifying Lundha with Lundha (Luntiga) and Lumbha with Lûnavarman. Other inscriptions are sure to be discovered which will show whether I am right or wrong. In the meantime I feel bound to state that my friend Mr Ojha, than whom nobody is better acquainted with the history of his country, takes the three names Lûniga, Lundha and Lumbha (Lumbhaka) to denote one and the same person, and to be all Sanskritized forms of Lumbhâ, denoting a chief 'commonly called राव लुंभा,

¹ The metre shows that the name is correct here

² The inscription is on the seat of an image in cell No 10 in the corridor

³ Metre of the two verses Âryâ

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

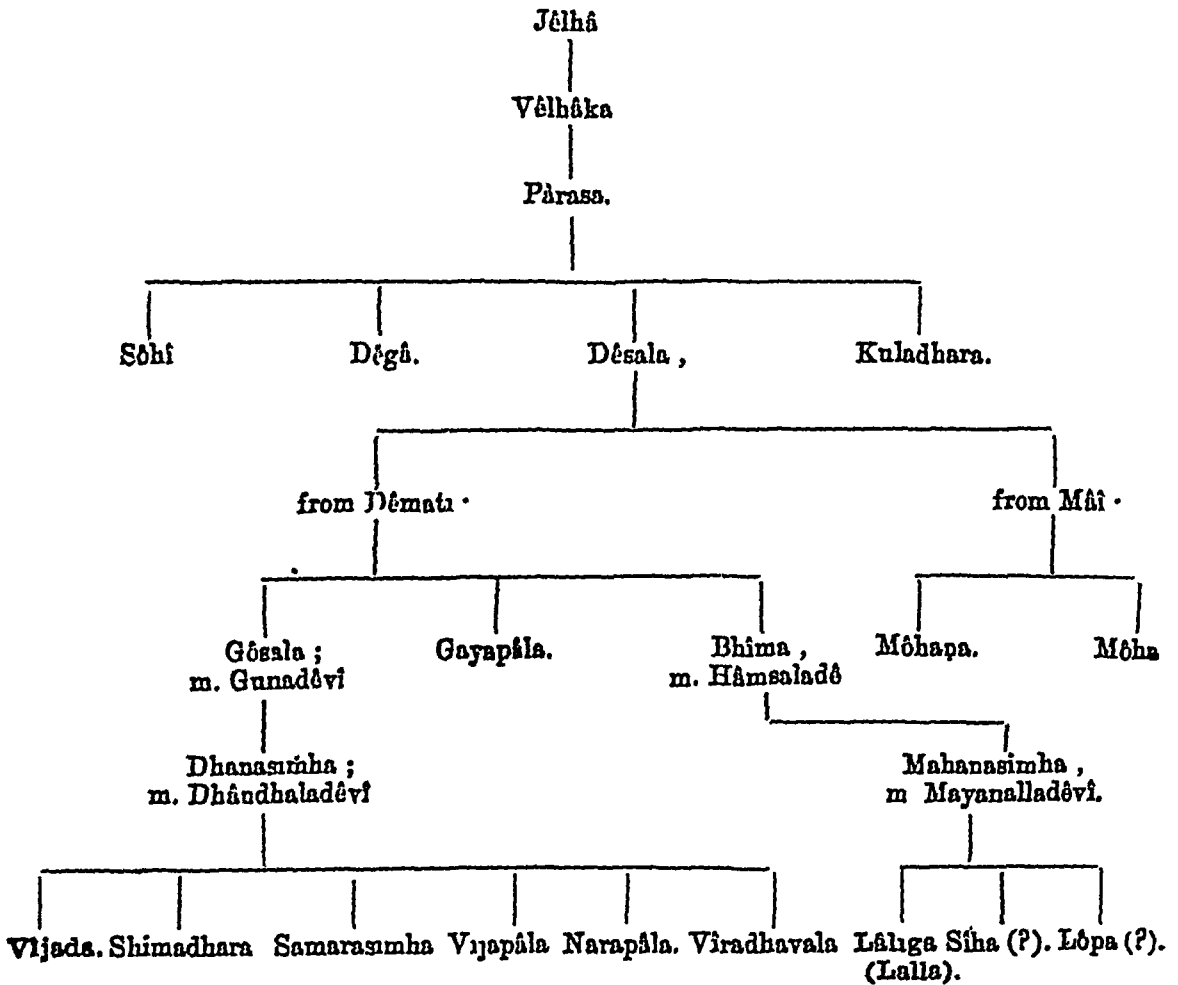
⁵ The metre requires us to read *Mahiduka*.

⁶ Read *-bimbam*.

the famous conqueror of Ābū.' If my learned friend should be right, the last lines of the genealogical Table published above, p 83, would of course have to be slightly altered Mr Ojha agrees with me in considering Tihupāka (Tihuna) to be a younger brother of Tējasimha, but from his point of view places both, together with Tējasimha's son Kāṇhadadēva, under Luptiga (Lundha, Lūniga, Lumbha) At the time when our inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1378, Lumbha was dead, and the government of Ābū must have been actually carried on by Tējasimha

The account, which forms the third part of our inscription (verses 24-38), of the family of the two men (Lalla and Vijada) who restored the temple, contains little more than a list of names which may be seen from the following Table —

Genealogical Table.



The individuals mentioned in this Table were devotedly attached to the Jaina faith. Jēlhā, the founder of the family, was a merchant, and his *guru* was Dharmasūri¹ His place of residence was given in the inscription, but the name has been effaced. Of Dēsala it is said that he made fourteen processions to the seven sacred places,² Śatrumjaya and the rest. The other members of the family are eulogized in general terms

¹ See below, p. 154

² The seven *tīrthas* or *śāśāstras* are frequently mentioned, but I have not yet found the names of the seven places.

There are at Vimala's temple several short inscriptions of members of this family, likewise dated in the [Vikrama] year 1378. And there is a longer inscription¹ of the same family, No. 1791 of Mr. Cousens' List, which is dated, in words and figures, in the Vikrama year 1309. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing with 15 verses, and records the installation, by Ānandasūri, of an image of Nēmiyina (Nēminātha) at Vimala's *vasahikā*. We learn from it that the family belonged to the Ūkā[śa] *vaṃśa*,² and that its founder, Jēlhāka, as he is there called, was an inhabitant of Māndavyapura (Mandor). After Kuladhara it mentions five sons of his, but as the text is partly effaced, I am not at present prepared to give their names from the ink-impression at my disposal.

The remaining verses (39-42) of our inscription record that Rishabha was installed (or rather re-installed) on the mountain Arbuda by the guru or sūri Jñānachandra, on a date in the [Vikrama] year 1378. Regarding the spiritual lineage of Jñānachandra, we learn that he was preceded by Amaraprabhasūri, and that the founder of the lineage was Dharmasūri, also called Dharmaghōsha-gaṇāryaman, i.e. Dharmaghōsha, 'the sun of the gana,' 'who defeated Vādichandra and Gunachandra, and caused the awakening of three kings.' Other inscriptions of the [Vikrama] year 1378 speak of Jñānachandra either as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmasūri³ or as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmaghōshasūri,⁴ and an undated inscription, No. 1796 of Mr. Cousens' List, commences with the words *Śrīmad-Dharmaghōshasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Āna(na)mdasūri-śrī-Amaraprabhasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Jñānachandrasūri*. The Ānandasūri of the last must be the Ānandasūri mentioned above with a date in the Vikrama year 1309; and the Ānandasūri and Amaraprabhasūri of the inscription apparently are the Ānandasūri and his disciple Amaraprabhasūri who, according to Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 110, l. 1, are mentioned in a manuscript written by Amaraprabhasūri's advice in the [Vikrama] year 1344. Before Ānandasūri there is mentioned, *ibid* p. 109, Dharmasūri (a disciple of Śīlabhadrasūri of the Rāja-gachchha), who to the pride of conceited disputants was what the lion's roar is to an elephant, and who put an end to the intoxication of the king Vighraha. And the same person is mentioned, under the name Dharmaghōshasūri, in Prof. Peterson's *Third Report*, App pp. 15 and 307, where he is represented as enlightening the king of Śākambhari; and *ibid* p. 262, where he is said to have defeated disputants in the presence of the king of the Sapādalaksha country. From all this there can be no doubt that, of the three kings who in our inscription are spoken of as having been awakened by Dharmasūri, one was a king Vighraharāja of Śākambhari (the capital of the Sapādalaksha country). In fact, I believe that that king is identical with Visaladēva-Vighraharāja, whose Delhi Śīvalik pillar inscriptions (No. 144 of my *Northern List*) are dated in the Vikrama year 1220 (in A.D. 1164), and that Dharmaghōshasūri himself is a person of that name who in a short Vimala temple inscription (No. 1906 of Mr. Cousens' List) is mentioned with a date in the [Vikrama] year 1226 (in A.D. 1170). Who the two other kings were I do not know; nor have I identified yet Vādichandra⁵ and Gunachandra who were defeated by Dharmasūri.

The date given in verse 42 is Monday, the ninth *tithi* of the dark half (*śitī*) of Jyēsthā in the year made up of the *vasus* (8), the *munis* (7), the *gunas* (3) and the moon (1), i.e. the [Vikrama] year 1378. Here there is the difficulty that the word *śitī*, which I have translated by 'the dark half,' might equally well denote 'the bright half'; and at first sight the latter interpretation might really seem to be preferable, because in line 30 of our text the date is repeated

¹ This is the inscription referred to in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, in the words "Another (*viz.* inscription), in like manner, shows a date S. 1309, but nothing else."

² I.e. the Ōsavāla tribe, compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 40.

³ Nos. 1759, 1822 and 1852 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ Nos. 1756, 1758A, 1764 and 1793 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ There is a Vādichandra who composed the *Jñānasūryodaya*, I do not know whether he is the man mentioned in our inscription.

in the words 1379 *Jyêshtha-sudi 9 Sôma*. But against this it has to be said that in four independent inscriptions (Nos 1771, 1821, 1829 and 1904 of Mr. Cousens' List) we have *sanuat* (or *sam*) 1378 *varshâ Jyêshtha-vadi 9 Sôma-dinâ* (or *Sôma*), which evidently is the same date as the one given in our inscription. And besides, for the bright half of *Jyâishtha* the date would be quite incorrect for 1378 (as a *Chaitrâdi* current or expired, or *Kârttikâdi* expired year), whereas for the dark half of the *pûrnimânta* *Jyâishtha* of the expired *Kârttikâdi* *Vikrama* year 1378 it regularly corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322. For these reasons I regard my translation of the date to be correct and take Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322 to be its proper equivalent; and I consider the way in which the date has been repeated in line 30 (where '1379' under any circumstances would be suspicious) to be due to a mistake

TEXT 1

- 1 || Om³ || ³Śrī-Arbudatīrtha-prasastir-likhyatē || ⁴Āngikrit-āchalapadō vṛṣabhāstō=
sī |⁵ bhūtīr-gaṇādhipatisēvita-pādapadmah | śambhur-yugādīpurushō jagad-
ēkanāthah pūnyāya pallavayatu⁶ prati-vāsaram sa[h]⁷ || 1
- 2 ⁸Nībaddha-mūlah phalibhiḥ sapatrai⁹ drumair-narēmdrair-iva sēvyamānah |
pādāgrajāgrad-bahuvāhinikah śrī-Arbudō namdatu śaila-rājah || 2 Yasmin
¹⁰Vṛṣhātānalakumda-janmā kṣhatīkṣhatī-trāpapaṛah pur-āsīt | pratyashī-¹¹
- 3 rthīśārthōnmathanā-kritāthī |¹² kṣhatāv-iha śrī-Paramāra-nāmā || 3 ¹³Tad-anvayē
Kāṇhadadēva-vīrah pur-āvir-āsiva¹⁴ prabala-pratāpah | chiram nivāsam
vidadhāna¹⁵ yasya karāmbujē sarvajagaj-jayaśrīḥ || 4 ¹⁶Tatkulakamala-
- 4 marālah kāla[h*] pratyarthi-mamdalīkānā[m*] | Chamdrāvatīpur-īśah samajani
vir-āgrani[r*]=Dha[m*]dhuh || 5 ¹⁷Śrī-Bhīmadēvasya nṛpaśa(sya) sēvām=
amanya[m]ānah kila Dhamdhurājah | narēśa-rōshāch=cha tatō manasvī(svi)
Dhārādhipam

¹ From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens, No 1790 of his List.

² Denoted by a symbol

³ Here, as often elsewhere, the vowel of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name.

⁴ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁵ This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, may have been struck out in the original

⁶ Originally *⁹yamtu* was engraved

⁷ Originally *śā* was engraved, but it seems to have been changed to *saḥ*.— So far as I can see, the verse does not admit of a proper construction. In the three first Pādas the author addresses the Jaina Tirthamkara Rishabha, in terms which would be equally applicable to the god Śiva; and, as the text stands, he then in the fourth Pāda speaks of him in the third person, in words which would literally mean 'may he day by day put forth sprouts for (our) religious merit'. Instead of *pallavayatu* I should have expected *pallavaya*, followed by an accusative case and generally words to some such effect as 'cause our devotion to thee to sprout for our religious merit' (Compare *Śātruhya-māhātmya* XIV 33: *iddṛṣṭānām hi sadbhakti-vally-evaṃ pallavaty-apī*). In the first Pāda I take *vṛṣabhāstō-sī* to be equivalent to both *Vṛṣabha*, *astō-sī* and *vṛṣabhāstō-sī*, so that the Pāda would mean both 'O Vṛṣabha (Rishabha) having chosen this mountain for your residence, you are seated (here),' and 'you (O Śiva I), who have taken the name Āchala, are seated on a bull'. I am aware that Rishabha has a bull for his cognisance, and that in representations of him this animal is figured beneath him; but I am not sure that he could be described as 'seated on a bull'.— In the second Pāda *gaṇādhipati* denotes both Puṇḍarika, the leader of Rishabha's *gana*, and Gaṇēśa.

⁸ Metre of verses 2 and 3 *Upajāti*.

⁹ Read *sapattrair*.— The word *phala* means both 'fruit' and 'the blade (of a sword),' etc; *pattra* 'leaves' and 'vehicles,' etc; and *adhīni* 'rivers' and 'armies'

¹⁰ Read *Vaṛṣhātā*; the same wrong reading we have below, in line 9.— With *anala-kunda* compare *agṇi-kunda* in *Ep Ind Vol I p 234, v 5*

¹¹ The *akṣhara* *shī* is a mistake for *rthī*, and should be struck out because *rthī* has been repeated at the commencement of line 3

¹² Read *-kritārthah*

¹³ Metre *Upēndravajrā*.

¹⁴ Read *-diti*

¹⁵ Wrong for *vidadhē*, which would not have suited the metre

¹⁶ Metre *Āryā*.

¹⁷ Metre: *Upajāti*.

- 5 Bhôjanripam prapêdê || 6 ¹Prâgvatavamś-âbharanam babhûva ratnam
pradhânam Thī(vi)mal-âbhidhânaḥ | yas=têjasâ ²dusamay-âdhakâra-magnô=pi
dharmmah sahas=âvir-âsita³ || 7 ⁴Tava(ta)ś=cha Bhimēna narâdhipēna sa
pratâpa-bhûrmi(mi)r=Vima-
- 6 lô mahâmatih | kva(kri)tô=[r*]budê damdapatih satâm priyah priyamvadô
namdatu Jaina-śâsanê || 8 ⁵Asôkapat[t*]rârûna-pânpallavâ samullasatkêsara-
sâm(sim)ha-vâhanâ [i*] śisudvayâlamkrita-vigrahâ satî⁶ satâim kri-
- 7 yâd=vighna-vinâśam=Ambikâ || 9 Ath=ânyadâ tam nûsi damdanâyakam samâdidêśa
prayatâ kil=Âmbikâ [i*] ih=âchi(cha)lê tvam kuru sadma sumdaram
Yugâdibharttur=nirapâya-samśrayah || 10 ⁶Śri-Vikramâdityanripâd=vya-
- 8 titê sstâsîti-yâtê śaradâm sahasrê(srê) | śri-Âdi[nâ]tha[m]⁷ śikharê-rbudasya
nivêsi(śi)tam śri-[V]imalēna vamdê || 11 ⁸Vighnâdhivyâdhi-hamtrî yâ mât=ēva
pranat-âmgishu | Śripumjarâja-tanayâ Śrîmâtâ bhavatâm⁹ śri-
- 9 yê || 12 ¹⁰Achalêśa ¹¹Viśishtânalatatini-Mamâkinivimalasaila- | punyâni yasya
śri[m]nê¹² jayamvi(t) vividhâni tirthâni || 13 Atha râjâvali || ¹³Vairivargga-
dalanê gata-tamdras=Châhuvâmakulakaurava-chamdrah¹⁴ | yô Nadûla-na-
- 10 garasya narêśa Âsarâja ita viravarô sbhût || 14 ¹⁵Prabalavairidavânala-
vârdah Samarasi[m*]ha iti prathitas=tatah | Mahanasimhabhatah subhat-
âgranîh prithu-yasâ ajanishta tad-amgajah || 15 ¹⁶Pratâpamallas=tad-anu pratâ-
- 11 pî babhûva bhûpâla-sadassu mânyah [i*] vir-âvatamsô=jani¹⁷ Vijadô=sya
Marusthalimamdala-bhûmbharttâ || 16 ¹⁸Âsan¹⁸ trayas=tat-tanayâ nay-âdhyâ
mûrttâh pum-arthâ iva bhâgabho(bhâ)jah | âdyô dharitripati-rakshapâlah
khyâtah kshîtô(tau) Lûniga-
- 12 nâmadhêyah || 17 ¹⁹Nyâyamârgga-śikharî madhumâśah²⁰ kâlavaksha(t=ka)valayann=
ari-vrajam | mamdalika-paha(da)vim=apâlahâ(ya)l=Lumdha ity=abhidhayâ
dhuyâm midhih || 18 ²¹Vipakshanâri-nayanâmbupûrais=chakâra yah kirtti-

¹ Metre Indravajrâ

² Read -dett

³ Read *dussamay* (or *duhshamay*)-âdhakâra-.

⁴ Metre of verses 8-10 Vamśastha.

⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was originally engraved — Ambikâ is similarly described in the inscription of the Vikrama year 1201, mentioned above, p 151 f, in a verse the correct reading of which I take to be: *Vikata-kutladamshtrâ-bhîshandasyam tathâ cha dhutafabalasatât-bhâsuram tungam=uchchah | vahatî sutam=udâram y=ânka-samstham sad=ava mrigapatim=adhîrâdhâ s=Âmbikâ vâ=stu tushya ||* Compare the representation of Kushmândini in *Ind Ant Vol XXXII* p 463, Plate iv.

⁶ Metre Upajâti

⁷ It is difficult to say whether we should read *Âdinâtham* or *Âdîdêvam*. The *akshara* which follows upon *dd*: originally was *dh*, but seems to have been altered; and the next *akshara* looks more like *tha* than *va*, but it might be said that *th* has been wrongly engraved instead of *v* also in *Thimâla* for *Vimâla*, in line 5. On the whole I think that the reading *Âdinâtham* is preferable.

⁸ Metre Ślôka (Anushtubh)

⁹ The sign for *d* in this word is clearly struck out in the original, and it seems probable that the engraver intended to alter *bhavatâm* to *bhavatu* — In the above I have purposely given *Śrîmâtâ*, not *śrî-Mâtâ*, because in other inscriptions *śrî* appears clearly to be part of the name, not an honorific prefix. I may mention that in No 1774 of Mr Cousens' List we have *Śrîmâtâdêvî* as one word, not *Śrîmâtîr-dêvî*, and that in the account given of this mythical being and her father in Mērutunga's *Prabandhachintâmani*, p 282 ff, the base of the word is both *Śrîmâtâ* and *Śrîmâtîr*. In the same account the father's name is *Śrîpûjya*.

¹⁰ Metre Âryâ

¹¹ Read *śringê* — Since at the commencement of the verse the mountain is addressed in the vocative case, one would have expected *tava śringê*, but this would not have suited the metre.

¹² Metre Svâgatâ

¹³ *Châhuvâma* probably is a mistake for either *Châhuvâna*- or *Châhuvâna*-

¹⁴ Metre Drutavilambita.

¹⁵ Metre Upajâti.

¹⁶ After the *ô* of *tamsô* another vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.

¹⁷ Metre Indravajrâ — Read *Âsams-troyas*-

¹⁸ Metre Rathôddhatâ.

¹⁹ Read, probably, *madhusaravah*

²⁰ Metre Upajâti.

- 13 latām sapat[t*]rām | babhūva bhūmīpati-labdhāmānō Lumbh-ābhūdhānō jagad-
ēkavīrah || 19 ¹Samhṛitya śatrūn prabalann² balēna śrī-A[r]budam prāpya
nagādhīrājam | ³[bh]uktā sa [bh]ūma[m*]dana-rā[jyam=uchchah] | ⁴ svarlō-
- 14 ka-lōkādhipatir=babhūva || 20 ⁵Lūnigasya tanujō jaga[j-ja]yī Tējasimha iti
tējasīm nidhīh | yat-pratāpadavapāvakaś=chiram varivargga-vipadam
nahatisma⁶ || 21 ⁷Karāgra[jā]gra[t-*]karavā-
- 15 ladamda-khamdikrit-āsēshavirōdhivarggab | prithyām⁸ prasiddhas=Tihunāka-nāmā
vī-āvatamsah sa chirāyur=astu || 21 (22) ⁹Śrīmal-Lumbhaka-nāmā sama[nv]itas=
Tējasimha-Tigu(bu)nābhyām | A[r*]buda[g]rīśa-
- 16 rājyam nyāyan[dhī ?]¹⁰ [|| 23*] ¹¹urapura-vāsi
sugura-śrī Dharmmasūri-padaabhaktah [i*] Sarvajñanāsēna-ratah¹² sa jayati
Jēlh-ābhūdhah śrēstī(śthī) || 24 Tat-tanayah su-nayō=bhūt¹³ Vē-
- 17 [hā]kah sakāla-bhūta¹⁴ [i] tat-putrah su-charitra[h] punya-nidhīh
Pārasah sādhub || 25 Sōhi-Dēgā-Dēsala-Kuladhara-nāmnā tad-amgajā jātāh |
chatvārah kulamamdira-sudridhastambh-ābhūrāmā [yē ||
- 18 26 ¹⁵Śrī-Dēsalah sukri[tapēsī]la-vittako[tīs=¹⁶ohamcha]chchaturdaśajagaj-janitā-
vad[āta]h¹⁷ | Śātrumjayapramukha-vīśrutasaptati[rtha]-¹⁸yātrās=cha[tu]rdaśa chakāra
mahāmahēna || 27 ¹⁹Dē[ma]ti-Māi-
- 19 nāmni sīdhu-śrī-Dēsalaśya bhāryā dvē | nirmalaśilagun-ā[dhy]ē dayā-ksha[mē]
Jaina-dharmasya || 28 Dēmatikukshī-prabhavā Gōsa[la]-Gayapāla-Bhī[ma]-
nāmīnah | Māi-kukshēr=jātau Mōha-
- 20 na-Mōh-ābhūdhau putrau || 29 Jinaśūsanakamala-ravih sādhub śrī-Gōsalō=
vī[dat]²⁰ kīrtim | gunaratnarōhanadhārī²¹ Gunadēvi priyatamā tasya || 30
²²Saddharmmakarmm-aikanība-
- 21 ddhabuddhis=²³tad-amgajash śrī-Dhanasimha-sādhub | bhāryā tadyā sadayā
vadajña(njā) mānyā satām Dhāmdhaladēvi-samjñā || 31 ²⁴Sādhō[r*]=Bhimasya
sutō Hāmsaladēkukshī-sambhaba(va)h śrīmān | ma-²⁵
- 22 himā-nidhīr=mabaujā mahāmatir=Mahanasimb-ākhyā[h] || 32 ²⁶Mayanalladēvi-
varakukshī-sukti-muktās=trayas=tat-tanayā jayanti | jēstō²⁷ jagadvyāpi-
yaśahprakāśah sādhu-agravī[r*]=Lāliga-

¹ Metre Indravajrā² Read *prabalan*³ Up to the end of the line the *aksharas* in brackets are more or less conjectural, they are carelessly written in the original For *bhūmārdana* read *bhūmārdala*-⁴ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁵ Metre Rathōddhatā⁶ The four *aksharas* *nahatisma* are quite clear in the original, but offend against the metre and yield no proper meaning The only alteration which I could suggest would be *dahat=īha*⁷ Metre Upajitā⁸ Read *prithivyām*⁹ Metre of verses 23-26 Āryā¹⁰ Here about 10 *aksharas* are effaced.¹¹ In No 1791 of Mr Cousens' List (see above, p 154) Jēlhāka is described as an inhabitant of Māndavyapura¹² Read *Sarvajñanāsana-ratah*¹³ Read =*bhūt*=¹⁴ Here about 4 *aksharas* are effaced¹⁵ Metre Vasantatilakā¹⁶ Read *°pēśala-vittakōtīś=*¹⁷ Read, perhaps, *°dānah*¹⁸ Originally *°trihō*, with a sign of punctuation after it, was engraved¹⁹ Metre of verses 28-30 Āryā²⁰ The reading is conjectural The original has *vī [i ?] dē kīrtim*²¹ Compare *gunaratnarōhanagiri* in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS*, Bombay, 1881, p 43, line 1.²² Metre Upajitā²³ After the *akshara* *ddhī* a sign of punctuation was originally engraved, but has been struck out²⁴ Metre Āryā²⁵ Here originally *mē* was engraved, but the sign for *ē* seems to have been struck out; the two *aksharas* *himī* at the commencement of the next line are quite clear The author has used the feminine *mahīmd* instead of the masculine *mahīman*²⁶ Metre Indravajrā.—The two *aksharas* *maya* at the commencement of the verse were apparently read as one syllable (*mai*)²⁷ Read *jyēsthō*

- 23 sādhanājah || 33 1Āśvinēyā[v]=iva śrēsth[au] kanishthan guṇa-sālinau [i*]
 Sīha-Lōp-ābhīdhan² dharmmadhyāna-pravanamānasau || 34 Shat sutā
 Dhanasimhasya mūrttā
 24 iva shad=arttavah³ | viśvaviśv-ōpakārāy=āvatirṇā[h] pritha(thi)vi-talē || 35
 4Tēshām=ādyaḥ sādhu[r*]=Vijada iti vimalama(ta)ra-yasāhprasaraḥ | guṇa-
 sāgarah Śhīmadharah sajjā(jja)na-
 25 mānyah Samarasi[m]haḥ || 36 6Rājasamāja-śrēsthō vikhyātō(taḥ) sādhu-
 Vijapālah [i*] mṇuna-matar-Narapālah sukṛta-ratō Viradhaval-ākhyah | (||)
 37 6Svapitṛ-śrēyasā
 26 jirnōddhāram⁷ Rishabha-mamdirē | kārayām-āsatur=Līlāla-Vijadau sādhu-
 sattamō(mau) (||) 38 8Vādīchandra-Gunachandra-vijētā bhūpatitraya-vibōdha-
 vidhātā | Dharmmasūri-
 27 r=iti nāma pur=āsita⁹ viśvaviśva-viditō muni-rāja[h*] | (||) 39 10Mūlapatta-
 kramē tasya Dharmaghōsha-ganāryamā¹¹ [i*] babhūvuh sama-sampūrṇāh¹²
 Amaraprabhasūrayah || 40
 28 13Tatpatta-bhūshanam=adūshanadharmaśīla-14sīdya(dddham)tasundhupariśīlana-Vishnulīlāḥ
 | śrī-Jñānachandra ita namdatu sūri-rājah panyōpadēsavidhi-bōdhitasa-
 29 tsamājah | (||) 41 15Vasu-muni-tu(gu)na-śasi(śi)-varsha | Jēsthē¹⁶ sitanara(va)mi-
 Sōma-yuta-divasē | śrī-Jñānachandra-gurūnā pra[tu]shti(shthi)tō=[rbu]da-gi[rau]
 Ra]sha[bhah]¹⁷ || 42
 30 1379 Jēṣṭha-sudī¹⁸ 9 Sōmē ||

POSTSCRIPT.

On the Chāhamānas of Naddūla.

As I have referred in the preceding to the Genealogical Table of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla published above, p. 83, I take the opportunity to state that Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has recently sent me rubbings of four inscriptions, two of which furnish a date in the [Vikrama] year 1147 for the chief Jōjalla (Yōjaka), here called Jōjala, while the two others are of the reign of Rāyapāla of Naddūla, whose name does not occur in the Table, and for whom they furnish dates in the [Vikrama] years 1198 and 1200. The rubbings do not enable me to edit the full texts of these inscriptions, but the initial lines, which contain the dates and the names of the chiefs, may be given with confidence.

1 — This inscription is at Sādri (about 13 miles south of Nadol) in the Gōdwār district of the Jōdhpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Ōm¹⁰ samvat 1147 Vaiśākha-sudī 2 Budha-vāsarē mahā-
 2 rāja-śrī-Jōjaladēvēna śrī-Lakshmanasvāmi-prabhṛti-
 3 samastadēvānām yātrākāla-vyavahārō lēkhitaḥ ||

¹ Metre of verses 34 and 35 : Ślōka (Anushtubh)

² I am doubtful about the correctness of the two names, the four *aksharas* at the beginning of the Pāda might be read also *śihālāpā*.

³ Wrong for *shad=rītavah*, which would not have suited the metre

⁴ Metre Āryā.

⁵ Metre Upagita.

⁷ Read *ram=Rishabha*.

⁸ Metre Svāgatā

¹⁰ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

¹¹ Read *ganāryamāḥ*

¹² Metre Vasantatilakā.— With the commencement of the verse compare e.g. Prof Peterson's *Fifth Report*,

⁶ Metre. Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁹ Read *asīd*.

¹³ Read *sampūrṇā*

p 207, v 5 *tatpatta-bhūshanamanir-gata-dūshanō-bhāt*

¹⁴ Probably the intended reading was *śīlāḥ*

¹⁵ Read *varshē Jyēsthē* (or *Jyāsthē*)

¹⁷ Read *girāv=Rishabhah*.

¹⁸ Read *Jyēsthā* (or *Jyāsthā*)— *sudī*; and see above, p. 155.

¹⁹ Denoted by a symbol.

¹⁵ Metre Āryā

ColloTYPE by Gebr Plettner, Halle-Saale

Scale 422

E. Hultsch

2 — This inscription is at Nadol. It contains 13 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Ōm¹ samvat 1147 Vaiśākha-śudi 2 Vu(bu)dha-vāsa-
 2 rē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Jōjaladēvaḥ sama-
 3 sta-dēvānām śrī-Lakshmanasvāmi-prabhrtīnām yātrā-vya-
 4 vahāraṁ lēkhayati yathā ||

The date of these two inscriptions regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1147, to Wednesday, the 23rd April A.D. 1091, when the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h 26 m after mean sunrise

3 — This also is at Nadol. It contains 39 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Ōm¹ samvat 1198 Śrāvana-vadi 8 Ravāv-ady-ēha [ma]-
 2 hārājā[dhārāja]-śrī-Rāyapālādēvaḥ² kalyāna-viṣa[ya]-
 3 rāṣṭrē ēvaṁ kālē pravarttamānē

The date corresponds either, for the *pūrnimānta* Śrāvana of the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 29th June A.D. 1141, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 11 m after mean sunrise; or, for the *amānta* Śrāvana of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. As the date of the following inscription is correct only for the *amānta* month, I here, too, take Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, to be the true equivalent of the date

4 — This also is at Nadol. It contains 8 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Ōm¹ || Samvat 1200 Bhādrapada-vadi 8 Budha-vārē ady-ēha śrī-
 2 Na[dū?]lā samastarājāvalisamalamkṛta-pūjya-mahārājādhi-
 3 rāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Rāyapālādēva-vijayarāṣṭrē ē-
 4 vaṁ kālē pravarttamānē

The date, for the *amānta* Bhādrapada of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1200, corresponds to Wednesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1144, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h 52 m after mean sunrise

In the Table Rāyapāla (A.D. 1142 and 1144) would have to be placed between Jōjalla (A.D. 1091) and Ālhana (A.D. 1153-1161), and it is probable that he was the immediate predecessor of the latter; but how he was related to either of them it is impossible to say at present

I may add that Mr. Ojha has also been good enough to send me some notes on the identification of Kāsahrada and Naddūlāī, spoken of by me above, pp 73 and 67. On the former, which I suspected to be somewhere near Nadol, he writes —

“I would identify Kāsahrada with Kāyadrām (also called Kāsadrām) at the foot of Mount Ābū, about 3 miles from the Bhimānā station of the R. M. Railway. It is a place of considerable antiquity with several old temples. An inscription of the time of the Paramāra prince Dhārāvarsha was discovered there by me some years ago”

And respecting Naddūlāī, which I had taken to be a different place from Naddūla, he says —

“As you think, it is quite different from Naddūla. It is now called Nāralāī, and is situated in the Gōdwār district of the Jōdhpur State. An inscription from the place is published in *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 140 (where the date given is incorrect³).”

¹ Denoted by a symbol.

² Read *“dēva-kalyāna-*

³ See my *Northern List*, No. 306.— On the map of the Rājputāna Agency ‘Narlāī’ is seven miles south-east of ‘Nadol.’

No 19.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BASTAR STATE.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.B.A.S., NAGPUR.

Mr. Cousens in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04 (p. 54) opens his report on the conservation of antiquarian remains in the Central Provinces with the remarks that 'the Central Provinces and Berâr cannot be said to be rich in antiquarian remains,' but 'possibly there exists many an old relic of considerable interest lying hidden away in some of the extensive jungles and little known tracts in the province, that has not come under the notice of any one capable of estimating its value' Exactly from such a place do I draw the materials for the subject I propose to notice on

Bastar is a feudatory state in the extreme south of the province situated between 17° 46' and 20° 14' north latitude and 80° 15' and 82° 15' east longitude, touching the Gôdâvarî and comprising an area of 13,000 square miles, all covered with dense forests and populated by the wildest tribes, some of whom did not till very recently know the use of clothes. This extensive jungle has been made to yield no less than 22 inscriptions¹ through the strenuous efforts of my friend Mr. Baijnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State. Three of these inscriptions were noticed by Colonel Glasfurd, Deputy Commissioner of the then Upper Gôdâvarî District, about the year 1862 A.D.² So far as is known, only one of them has been published, viz, the so-called Nâgpur Museum inscription of Sômâśvara³ On the authority of the information supplied by the Curator of the Nâgpur Museum it is there stated that the stone was brought from a village, Kowtah, near Sironcha, which is incorrect as will presently be shown. It belonged to Bârsûr, of the Bastar State, and is an important record of the predecessors of the present line of Râjas

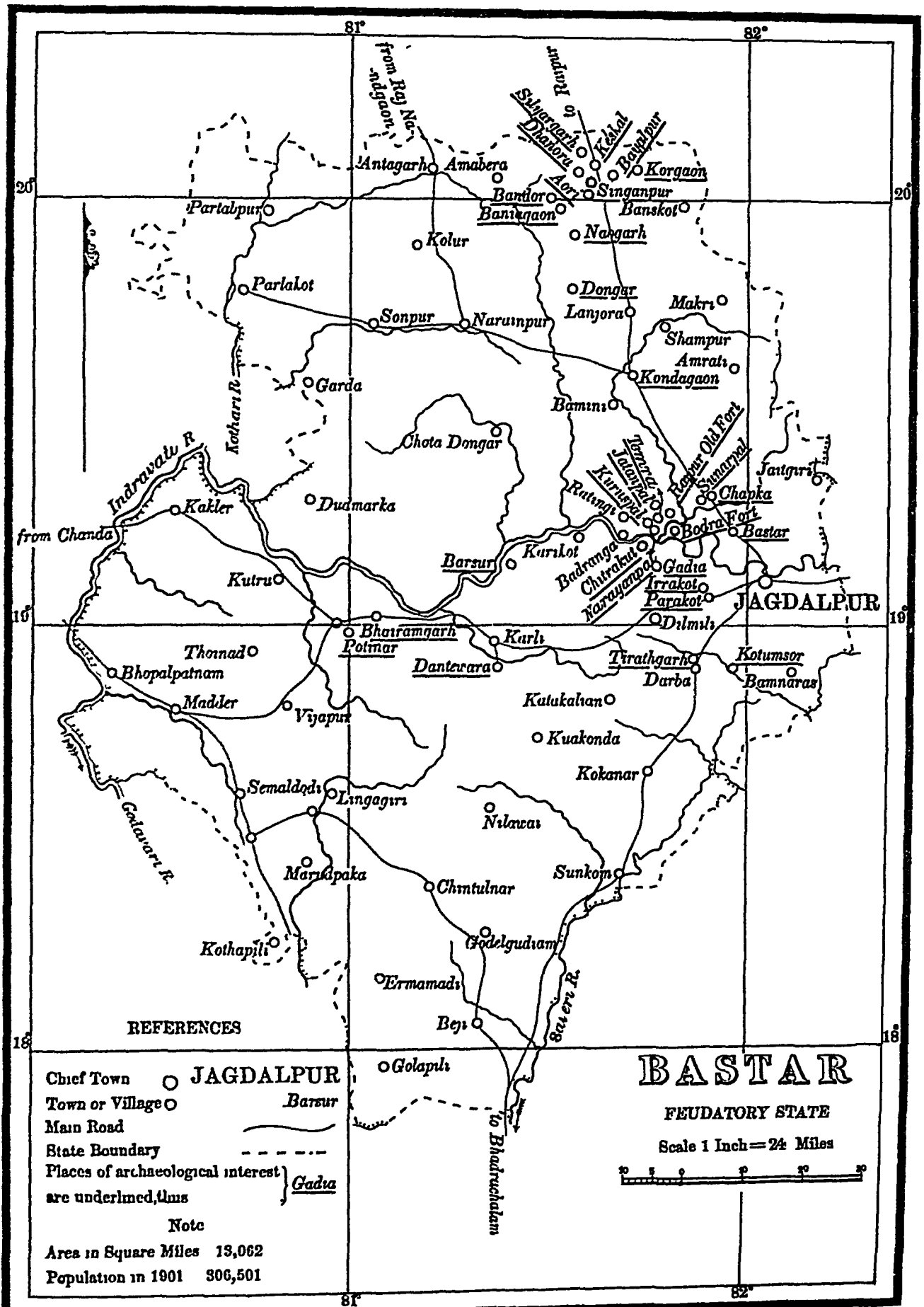
In order that the references to places in the Bastar inscriptions may be easily understood, I append a map of the State showing their positions as also some other places possessing archaeological remains. As most of the latter have never been noticed before, a brief mention of at least some of the important ones may not be out of place here. These places are Bârsûr, Dantêwârâ, Gadia, Bharamgarh, Narâyanpâl, Sunârpâl, Kuruspâl, Tirathgarh, Potinâr, Chapkâ and Dôngar

Bârsûr is a place of very great interest. It is 55 miles west of Jagdalpur, the present capital of Bastar. It contains ruins of many temples, the most important of which is a Śiva temple with two sanctuaries having a common *mandapa* supported on 32 pillars in four rows. In each of the sanctuaries there is a *linga* and a Nandi, and old people remember that an inscription was removed from this place about half a century ago. Another Śiva temple has a *mandapa* with 12 pillars in three rows, and the third is called *Mâmâ bhâñjâ-kâ mandir* and is distinguished by carvings on the inside walls in the shape of bells suspended from chains. Outside the Ganêśa temple there is a huge figure of Ganêśa, 17' in circumference and about 7' or 8' high. Numerous images are lying about or collected together under huts, of which the most noticeable is one of Vishnu, 4' high, and showing good workmanship. There are also some images of Mahîshâsuramardini, one of which is inscribed. All the temples are of mediæval Brâhmanic style, most of them built of stone without lime.—Dantêwârâ is about 20 miles south of Bârsûr, and in the intervening villages there are sculptured stones lying about, some of them being five-hooded cobras or intercoiled snakes. Dantêwârâ contains the shrine of Dantêśvarî, the tutelary goddess of the present ruling family. The temple is built at the junction of two rivers

¹ Since I wrote this Mr. Baijnath has made further discoveries which will be described in another paper.

² See *Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Foreign Department*, No. XXXIX. p. 62 et seq.

³ Above, Vol. III p. 314



Prepared specially for the Govt. Epigraphist for India
 from an original supplied by him

called Sankhīnī and Daikīnī, and is notorious as a place where human sacrifices were formerly annually offered. At least a place was pointed out to me in the innermost sanctum, close to the goddess, where they said the victims used to be decapitated. The goddess has eight arms and is represented in the act of killing the buffalo demon. She is in reality Mahishāsūramardīnī, locally known as Dantēśvarī. There are various other images such as those of Vishnu, Kārttikēya, Ganēśa, etc., some of which were brought away from the ruins of Bārsūr. There are five inscriptions here, three inside the Dantēśvarī temple, one just outside it, and another near a mud hut called Bhairamguḍī. There are remains of several other temples buried in ruins. For the support of the Dantēśvarī temple, an estate consisting of several villages is attached — Bhairamgarh is about 70 miles west of Jagdalpur and has three or four temples, together with remains of a fort and a ditch and several tanks. There is an inscription on a pillar, and at Potinār, a village near Bhairamgarh, there is a slab¹ inscribed on four sides — Gadia is 20 miles west of Jagdalpur and has a stone temple with no idol, but built in the same style as those of Bārsūr. About 400 yards away there is a big inscription, and a *linga* was found buried in a brick mound — Narāyanpāl and Kuruspāl are quite close to each other, the former being situated on the river Indrāvati. Near these villages are the forts of Rājapur and Bōdrā, and not far away the beautiful falls of the Indrāvati at Chitrakūt present a magnificent appearance — Narāyanpāl is only 6 miles from Gadia and has an old temple, an image of Vishnu, and an inscription — Sunārpāl and Chapkā are within 12 miles from Narāyanpāl. Chapkā has a number of *satī* pillars, several of which are inscribed — Tirathgarh also contains some temples and relics — Dōngar is a place where according to custom the present Rājas go to be crowned. Here one of the queens, whose finger was chopped off by royal order and who ventured to inform her father, writing the letter with the blood so wantonly spilt, was buried alive. The pit, which is still pointed out, was once disturbed by a greedy Rāja of the same family, who also brought down the temple of Narāyanpāl and some others in search of supposed buried treasure.

I now proceed to give a short notice of each inscription of which I possess impressions, with very brief remarks where necessary, reserving a fuller account for other papers. The Bastar inscriptions may be roughly divided into three classes, *viz.*, those of the (1) Nāgavamśī kings, (2) the Kākatīyas, and (3) miscellaneous. Of 22 yet discovered, ten belong to the 1st class, five to the 2nd, and the rest to the 3rd.

THE NĀGAVAMŚĪ INSCRIPTIONS.

I — Narāyanpāl Stone inscription of Queen Gunda-mahādēvi, the mother of Sōmēśvaradēva.

Narāyanpāl is a village 23 miles west of Jagdalpur. The inscription is on a stone slab and is in Nāgarī characters, and the language is Sanskrit. It records the grant of the village Nārāyanapura to the god Nārāyana and some land near the Khajjur tank to the god Lōkēśvara, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon-day of the Kārttika month in the Khara samvatsara (*Śaka-nripa-kālātītē dāśa-sata-traya[s*]-trims-ādhyakē Khara-samvatsarē Kārttika-pournimāsyām Budhavārē*) corresponding to 18th October 1111 A.D., and issued by Gunda-mahādēvi, the chief queen of Mahārāja Dhārāvarsha, the mother of Sōmēśvaradēva and the grandmother of Kanharadēva, who was then ruling on the death of his father (*Mahārāja-Sōmēśvara-dēvasya svar(svar)gatē tēshām putrasya āsām naptuh . . . śrīmād-vīra-Kanharadēvasya kalyāna-vijaya-rājyē*). The dynasty claims to belong to the Nāgavamśa and the Kāśyapa gōtra, to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of Bhōgāvatī the best of the cities (*Nāgavamśōdbhava Bhōgāvatī-pura-var-ēśvara savatsa-vyāghra-lāmchhana Kās(s)yapa-gōtra*). At the end of the inscription the sun and moon, a cow and a calf, and a

¹ This has now been removed to a roadside place called Jānglā, six miles north of Potinār, for easy access

dagger and shield with a *līṅga* in its socket, exactly of the shape in which the Lingāyats wear them, are engraved. There is a postscript to this inscription in which it is stated that the land was given by Dhārana-mahādēvi, who was probably the widow of Sōmēśvara, as will appear further on. There can be no doubt that Nārāyanpāl is the Nārāyanapura of the inscription. A temple of Nārāyana is still standing there. The image of Viṣṇu, about 2' high, canopied by a hooded snake, is exquisitely executed.

II.—Bārsūr inscription of Ganga-mahādēvi, wife of Sōmēśvaradēva.

This inscription is now in the Nāgpur Museum, and, as stated above, it has already been published.¹ It is a slab 9' 2" long, 14" broad and 3½" thick, broken into two pieces, the bigger one measuring 6½' and the smaller one 2' 11". It is inscribed on three sides. The inscribed portion of each flat side is about 4½', thus leaving half of the pillar buried underground. As the whole of the inscription could not be completed within the allotted space, the remaining portion has been inscribed on the third side, on which the writing runs to the length of 31". The stone is stated to have been brought from Kowtah near Sironcha, but the Tahsildar of Sironcha informs me that it was never sent from that place.²

The stone is indisputably from Bārsūr. Happily Col Glasfurd has given a facsimile in his report on the Dependency of Bastar. Speaking of the Bārsūr temples he says³.—"In front of this temple I found a slab with an ancient Sanskrit and Telugu inscription on both sides, part of it had been broken off and was nowhere to be found. After offering a reward and causing search to be made I had the satisfaction of obtaining it. As the Telugu is of an antiquated character, I regret to say I have not succeeded in obtaining an accurate translation of the inscription. A facsimile is appended. From what I can ascertain it would appear that the temple of Mahādēva where the slab was found was built by a Rājā Sōmēśvaradēva, a Nāgavamsī Kshatriya, in the year 1130."

The inscription is in the Telugu character, and the language is also Telugu prose, the *virudāvalī* or titles of the king being in Sanskrit and corresponding with those in the Nārāyanpāl Sanskrit inscription. It records that Ganga-mahādēvi, the chief queen of Sōmēśvaradēva gave a village named Kēramaruka or Kēramarka to two temples of Śiva (both of which she had built) on Sunday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the Śaka year 1130. The two temples referred to here still exist, having one common *maṇḍapa*, and from local enquiry it appears that it was from this place that Col. Glasfurd removed the slab. Although the names of the temples Virasōmēśvara and Gangādhareśvara given after the royal couple as recorded in the grant, are forgotten, a tank still remains which is called Gangāsāgar and retains the memory of the charitable queen Ganga-mahādēvi. If the Sōmēśvara of this inscription is identical with that of Nārāyanpāl, there has apparently been a mistake in engraving the date which should be 1030 and not 1130, and that is perhaps the reason why the week day does not correspond with the *tithi* given there, *viz*, the 12th of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, on a Sunday. According to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, Phālguna Śukla 12 of Śaka-Samvat 1130 ended on Wednesday. So it was concluded that the year meant was Śaka 1131 expired, in which year the *tithi* given in the inscription fell on a Sunday. But on calculating the week day for the same *tithi* in Śaka 1030 expired I find that

¹ Above, Vol III p 314.

² A similar error seems to have been committed in relegating the Buddhist stone inscription of Bhavadēva (republished in J R A S 1905, p 617, by Dr Kielhorn) to Ratnapur, whereas from my enquiry *in situ* I found that the inscription was really brought from Bhāndaka, and this is confirmed by General Cunningham, *Reports*, Vol IX, p 127

³ *Report on the Dependency of Bastar*, 1862, p 62

it also fell on Sunday.¹ In the Narāyanpāl inscription it is stated that the grant of Nārāyanapura was made in Śaka 1033, in the reign of Kanharadēva, who had succeeded his father Sōmēśvaradēva on his death. And as there is nothing to show at present that there were two Sōmēśvaras,² the date 1030 fits in very well. It, however, seems somewhat extraordinary that such a palpable mistake should have been allowed to remain when it could be corrected by joining together with a curved line the two ends of the Telugu 1 which is like an egg half-cut (at least it is so in the inscription) thus transforming easily the second 1 of 1130 into a zero. I am very reluctant to suppose that the engraver committed a mistake, but that he did is patent enough in this case whether we read 1030 or 1130. The village Kēramaṅka may be identified with Kōdmalnār, which is situated quite close to Bārsūr and is said to have been *mu'afi* or exempt from the payment of taxes for a long time.

III —Kuruspāl inscription of Dhārana-mahādēvi, second queen(?) of Sōmēśvara.

Kuruspāl is a village about a mile off from Narāyanpāl. The inscription was found built upside down into the steps of a small tank, which shows that it did not belong to the tank itself, but was brought away from some ruins, possibly the temple built in the centre of the tank, and was utilised without regard to what was engraved on it. It is in the Nāgarī character, the language being Sanskrit with very bad spellings. The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land situated near Kalamba by Dhārana-mahādēvi, who seems to have been the second queen of Sōmēśvaradēva. The inscription belongs to the victorious reign of Mahārājādhirāja Sōmēśvaradēva (*Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva-pādānu kalyāna-vijaya-rājyē . . . śrīmat-sū(mach-ahhā)sana-mahādēvi dvitīya Dhārana-mahādēvi tay-ācharya Kalambva-samīpasthā bhūmī dattam(ā)*). The same long *birudas* as in the Narāyanpāl and Bārsūr inscriptions are attached to Sōmēśvaradēva's name. The inscription also mentions the name of Nārāyanapura. It is dated in the Saunya saṃvatsara.

IV.—Sunārpāl stone inscription of Mahādēvi, queen of Jayasimhadēva.

Sunārpāl is about 10 miles from Narāyanpāl. The stone is partially broken, and a part of the inscription is gone. It is undated. It records the grant of land, or, more properly, an imprecation against the resumption of granted land, and gives the names of witnesses before whom the gift was made, but it is not stated where. The gift was apparently made by Mahādēvi, the chief queen of Jayasimhadēva of the Nāga race, the supreme lord of Bhōgavatī, having the tiger with a calf as his crest. He is called Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Śrī Jayasimhadēva.

V —The Dantēśvarī gudi inscription³ of Narasimhadēva.

This is another stone inscription in Telugu character found in the temple of the goddess Dantēśvarī at Dantēwārā. It is dated in the dark fortnight of the month Jyēsthā in the Śaka year 1140 (expired). In this year there was an eclipse of the sun, and the month of Jyēsthā was intercalary. At that time Mahārāja Narasimhadēva, the ornament of the race of the best of serpents, was ruling (*Śrī-bhujaga-vara-bhūshana-Mahārājula=ana Śrīman-Narasimhadēva-Mahārājula rājyamu*). The inscription is only a fragment.

¹ Since I wrote the above, Prof. Kielhorn has kindly calculated the date for me and finds that Śaka 1030 Phālguna Sudi 12 Sunday regularly corresponds to Sunday, 14th Feb. A.D. 1109.

² I do not think that much importance can be attached to the different *birudas* used in the Bārsūr and Narāyanpāl inscriptions. The Sōmēśvara of the former has the title *jagadēkabhūshana-mahārāja*, which does not occur in the latter. But then the *birudas* used in the Bastar inscriptions are not always the same.

³ For reading this I am indebted to Mr. Sitaramayya, one of the Superintendents in the Comptroller's office, Central Provinces.

Of the remaining five Nāgavamśi inscriptions it has not yet been possible to obtain good impressions. They are all in Telugu. The Potinār slab seems to refer to Narasimhadēva and the Dantōwārā stone lying outside the Dantōśvari temple to Jayasimhadēva. The Bhairamgarh inscription contains *virudas* similar to those found in the Bārūr one, and the king is stated in both to be the worshipper of Mānikyadēvi (*Śrī-Mānikyadēvi-dīrṃyā-tripāda-padma-ārādhalakā*), which is an older name of Dantōśvari, so named by the successors of the Nāgavamśis, the Kākatiyas, although the latter claim that Dantōśvari came with them from Warangal, where she was called Mānikyēśvari.¹ This inscription is incomplete and it appears that it was never completed. The Bhairamgudi inscription at Dantōwārā appears to be the oldest of all, as its date appears to be Śaka 984.² The Gadā inscription, apparently of Somēśvaradēva's time, contains the usual figures of the cow and calf, Sun and Moon, Śiva, etc., the peculiar signs of the Nāgavamśi kings, although they do not seem to refer to their family crests. They are all picture imprecations. The sun and moon represent that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Śiva is the protector against violation of the grant on the spiritual side, and the dagger and shield of the king on the temporal. The cow and calf depict the grave sin which the transgressor would commit, exactly equal to taking away the cow from the calf. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Kuruspāl inscription has a representation of an ass associating with a pig, the imprecation being explained in the text thus, *Jō (yā) aryaśā i karōti tasya pitā gardabhaś śūhārī mātā* (he who acts otherwise has for his father an ass and for his mother a pig.)

From these inscriptions it would appear that Bastar, which has been held to have always been the home of wild animals, with almost wilder tribes, was once ruled by a people whose civilization is sufficiently evidenced by the remains of temples, some of which are of great architectural beauty. These inscriptions carry the history of Bastar back to the eleventh century A.D., when at least the central portion of the State was ruled by the Nāgavamśi kings. They apparently belonged to the Sinda family of Yelburga, whose titles are strikingly identical with those of the Bastar Nāgavamśi kings. Dr Fleet states³ that there appear to have been more branches than one of this family. One of these was that of Bastar, which has been hitherto unknown. These inscriptions disclose the names of five or six different kings, viz., Dhārāvaraha, his son Sōmēśvaradēva, and his grandson Kanharadēva, Jayasimhadēva, Narasimhadēva, and a possible Sōmēśvara II. In view of the fact that half the inscriptions relating to these kings have not yet been deciphered owing to their incompleteness or want of proper impressions, I reserve a fuller discussion of the history of these kings for another occasion.

II.—THE KĀKATĪYA INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are modern ones, the oldest being those of the Dantōśvari temple at Dantōwārā written by the *rājaguru* of the present family, who was a Maithila Papdit. One of these is in Sanskrit and the other is a Maithili rendering of the same with some additions. Col Glasford has given a very defective transcript of both in his report. They are dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1760, or 1703 A.D. on the 3rd day of Baisākh, dark fortnight. They record the pilgrimage of Rāja Dīkṣādēva to the Dantōśvari shrine when 'so many thousands of buffaloes and goats were sacrificed that the waters of the Sankhū river became red like *kusuma* flowers and remained so for five days.' The Kākatiyas are stated to be Sōmavamśis,⁴ born of the

¹ Elliot's *Report on the Bastar and Kharonde Dependencies*, 1861, p. 13

² As read by Bai Bahadur V. Venkayya

³ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 572

⁴ In the Ekāmrañātha inscription of Gaṇapati (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 200) they are stated to belong to the solar race to which 'Sagara, Bhagiratha, Baghu and Rāma' belonged. This apparent contradiction is, however, capable of being explained. The Kākatiya king Gaṇapati had no male issue. He had a daughter named Rudrāmbā, who succeeded him on the throne. Apparently she also had no male issue and had therefore to adopt her daughter's

Pāṇḍava Arjuna The genealogy begins with Kākati Pratāparudra, who was king of Warangal. His brother Annamrāja was the first to come to Bastar, and the genealogy is continued to Dīkpālādēva, nine successors being mentioned. The present Bastar family is the representative of the old Warangal family, who, having been defeated by Musalmāns, fled to Bastar. Combining the information hitherto available, the following list of Kākatiya kings may be made up

1.—Predecessors of Annamdēva, from Professor Kielhorn's *Southern Inst.*, above, Vol VIII, Appendix, p 18.

- 1 Dujaya
- 2 Bēta (Betmarāja) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 1
- 3 Prōla (Prōlērāja, Prōdarāja) Jagatkēśarin, son of 2, made the Western Chālukya Tailapa-dēva prisoner, defeated Gōvīndarāja and Gunda of Mantrakūta, conquered but reinstated Chōdōdāya, put to flight Jagaddēva
- 4 The *Mahāmanḍalēśvara* Rudradēva, son of 3, subdued Domma, conquered Mailhigidēva, burnt the city of Chōdōdāya A D 1163-[and 1186]
- 5 Mahādēva (Mādhava), brother of 4
- 6 Ganapati (Ganapa) Chhālamattiganda, son of 5, defeated the Dēvagiri Yādava Singhana, the kings of Chōla, etc. A. D [1199-1200 to 1260-61]
- 7 the *Mahāmandalachakravartin* Pratāparudra of Ēkaśilānagarī, i.e. Warangal. His general Muppidi entered Kāñchi and installed Mānavira as governor. A D 1316

2—Successors of Annamdēva down to Dīkpālādēva according to the Dantēwārā inscriptions.

- 1 Annamrāja, brother of Pratāparudra.
- 2 Hāmīradēva
- 3 Bhaurava (Bhai Rāj) dēva
- 4 Purushōttamadēva
- 5 Jayasimhadēva
- 6 Narasimhadēva, his queen Lachhamī-dēī dug many tanks and planted gardens
- 7 Jagadīśarāyadēva
- 8 Viranārāyanadēva
- 9 Virasimhadēva, married Vadanakumārī, a Chandēlla princess
- 10 Dīkpālādēva, married Ajabakumārī, of the Chandēllas, visited the Dantēśvarī temple in Samvat 1760, A.D 1703

son Pratāparudra. It is possible that Pratāparudra's father may have belonged to the lunar race, and, while Pratāparudra became by adoption a Kākatiya of the solar race, his brother Annamdēva, the founder of the Bastar family, must have remained what his father was, that is, of the lunar race. Strictly speaking Pratāparudra himself does not seem to have a very strong claim to be a solar Kākatiya. He was adopted by his grandmother, whereby he became a member of her (or her husband's) race, but it can be urged in his favour that he succeeded to the Kākatiya throne, and that adoption of females was valid in ancient times (see *Dattakamīnand* VII § 80-88 as quoted by Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, sixth edition, p. 130), whereby Ganapati's daughter, whom her father had called his 'son' and had given a male name of 'Rudra' (on which account she was called Rudrāmba; see *Ind Ant* XXI p 199) became incorporated with her parental race of solar Kākatiyas. The commentator of the *Pratāparudriya*, who was no less a personage than the great Mallinātha's son, explains the word thus—*Kākatiś nāma Durgā Śaktir Ēkaśilānagar-śvarānām kuladēvātā tā Śaktir bhajantī-asy ēti Kākatiyah*. It is in this sense alone that the Bastar family could be classed as Kākatiya. This would not affect their true lineage, viz., the lunar race. All this however would apply if Annamdēva was a brother of the Pratāparudra of our list I. But list II with 10 kings for a period of about 400 years postulates the existence of another Pratāparudra, who probably ruled a hundred years later and 'lost his kingdom and his life in the battle with Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī' in 1424 A D. This Pratāparudra was also probably engrafted from another family like his predecessor, in all likelihood from the lunar race to which his brother Annamdēva as a matter of natural course continued to belong.

3.—Successors of Dikpāladēva down to the present ruling chief, according to records kept in the Rāja's family

- 1 Rajpāldēva
- 2 Dalpatdēva
- 3 Daryāodēva, his brother Ajmēr Singh rebelled against him in Samvat 1836, A.D. 1779.
- 4 Mahāpāladēva
- 5 Bhūpāladēva
- 6 Bhairamadēva.
- 7 Rudrapratāpadēva, the present chief.

The family records place another Pratāparājadēva between Narasimhadēva and Jagadīśarājadēva, Nos 6 and 7 of Inst 2 Pratāparudradēva, the brother of Annamrāja, is stated to have had three eyes; his army was composed of nine lac archers,¹ and during his time golden rain fell Pratāparudra I. was a great patron of learning, and Vidyānātha wrote a work on Alankāra, which he called after him *Pratāparudrayasōbhāshana* or *Pratāparudrīya* ²

The other three inscriptions are at Dōngar; they are written in Hindi. Two of them are dated in Samvat 1836, or A.D. 1783, and refer to a visit of Rāja Daryāodēva in order to quell a local rebellion. The third is dated in Samvat 1928, or A.D. 1871, and records the *pañśī-bhūshēka* ceremony of Bhairamadēva, the father of the present ruler.

III.—MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are unimportant and give no historical data. Six belong to Chapkā and are engraved on *satī* memorial stones and, with one exception, in Nāgarī characters. Most of these have the usual marks of the sun, the moon and the outstretched hand with figures of husband and wife. Some have got temples engraved, with the couple in the act of worshipping the *linga* represented there. One is found at Bārsūr on the pedestal of a goddess and is fragmentary.

No 20 — KANKER COPPER PLATES OF PAMPARAJADEVA

[KALACHURI] SAMVAT 965 AND 966.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

These are two copper plates which were found in an old well in the Village Tahankāpār, 16 miles from Kanker, the capital of the state of the same name in the Chhattīsgarh Division of the Central Provinces. They are now in the possession of the chief of that state and were sent to me by his Divān Pandit Durgāprasād. Ink impressions were kindly taken for me at Nāgpur by Mr T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plate.

There are two different records issued at an interval of a year. Both the plates are $7\frac{1}{2}$ " long, but they differ in height and weight, one measuring $3\frac{3}{4}$ " and the other $3\frac{1}{4}$ ", the bigger one

¹ This may be true in the sense that he ruled over so big a population, who, as subjects, could at any time be called out for military service. In Bastar and adjoining tracts almost every man knows the use of the bow and arrow, with which they even kill tigers. The probability, however, is that 'nine lac' was a conventional term for the highest number. In the Hotṭār inscription (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 433) the Chālukya king Satyāśraya is stated to have put to flight a Chōla king who had collected a force numbering nine lacs, indirectly insinuating that he defeated the biggest army that could be brought in the field. Similarly it has become idiomatic to speak of *Bāwanganh* (52 forts), 700 *chēllas* (disciples), 108 *śrīs*, etc.

² *Ind. Ant.* xxi. p. 198, and Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 218.

weighing 6 oz and the smaller 6 oz 10 drs. The former has an oblong hole at the top, measuring $\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{16}$ ", apparently for stringing it with other plates. It is uniformly and sufficiently thick, and is in a good state of preservation. The smaller one is thick in the middle but very thin at the ends, so thin indeed that the commencement *om svasti* has cut through the plate leaving holes in the engraved portion, and, similarly, at the diagonally opposite end, a portion is exceedingly worn-out leaving irregular holes there. The corners of this plate were rounded off. It has at the end an ornamental figure representing the moon. This was probably the family crest.

The average size of the letters in the bigger plate is $\frac{3}{16}$ " and in the smaller $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The former appears to be a palimpsest. Both the sides contain minute scratches of letters of almost double the size, which are altogether illegible.

The characters in both the plates, which were written at an interval of a year only, are Nāgarī, and the language in both is corrupt Sanskrit prose. Both the plates were engraved by Sēthi or Sāo Kēśava, who apparently lived at Pādī (town).

There is very little to note about orthographical peculiarities. The letters *dha*, *ra*, *na*, *ṛha*, *ḍha*, *ṣa*, and the figures 9 and 5 appear in a somewhat antiquated form, and the usual indifference to the use of *s* for *ś* is conspicuous. Spelling mistakes there are many, they have been noticed in the footnotes under the text.

The bigger plate, which is the older of the two and was issued from the Kākairā residence, is a state document conferring a village with a fixed revenue on the village priest Lakshmidharaśarman. This refers to Jaiparā village, but Chikhali is also incidentally mentioned. The smaller plate records the gift of two villages, Kōgarā and Āndali, to the same person on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. These transactions were made by the Mahāmaṇḍalika Pamparājadēva of the Sōmavamśa (lunar race) in the presence of his queen Lakshmidēvi, prince Vōpadēva and eight Government officials including the minister. In the village document these officials appear as witnesses. The recipient of the villages was himself one of them.

The village document is business-like and contains abbreviations which were no doubt very well understood at that time, but are now difficult to make out. It does not indulge in genealogies. In the gift, however, we are told that Pamparājadēva meditated on the feet of Sōmarājadēva, who meditated on the feet of Vōpadēva. I take this Vōpadēva to be identical with that of the Kanker stone inscription of the Śāka year 1242 (see above, page 124). I shall discuss this question in another paper on the Sihāwā inscription, which also gives a genealogy of this family.

The bigger plate is dated in Samvat 965, in the Bhādrapada month, in the Mriga lunar mansion, on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight, and the smaller one in the Īśvara-samvatsara, in the month of Kārttika, in the Chitrā lunar mansion, on Sunday, at the solar eclipse, the year being given in figures at the end as 966. It is not stated to what era these dates belong, but Professor Kielhorn, who has kindly calculated them for me, has conclusively proved that they refer to the Kalachuri era. The reader is referred to the postscript added by him at the end of my article on the Kanker stone inscription (see above, pp 128 and ff), where he has fully discussed the question. The English equivalents of these dates, as calculated by him, are Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, and Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, respectively.

The towns and villages mentioned in the plates are Kākairā, Pādī, Kōgarā, Āndali, Jaiparā, Chikhali and Vanikōtta. Kākairā is the modern Kanker, where the present chief of the state resides. It is 88 miles from Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattisgarh Division, in which the Kanker state is included. Kōgarā has now been corrupted into Kōngērā. There are two villages of this name in the state, and for distinction one is called Dēo Kōngērā (8 miles

south-east of Kanker), and the other Hāṭ Kōngērā (6 miles north of Kanker). The former is associated with gods, and the latter with a market, which is held there. In the inscription Kōgarā is said to be close to the shrine of Prāṅkēśvara, which has now disappeared, but has apparently left its reminiscence in the suggestive adjunct *Dēo* which Kōngērā now bears. I therefore identify our Kōgarā with Dēo Kōngērā. Jaiparā is the modern Jēprā (Indian Atlas, quarter sheet 92, N W., Long 81° 31', Lat. 20° 28'), a village 15 miles north of Kanker, and Chikhali is about 21 miles in the same direction just on the borders of the state. It is now included in the Dhamtarī tahsil, which formerly formed part of the Kanker state. Āṇḍali is probably represented by the present Āṇḍni (Āṇṇi), 10 miles east of Kanker. Pāḍi cannot be identified. The same is the case with Vanikōṭṭa about which it is doubtful whether it is the name of a village at all.

Plate I.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Kākaira-samāvāsē rājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-Sō-
- 2 ma-vams(ś)-ānvaya-prasūta-Kātyā[ya*]ni-vara-lavdha-pamcha-savd¹-ābhinamdita-nija-bhuj-
- 3 mahāman[d*]alika-simat²-Pamparājadēva-vijaya-rājyē tat-samnihita-rājñi Lakshmi-
- 4 dēvi kumara³ Vōpadēva pradhāna Bhōga rārā | vaipāṭha | asū⁴ ōtē nija-
- 5 vyāpāram kurvvaṁ ti-
- 6 shthā(a)mā Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa maryādi-kṛitya grāma-patrō-yaṁ gaitā-
- 7 Lakshmidharāyam(ya) pradattam
- 8 prathama sarāha gaja bhāma āchhu 130 vijaya-rāja⁵ ttamka 140 halav-
- 9 ārdha-pattam-
- 7 tarē | tathā Chikhali-grāma-patrē vijaya-rāj[y*]a-ttamka 150 pralavā-pau-
- 8 ṇa-pattamtarē | Asmim arthē sākshinaḥ bhattarā[naka*] (i) Gōvinda gai(n)tā
- 9 Lakshmidhara | gai[tā*] Ma-
- 9 hēśvara⁶ | nā[yaka*] | Chhamtū | nā[yaka*] | Dāmōdara | sā[o*] | Pālātū |
- 10 samvat (i) 965 Bhādrapada vadi 1[0]
- 10 mṛiga-rakshē⁷ sōdma-dinē⁸ | pam | Viṣṇuśarmmanā lkhitaṁ sēṭhi Kēśavēna
- 11 utkirṇam Pāḍi-
- 11 pattanē [|*] subham⁹ bhavatu ||

TRANSLATION.

Hail! At the Kākaira residence, in the victorious reign of the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Pamparājadēva, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the great worshipper of Śiva, (who is) born in the lineage of the family of the Moon, who is hailed as having obtained the 5 sounds as a boon from Kātyāyanī, who has acquired (his country) by (the force of) his own arms, with him the queen Lakshmidēvi and Prince Vōpadēva (sitting) by his side, and while the eight¹⁰ officials

¹ Read *labdha-paṇcha śabdā*.

⁴ Probably *aṣṭa*

⁷ Read *mṛigarakshē*

¹⁰ These eight officials seem to have included the minister, the village priest, who in the present case is a party

² Read *śrīmat-*.

⁵ Read *rājya*

⁸ Read *sōmadinē*

³ Read *kumāra*.

⁶ Read *Mahēśvara*

⁹ Read *subham*

to the transaction, the Rāj Pandit, who wrote out this document, and five others, whose office is probably expressed by five letters *Rā, Rā, Va, Pā* and *Tha*, which perhaps stand for *Rājaka* (chief counsellor), *Rājavalābha* (court favourite), *Pāṭrika* (chamberlain), *Pāṭrika* (aide-de-camp), and *Thakkura* (lord-in-waiting). See *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1905, Vol I, p 10, Vol XVII, 1878, pp 405 and 408; *Ind. Ant* Vol XI, pp 244 and 337. In the last, which is a Chaulukya grant of A.D 1207, the following occurs *śīva-āṣṭābhīr gōṣṭhikāḥ ... sārḍ* written only six years after the one referred to above, and it would seem that at that time eight was considered an adequate number of persons as witnesses or trustees, etc, in connection with transactions of at least landed property.

II
[Kalachuri] Samvat 966

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(headed by) the minister Bhôga (?) are present on duty, this document of the village, making Jaiparâ Vanikôṭṭa the limit,¹ is given to Gaitû² Lākshmidhara First³ (the revenue was payable) at 130 (in former coins, now) 140 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for half the Halbâ⁴ patti (share) Similarly in the document of Chikhali village, 150 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for the $\frac{1}{2}$ Pralavâ (Halbâ) patti (share) The witnesses for this purpose (are) Bhatṭarūnaka Gōvinda, Gaitû Lakshmidhara, Gaitû Mahēśvara, Nāyaka Chhantū, Nāyaka Dāmōdara, Bāo Pālatū Samvat 935, Bhādrapada (month), in the Mriga lunar mansion (riksha), on Monday, the 1[0]th of the dark fortnight. Written by Pandit Vishnuśarma and engraved by Sēṭhi Kēśava in the Pādi town Let good fortune attend.

Plate II

TEXT.

- 1 Om⁵ Svasti Pādi-samāvāsē samasta-rāj āvali-manūlamkṛita⁶-sōmavam[sānvaya-7
prasū]ta-mahā-
2 man[d*]alika-śrīmad-Vōpadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-parama-bhattāraka-mahaman[d*]alik a⁸ -
[śrī]mat-Sōmarā-

¹ This is another ambiguous phrase capable of various interpretations. It is possible that the executors meant to convey that the boundaries of Jaiparâ Vanikôṭṭa were duly marked out on the spot before the document was given to Lakshmidhara. Vanikôṭṭa is another troublesome word. It may have been the name of a village in the vicinity of Jaiparâ and may have been used as an adjunct to distinguish it from other villages of the same name. Similarly people talk of Dēori Nāharman, meaning that Dēori which is near the village Nāharman, to distinguish it from another Dēori. There is a village in Kanker called Pharsakōṭ, which is probably a corruption of Parāśukōṭṭa, and on this analogy, it may fairly be asserted that there is nothing extraordinary in the name Vanikôṭṭa as denoting a village. It is, however, equally probable that it was no village, and that Jaiparâ had this adjunct because there existed in that village a *vanik-lōṭṭa*, or "traders' fortress," that is, a fortified place probably made by Banjārās for storing grain purchased for transport. In olden times the Banjārās are known to have carried even guns for protecting themselves from plunder. Jaiparâ may have been one of their central depôts, which they fortified, and the village therefore came to be called Jaiparâ Vanik-lōṭṭa. It is not necessary that the Banjārās alone should have done this. There may have been other traders who might have built a fortified place, but as this part of the country has been and is a favourite resort of these wandering traders, it is more likely that they should have built such a depôt. Numerous examples of such adjuncts may be cited. Thus, there is a village Barâ in the Saugor district. It has got Hindû tombs called *Sura*; and hence people call it Barâ Suragaon. In fact the adjunct has gained such prominence that the real name Barâ is almost elbowed out, and only Suragaon is regularly used. Similarly, Hirdēnagar Garhākōṭā, well known as Garhākōṭā, derives its name from the construction of a fort and rampart, the original principal village being Hirdēnagar, which a Bundelâ chief Hirdē-Shāh founded in his own name.

² The village priest is still called *Gaitû* in Kanker and Bastar States.

³ Lines 4 and 5 are so obscure as to make their translation extremely doubtful. There can be little doubt, however, that they relate to the fixation of revenue of the villages mentioned, in the coins of the reigning prince. Whether the old revenue in respect to the village to which the transaction refers, was 130 *tankas*, and on revision on the present occasion, was enhanced to 140 *tankas*, or the old 130 *tankas* were equal to 140 new coins is not clear. While executing the present document opportunity was taken to revise the revenue of another village, Chikhali, for which another *grāmapatra* or document existed, and the revenue was fixed at 150 new *tankas*. It appears that the Chikhali document was not near at hand, and that seems to be the reason why blank space enough to fill up 3 figures was left out between the words *Chikhali-grāmapatra* and *Vijaya-rājyatanka* to be filled up afterwards. But once omitted nobody cared to fill it in, the matter not being of great importance, as the old rental was superseded by the revised amount which was thenceforth payable to the State. The fact that this record is a palimpsest seems to show that the fresh transaction was a matter on revision under the new régime of Pamparājadeva, and apparently the old record, which had become useless, was beaten out and the new one was inscribed instead. The words *sarāha goja bhāma dōhhu* appear to be some local technical term, which was used in fiscal matters and was well understood at the time, but so far as my enquiry from local sources goes, it has not survived and it is not now used in State transactions. The matter, however, is not of great importance and does not affect the historical information inferable from the record.

⁴ *Pattis* are plots of land in a village and the Halbâ or Halbâ patti was apparently one cultivated by the Halbâs, an aboriginal tribe chiefly found in Kanker (see above note 5, page 124).

⁵ Expressed by a symbol. ⁶ Read "many-alamkṛita." ⁷ Read -*vamsānvaya*-. ⁸ Read -*mahāmandalika*.

Mahā-Sudēvā's Raipur plates¹ Like this latter inscription and the Ârang copper plates of Mahā-Jayarāja,² our inscription was issued from Śarabhapura, and it states that the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre of the crest jewels in the tiaras of the *sāmantas* who have been subjugated by his prowess, who is the cause for the removal of the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies, who is the giver of riches, of land, and of cows, who is a devout worshipper of Bhagavat, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, issues the following order to the householders living in Navannaka and the neighbouring Śāmbilaka, in the Kṣhītimanda āhāra: Be it known to you that these two villages, which assure the happiness of the abode of the king of gods, have been bestowed by a copper charter on the Vājisanēyīn Viṣṇusvāmin, of the Kauśika gōtra, for as long a time as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of sun, moon, and the stars, together with their treasures and deposits, not to be entered by district officers³ and soldiers, free from all taxes; for the purpose of increasing the spiritual merit of our parents and ourselves

The date of our inscription cannot as yet be settled. Mahā-Sudēva is the same who has issued the grant published by Rājendralāla Mitra⁴ and Dr Fleet.⁵ According to the legend of the seal he was the son of a certain Mānamātra, who in his turn had risen from the Prasann-ārnava, i. e. who was descended from Prasanna, probably his son

Neither Mānamātra nor Prasanna are elsewhere known. Mānamātra can perhaps be identified with Mānānka, "the ornament of the Baṣṭrākūtas," who is mentioned in the copper plates of Abhimanyu of Mānapura edited by Professor Hultzsch.⁶ This Mānānka had a son, Dēvarāja, who might be identical with Sudēvarāja. In support of this hypothesis it may be mentioned that *mātrā* and *anka* are both stated by lexicographers to mean ornament. On the other hand, the alphabets of the two inscriptions differ, and this, in addition to the difference in the names, makes the identification very doubtful

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura also recurs in the two other grants by Mahā-Sudēva and in the Ârang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja. Navannaka may be the present Nahnā, the Nahnā⁷ of the maps, three miles south of Khariār. We do not know anything about the location of the remaining geographical names of our inscription, Kṣhītimanda and Śāmbilaka. They should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Khariār

TEXT.⁸

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [*] Śarabhapurād-vikkram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuta-chūdāmani-
- 2 prabhā-prasēk-āmbu-dhōta⁹-pāda-yugalō rpu-vilāsini-simant-ōddharana-
- 3 hētur-vvasu-vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ-paramabhāgavatō mātā-putrī¹⁰-pād-ānuddhyā-
- 4 taś-śrī-Mahā-Sudēva-rājah Kṣhītimand-āhāriya-Navannaka-ētat-prāvēśya-
- 5 Śāmbilakayōḥ=prativāsi-kutumbinas-samājñāpayati || Vīditam=astu

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 196 and ff

² *Ibid* pp 191 and ff

³ For the meaning of *chāta* compare Dr Vogel in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902-03*, p 247

⁴ *J Beng A S*, Vol xxxv, Part 1, 1867, pp. 195 and ff

⁵ *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 196 and ff

⁶ Above, Vol viii, p 168, compare Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol xxx, p 509

⁷ The Commissioner of Raipur now informs me that the plates were actually found in Nahnā, and that the local authorities are inclined to identify Śāmbilaka with the present San Doil or Sandohal, a village adjoining Nahnā.

⁸ From the original plates

⁹ Read *-dhauta*.

¹⁰ Read *-putrī*.

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Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 vò yathā=āsmāblur=ēta¹=grāma-dvayam tridaśa²-pati-sadana-sukha-jñatishthākai³
yāva-
7 d=ravi-saśi-tārā-kirana-pratibhata-ghōr-āndhakāram jagad=avatishtatē tīvad=upa-
8 bhōgyas=sanidhis=sōpanidhi=achāta-bhata-prāvēśya-sarvva-kara-visarjji-
9 to mātapiṭhā=ātmanaś=cha puny-ābhivridbhayē Vājisanēya-Kōśika⁴-sagōtra-
10 Vishnusvāminas=tāmbiasūsanēn=ātisrishtah [I*] Tē yūyam=ēvam=upalabhy=asya=

Second Plate , Second Side

- 11 jñā-sīavana-vidhēyā bhūtvā yathōchitam bhōga-bhāgam=upanayantas=sukham pati-
12 vatsyatha [I*] Bhavishyatis=cha bhūmipāmn⁵=anudatīsayati [II*] danā⁶=
visishtam=anupā-
13 lana-jam⁶ puiānā dharmmēshu nischita-dhryah=pravadanta dharmma[m*]
|| (I) tasmā[d*] divjā-
14 ya suvisuddha-kula-sintāya dattām bhuvam bhavanti vò matu=va
gōpta[m*] ||
15 Tad=bhavadbhū=apy=ēshā dattir=anupālayitavyā [I*] Vyāsa-gītām=ch=atīa
slōkān=u-

Third Plate , First Side

- 16 dūharanta || Agnēr⁷=apatya[m*] prathamam suvarnam bhūi=vāishnavi
sūrya-
17 sutās=cha gāvah [I*] dattās=trayas=tena bhavanti lōkā yah=kāñchanam gam
cha mahim cha da-
18 dyāt [II*] Shashti⁸-varsha-sahasrāni svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [I*] āchchhēttā
19 ch=anumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [II*] Bahubhu=vasudhā datta
rajabhi-
20 s=Sagar-ādibhih [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih tasya tasya tadā phalam ||

Third Plate , Second Side.

- 21 Svadattām⁹ paradattām vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishtira [I*] mahim=mahimatañ=
chchhrēshtha
22 dānā(ñ)ch=chhrēyō=anpālanam=ita [II*] svamukhājñayā savvatsara¹⁰ 2 Śrāvana
di 20 9
23 utkirnam tāmbasāsanam Drōnasinghēna.

Seal

Prasann-ārnnava-sambhūta-Mānamātr-ēndu-janmana[h*] Śrīma[t-Sudē]varājasya sūhram
jagati [sāsauam].

¹ The engraver originally wrote =āsmābhīr=aya-, but corrected it to =āsmābhīr=ēta- The gender in the following is wrong

² Read tri-

³ Read -kaushika-

⁴ The na in anupālana- has been added below the line

⁵ Metre Ślōka.

⁶ Read bhūmipān-

⁷ Metre Ślōka

⁸ Metre Vasantatilaka

⁹ Metre Indravajrā

¹⁰ Read savvatsara

No. 22.—NOTE ON BHUJABALA MAHARAYA

By R SEWELL, ICS (Retired)

In Vol VIII. 122 ff Mr H Krishna Śāstri, B.A., publishes an inscription of the Kalāśa chief Bhamrava II. at Kārkala in the South Canara district of the Madras Presidency, and in the course of his discussion¹ on the history of the family quotes Mr Rice's Mūdgere Taluq inscription of A D 1516 (Mg 41) His comment on this is as follows—"This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Krishnarāya of Vijayanagara, Bhujabala-Mahārāya led a campaign against the Tulu-rājya, and was encamped at the *blurana-sāle* in Mangalūru . . . Bhujabala-Mahārāya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Krishnarāya's elder brother 'Busbalrao' mentioned on p 110 of Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, etc"

There seems to be a mistake here Firstly, I note that Mr Rice does not consider the word *Bhujabala* in the passage in question to be a proper name The passage² runs—*Vijayanagara bhujabala mahārāyaru Tulu rājjada mēle dandu bandu*, and is translated by Mr. Rice—"The mighty (*bhujabala*) Mahārāya of Vijayanagara having come against the Tulu kingdom with an army" Here there is no ruler or leader named "*Bhujabala Mahārāya*" Secondly, the leader of the army could only have been Nuniz's "*Busbalrao*," elder brother of Krishnadēva Rāya, if the date of this expedition to the Tulu country were referred to a period at least seven years earlier than the date of the inscription, because "*Busbalrao*" had died when Krishnadēva was placed on the throne in A D 1509 It is possible that the expedition did take place before Krishnadēva's accession, and it is equally possible that it may allude to Krishnadēva Rāya's own exploit shortly after he came to the throne, when he, or his generals, reduced the Ganga Rāja of Ummatūr in Mysore The mention in "Mg 41" of Krishnadēva Rāya's supreme sovereignty over the Kalāśa country during the chieftainship of Immadi-Bhairarsa-Odeyar gives us no clue to the date of the Vijayanagara army's march to Mangalore, for this may have taken place at any period before the date of that chief's grant, viz., Sunday, July 13, A D 1516 But what is quite certain is that the leader of the army referred to could not have been Krishnadēva Rāya's elder brother, whom Nuniz called "*Busbalrao*," during, as stated by Mr Krishna Śāstri, the reign of Krishnarāya; for it was "*Busbalrao's*" death, according to Nuniz, that placed Krishnadēva on the throne

At the date of the grant Krishnadēva was conducting his decisive campaign in the east, and had captured Kondavidu three weeks earlier, viz., on June 23rd, A.D. 1516

No 23.—RAJAPURA COPPER PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADEVA.

[ŚAKA] SAMVAT 987.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR

The discovery of this first copper plate inscription in the wild Bastar State of the Central Provinces is the result of the zeal with which Rai Bahadur Baijnath, B A., the Superintendent

¹ Page 127, note 2 Will some one tell us whether the name should be spelt *Kalāśa* or *Kalasa* It appears to be spelt either way in the original inscriptions. Thus in Mg 40 (the inscription preceding the one in question), the Kanarese text has *Kalasa* in line 11, and *Kalāśa* in line 12 On p 68 of his translation Mr Rice gives us three times *Kalāśa* and five times *Kalasa*; on p 69 we have four times *Kalāśa* (not *Kalasa*) and three times *Kalasa*. This last form is certainly wrong, for the second akshara is always *la* in the original The variation is only in the third syllable Mr Krishna Śāstri, in the *Epigraphia* spells the word consistently *Kalāśa*.

² See *Ep/Carn VI* 155-262, lines 1-2

of the State, set himself to make a search for the antiquarian remains in that little known and remote quarter, at my request Mr Baijnath has been richly rewarded for his efforts, for, in addition to the present copper plates, he has discovered more than twenty new inscriptions in Sanskrit and Telugu characters, of most of which he has sent me ink estampages and tracings. I have deciphered several of them and they will in due course appear in this Journal. I begin with the copper plates, as this is perhaps the most ancient Sanskrit inscription yet found in Bastar. Mr Baijnath found the plates in the possession of a Brāhman named Gangādhara Pāṇi of Kāwadgaon close to Rājapura. Gangādhara received them from his sister-in-law, who found them buried in a field at Nāharni, sixteen miles from Rājapura.

There are three copper plates, held together by a ring, soldered into what was apparently the lower portion of a seal, which had been broken off. Each plate is about $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$ and they weigh 29½, 30 and 35 *tolas*, respectively the weight of the ring being 26 *tolas*. The plates are smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on both sides, except the first one, which is inscribed on one side only. Mr T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Secretariat Press, Nāgpur, kindly took for me impressions, which are reproduced in the accompanying plate. The plates are numbered 1, 2, 3, on the margin, which was apparently left to prevent the ring holes from coming in between the written lines. The word *srī* has been engraved in the upper margin of the first plate, over the figure 1.

The second side of the third plate is inscribed with benedictive and imprecatory figures 12, 12 hands in a row at the top, beneath which there is to the proper left a cow with a bell attached to her neck, and a dagger and a shield beside her feet, a florated *linga* in the form of a *śaśtila* in the middle, and a woman pursued by a donkey to the proper right, with the figure of the sun and the moon over it. My interpretation of these figures is as follows.—The hands are uplifted, apparently as an expression of benediction on the donor and they are twelve, probably because there were 12 *pātras* or donees referred to in the inscription. The cow is apparently drawn to remind us that whosoever appropriates the gifted land, will have to reap the same consequences which a cow's curse can produce, or will fall into the same calamity as a cow is in when deprived of her calf. Śiva is shown as the protector against aggression on the spiritual side, and the ruling king's dagger and shield on the temporal. The sun and the moon indicate that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Lastly the obscene figure of an ass associating with a woman is a vulgar imprecation implying that the transgressor of a gift should be so low-born.¹

The inscription is in the Nāgarī character. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{16}''$. They are well formed and clearly written.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit, and except the benedictive and imprecatory verses, which are inserted in a somewhat disconnected manner, the remainder of the inscription is prose. In fact the whole composition is disjointed, and there are several grammatical slips and spelling mistakes.

The most noteworthy orthographical peculiarities are the representation of the initial *ṣ* with two dots and a stroke underneath, resembling the Nāgarī figure 2 (ll 13, 16, 23 and 30). The anusvara is put at the side of the letter and is represented by a dot with a *hala* underneath (ll 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27), but in several instances it is also represented in the ordinary way by a dot on the top of the letter (ll 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31 and 32). One top stroke representative of the *mātrās*

¹ Compare my remarks, above, p 164

of *ê*, *ai*, *ô* and *au* is exhibited by a vertical stroke placed before the letter to which it is attached—a practice which is still followed in the Bengālī and Oriyā writing, but exceptions may be found side by side, where it is placed on the top of the letter according to the practice now followed in writing. Thus, in line 12, the *dē* of *Madhurāntakadēva* has a top, while the very next *dē* of *Kanharadēva* has a vertical stroke preceding the letter *da*. The latter form, however, predominates, the exceptions being found as regards *ê* in ll 2, 4, 10, 11, 12, 21, 26, 29 and 31 and of *ô* in ll 1, 19, 31, and 32. *ai* has been used only once, in line 8, and *au* twice, in lines 11 and 26, and in each case one of the top *mātrās* has been represented by a vertical stroke preceding the letter to which it is attached. The letters *bha*, *dha*, *ra* and *sha*, invariably appear in their antiquated forms. The letter *v* is used throughout for *b*, and *s* for *r*, except in the solitary instances of *daśa* in l 3 and of *śrī* in ll 12 and 29. *Ja* is used for *ya* (ll 20, 24, and 27), *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in l 8, and *na* for *na* in l 6. In line 8 *lamāla*¹ for *hamāla* is a spelling which occurs in other inscriptions. It represents the actual pronunciation of the vernacular word—a pronunciation still kept up in the Chhattisgarh division, of which Bastar forms part.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of Rājapura village, situated in the Bhramarakōtya *mandala*, to one Mēdipōta or a Chhurikāra Mēdipōta and his descendants, together with 70 *gadyānaka*² gold. The grant was made by the king Madhurāntakadēva, who belonged to the Chhindaka family of the Nāga (Cobra) race. The inscription is dated in the [Śaka] year 987, in the Parābhava samvatsara, on Wednesday of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month. Although the *tithi* has not been given, there is a most minute description of the moment of the grant, the *nakshatra* being stated to be Anurādhā, the *yōga* to be Saubhāgya and the *karana* to be Gara. From these data the exact date has been kindly calculated for me by Professor Kielhorn who says—

“The date for Śaka 987 expired corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A D 1065. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika ended 9 hours 17 minutes after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā and the *yōga* Saubhāgya. The second half of the *tithi* was the *karana* Gara. But the Jupiter's year is not quite correct. By the southern system it should have been Viśvāvasu and by the northern luni-solar system Plavanga and by the northern mean sign system Kīlaka. The mistake is the same as in the first Kanker³ plates.”

The purpose for which the grant was made is somewhat obscure. I take it to be a compensation for supplying a victim for human sacrifice. Before proceeding to show how I arrive at this conclusion, it may be stated that in Bastar and the adjoining tracts human sacrifices were rampant about seventy years ago. It is notorious that human victims were offered to the goddess Dantēśvarī, enshrined at Dantēwārā in the Bastar State. Colonel Macpherson of the Madras Army, who was appointed agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices and female infanticide in the hill tracts of Orissa, which Bastar adjoins, says⁴—“In the worship of Tārī Pennu or Earth Goddess the chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes both at social festivals held periodically and when occasions demand extraordinary propitiation, such as the occurrence of an extraordinary number of deaths by disease or by tigers, or should very many die in child-birth, or should the flocks or herds suffer largely from disease or from wild beasts, or should the greater crops threaten to fail, or the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the tribal chiefs. Victims are called Meriah and are acceptable only when they have been acquired by purchase or were born as such, that is, of a victim father. Victims are generally supplied to the Khonds by men of the two races called Panwā and Gahingā, who are attached in small numbers to almost every Khond village for the discharge of this and other peculiar offices. The Panwās purchase the victims without difficulty or kidnap

¹ Compare Dr Grierson in *J R A S* 1907, p 1057

² *Gadyānaka* is a weight = 32 *guñja*. See Yājñavalkya in 258

³ Above p 129

⁴ *J R A S*. Vol XIII (1852), p 243 et seq.

them from the poorer classes of Hindûs, procuring them either to the order of the Khonds or on speculation, and they moreover constantly sell as victims their own children and children of whom as relatives they are the guardians Khonds when in distress, as in times of famine, also frequently sell their children for victims, considering the beatification of their souls certain and their death for the benefit of mankind, the most honourable possible. The Meriah grove, a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, usually stands at a short distance from the village by a rivulet which is called the Meriah stream. It is kept sacred from the axe and is avoided by the Khonds as *haunted ground*." Bearing these remarks in mind, I now proceed to examine in how far they can throw light on our inscription. The italics in the above extract are mine, and they should be borne especially in mind, while considering what follows. In ll 26 to 28 it is stated that "no body enters the *chhuriprabandha*. There is no place for the preceptor of *yôginis*. For this purpose this village is taken with a view to do good to all living beings." From this it is plain that the grant was not made for any spiritual purpose such as the increasing of the religious merit of the king and his ancestors, but with a practical earthly aim, viz, in order to secure the welfare of the general public including cattle and other animals. The grant was not made to a Brâhmana but to a Mēdipōta (ll 12 to 14) who is styled "Pâtra 12," and to whom 70 *gadyânaka* gold were given in addition to the village, with the mutual consent¹ of the king, the queen, the prince and officers of State as stated in the grant, evidently in order to make the transaction an out-and-out purchase. Had the donee been a Brâhmana, we should have expected a mention of his parentage, *gôtra* and caste, but no such information is forthcoming in this grant. In l 25 Mēdipōta is called *chhurikâra*, which is probably used in a technical sense having reference to the *chhuriprabandha* referred to above, and not in the ordinary sense of a knife-maker (blacksmith). I am unable to say what *chhuriprabandha*² really means, but from the context it appears to stand for something like *narabaliprabandha*, apparently on account of the great importance of the *chhuri* or knife in the sacrifice.

With regard to the epithet "12 pâtra" I am inclined to believe that Mēdipōta, whether this word is a proper name or the name of an office, was the head of the 12 persons employed in the work of procuring victims. So late as 1884 A D, when an investigation was made in Bastar in connection with kidnapping persons for sacrifice, it was believed that there were 12 villages given rent-free to kidnappers of 12 families, with whom the stipulation was that in case they could not procure victims from elsewhere, they must supply them from their own family in consideration of the free grant they enjoyed. Of course the existence of a grant for such a purpose could not be proved, as the sacrifices had been stopped long before the institution of the investigation. But the tradition of 12 families of *melliahs* or kidnappers of victims is significant and points to a practice which evidently existed in the days of these sacrifices³. I am further inclined to think that Mēdipōta was an office, *Mēdi* being the same as *Mēli* or *Melli*, vulgo *Melliah* or *Malia*,⁴ the word *pōta*, which in Telugu means a sacrificial victim, being dropped for

¹ The *Kālikā Purāna* says —

If a human sacrifice is performed without the consent of the prince, the performer incurs sin (see *Rudhirādhyāya* in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol V p 383)

² [The text has *chhuripravandham*, which might perhaps be translated "killing with a *chhuri*."—S K]

³ [The passage in question (l. 14) can also be translated,—“Receivers 12 *Mēdipōtas*, in their hand property was received.” The *Chhurikâra* of l 25 would then be a special Mēdipōta.—S K]

⁴ Capt MacVicar says —

“The Meriah offering, whether so called Toki Poojah or Noroboli (Narabali), is essentially the same in object as the *boli* (bali) of the Doorga Poojah, and to this day the ritual of the Khond is annually celebrated by the Borisoloo or *Maliah Pater* (Pâtra) at Pooramari, the capital of Chinna Kumed, on the conclusion of the Dasserah festival—a goat now being substituted for the more precious victim.” Mark the italics, which are mine. (See Report by Capt MacVicar, 1851, in the *History of operations for the suppression of human sacrifice in the hill tracts of Orissa*, 1854). It would appear that *Melliah* (the procurer) and *Meriah* (the victim) were identical terms, the procurers being regarded in

the sake of brevity. It will now appear that the grant gives sufficient indications pointing to the procuring of a human victim. The village is secured as the residence of the preceptor of the *jéginis*, who of course dwell in a haunted place, which is naturally avoided by others. The victim is obtained by purchase, with the mutual consent of the king and his subjects, the grant is made to non-Brâhmanas, the likely persons to take part in such a ceremony, and all this is done for the purpose of *dayâ* and *dharma* to all living creatures. Having referred to these main points, I pass over the minor ones which lead to the same conclusion, that this grant was made in favour of procurers of victims for human sacrifices. If therefore the purpose of the grant is really what it appears to be, then I fancy this is a unique record and no similar inscription has hitherto been discovered.

Some remarks about the dynasty of the king mentioned in this grant will be found above on pp. 161 and ff, where I have dealt with the inscriptions of the Nâgavamsî kings found in Bastar, most of which are not yet published and which I propose to edit in due course as intimated before. The dynasty is clearly related to the Sinda family of Yelburga. Though styled "Lord of Bhôgavâtî, the best of cities," Madhurântakadêva appears to have been a *Mandalîka* (feudatory chief), as the verse in ll. 24-25 shows that his *râj* was limited to Bhramarakôtya, which is described as a *mandala* in l. 15. He belonged to the Chhindaka family, one of the 36 Agnikulas¹ mentioned by Ohand Bardai, the court poet of Prithvirâja.

With regard to the localities mentioned in the record, Râjapura is identical with the present village of the same name, 22 miles north-west of Jagdalpur (the capital of Bastar), on the bank of the Indrâvâtî river. There are ruins of a fort there, and it is believed that it was once a royal capital. The present Râja family also dwelt there for some time. Chakrakôtya is, I feel little doubt, the town mentioned by the Kashmirian poet Bilhana in his *Vikramânkhadêvacharita*, in which he records that Vikrama as *yuvarâja* set out on a series of warlike expeditions, with the permission of his father. He repeatedly defeated the Chôlas and plundered Kañchî. He assisted the king of Mâlavâ in regaining his kingdom and carried his arms as far north as Ganda and Kâmarûpa. He attacked also the king of Simhala or Ceylon, destroyed the sandal wood forests of Malaya Hills and slew the lord of Kêrala. He finally conquered Gângakunda (IV. 21) Vêngi (IV. 29) and Chakrakôta (IV. 30). After having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards, and, on coming as far as the Krishnâ, he was suddenly disquieted by the news of his father's death. Dr Bühler² remarks that "Bilhana's rhapsodic treatment of this portion of Vikrama's career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars. Only so much may be considered certain that his last exploits were performed in the south as he came on his homeward march to the Krishnâ." There can be no doubt about these exploits of Vikrama. They were, as related above, the conquest of Gângakunda, Vêngi and Chakrakôta, and at least these seem to have been conquered in the order in which they have been mentioned. Gângakunda was the Chôla capital, situated in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly district,³ whence Vikrama proceeded north to Vêngi, the country between the Krishnâ

the same light as the victims, as they had themselves to become victims in the absence of a procured one. The sacrificers paid the Mellahs, who thus became purchased victims, and they did not care whence the victim was procured so long as one was supplied to them when wanted. Thus to the sacrificers, the procurer and the victim would mean the same thing, but the terms came to be differentiated when a class of procurers grew up and the real victim happened to be a substitute for themselves. A parallel instance of such differentiation in the same word may be found in Kôtwâl and Kôtwâr in the Saugor district, where in spite of the officials regarding them as identical, a social distinction is made out. The Kôtwâl is generally of a higher caste than the Kôtwâr and considers himself the proper village watchman, other menial duties being taken as the proper function of the Kôtwâr.

¹ *Prithvirâja Râso*, Canto I, page 54 (Nâgarî Prachârîni Granthamâlâ series)

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V p. 819 footnote

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 339

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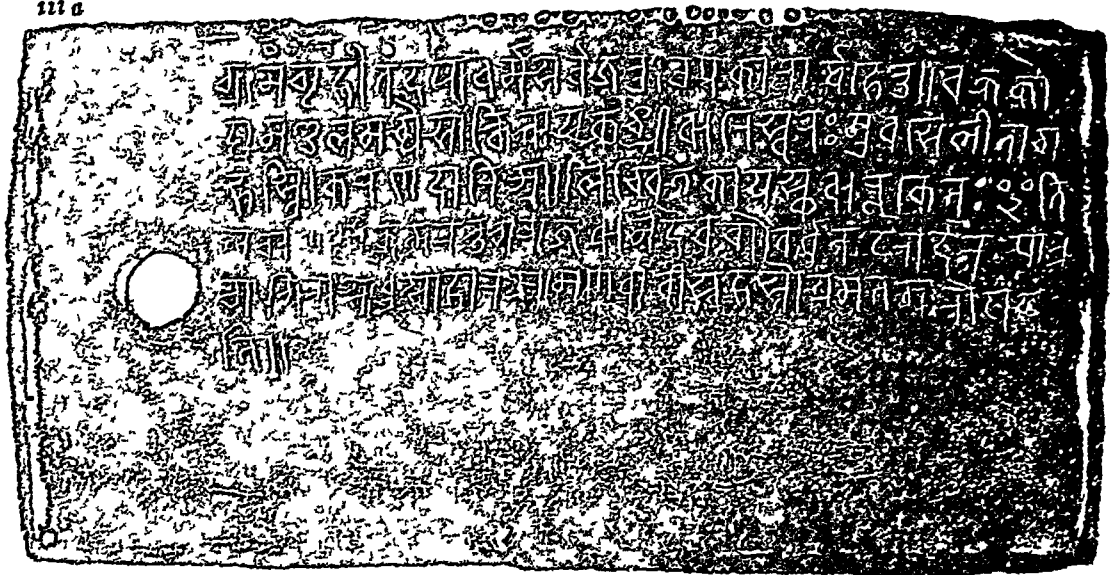
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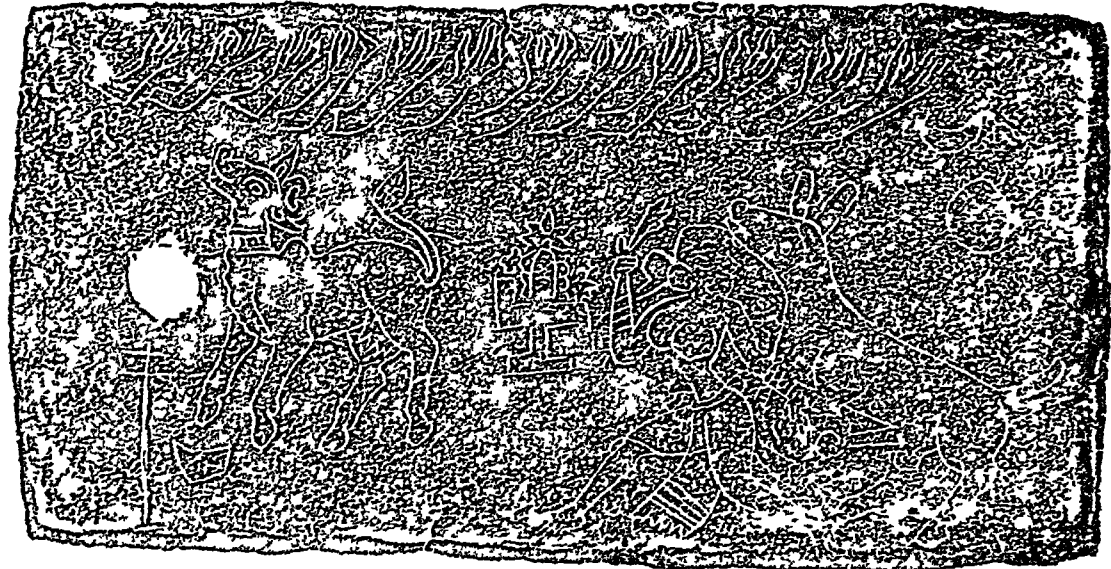
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and the Gôdâvarî He apparently crossed the latter and raided the country of Chakrakôta and then wended his way homewards This occurred just a few years after the present grant was made (1065 A.D.), in as much as Vikrama became king in 1076 A.D. Many a southern king¹ likewise raided this somewhat weak power, which must accordingly have been situated near to their kingdoms Therefore Chakrakôta was not near Dhârâ, as some scholars have supposed, but was contiguous to Vêngî, being situated in the present Bastar state I think the confusion with Dhârâ is due to the fact that Chakrakôtya had a king named Dhârâvarsha (which has been apparently wrongly interpreted to mean 'king of Dhârâ'²) In an unpublished inscription found at Kuruspâl, a place close to Râjapura, there occurs *Chakrakûtâdhiśvarânâm kulam=alam karishnuh . . . samabhavad Dharâvarshanâmô narêśarah* The Nârâyanpâla inscription also mentions Dhârâvarsha, whose widow Gunda-mahâdêvî gave away the Nârâyanapura village in her grandson's reign in the year 1111 A.D.³ The name Chakrakôtya probably survives in the present Chitrakûta or Chitrakôta, 8 miles from Râjapura. Bhramarakôtya was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakôtya, which seems to survive in Ghumara, a name given to the fall of the Indrâvatî at Chitrakôta.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 Ôm⁴ svasti [i*] Sahasra-phanâmani-kirana-nîkar-âvabhâsura-⁵Nâgavams-ô-
- 2 dbhava-Bhôgâvati-purâ-var-êśvara⁶ visada-jaya-patu-pataha-gâm-
- 3 bhâ(bhî)rya-dhvani-lamkârta⁷-(||)daśa-dis-âmtarâldhanu⁸-(||)vyâghra-lâm-
- 4 chhana-(||)Chhimdaka-kula-tilaka-kamala-bhâskara (||) mahâ-mahê-
- 5 svara(svara)-charapa-kamala-sêvi-kimjalka-pumja-pi[m*]jarita-bhra-
- 6 marâyamâna(ṇa) (||) surapati-vinirjita-dumduhhu-tûrya-rav-ô[t*]trâ-
- 7 sit-âri-chakra chirâ-levdha-jôyêta⁹ (I) êrâvat-ôpari-lavdha-lamva¹⁰.
- 8 kamvala-kadalâ(li)-dhvaja¹¹samkh-aika-savd-âbhinamdita | svasti nri-¹²
- 9 pa-kâl-âtita-sa[m*]vat 987 nava sata-satâsi-sapta-¹³

Second Plate, First Side.

- 10 varshasa¹⁴ parâbhava-samvatam-abhyamtarah-kârtika-mâsa-sukla-pakshê¹⁵ vudha-
- 11 dinê nakvatra anurâvê¹⁶ saubhâgya-jôgê¹⁷ | karana gajê¹⁸ | sarvê¹⁹ mahû-

¹ The first raid so far as is known appears to have been made by Vijayâditya III of the Eastern Châlukya line, who ruled between 844 and 888 A.D. He burnt Chakrakôta (above, Vol IV p 226) Then the Chôla Râjendra-Chôla I (A.D. 1011-33) took Sakkarâ-lôttam (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 108), while one of his successors, king Virarâjendra I, claims to have crossed the Gôdâvarî, passed through Kalinga, and advanced against Chakrakôta (*ibid.* Vol III p 70) Next the Chôla Ling Kulôttunga, while yet a youth, won his first laurels in battle by storming Chakrakôta. This happened prior to 1070 A.D. and is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kalingattu Parani* (X 24), and also in inscriptions (see e.g. *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p. 286) Vikrama was probably the fifth raider, the sixth being Vishnuvardhana Hoysala in the 12th century (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No 396)

² I would therefore, instead of 'Râjakêsarivarman (i.e. Kulôttunga Chôla I) conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakôta' read 'Râjakêsarivarman conquered Ling Dhârâ(varsha) at Chakrakôta' (see Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No 756)

³ See above, page 161

⁴ Read -êśvara viśada-

⁵ Read -labdha-jay-ôpêta.

⁶ Read samkh-aika sabd.

⁷ Read varshasya

⁸ Read samvat-sar-âbhyan-tara-kârtika mâsa-sukla-pakshê budha-

⁹ Read anurâdhâ-nakshatrê

¹⁰ Read gara-karanê

⁴ Expressed by a symbol

⁷ Read -lamkârta

¹⁰ Read arâvat-ôpari-labdha-lamba-kamala-

¹² Read saka-nri-

¹⁰ Read sarva muhârtiêśhu.

⁵ Read -ramt-ôdbhata

⁸ Read -dis âmtarâld dhanur-

¹³ Read -sata-sapt âstî-

¹¹ Read -yôgê.

- 12 tram śrī-Madhurāmtakadēva || kumara¹ Kanharadēvah rājūi Nāgala-mahā-
 13 dēvi | kumara ²Nāikah nāyaka Sūdrakah³ kumāra Tumgarājah srē-⁴
 14 shthi Pulama || ēkānmatī⁵ -bhūtvā pātra 12 mēdipōta hastē dravyam
 15 grīhitam suvarṇa-gadyānaka 70 Bhramarakōṭya-mandala-madhyē
 16 Rājapura-grāmam pāda prakshāla[y*]itvā hastē dhārām pradatā(ttam) ||
 ā-chamdra-
 17 tāra-ka-prabhritā siva-nirmālyam⁶ vaditam kāla-kāl-āntarē grīhnā-⁷
 18 mam vadatā || Vānārasyām sahasra-linga bhagnē | sahasra-tatāga⁸ bhagnē

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 sahasra vrāhmana⁹ | gō-sahasra-ghātām kṛtvā | tasyasyōpi¹⁰ phalam bhav-^{ti} ||
 sva-
 20 da[t*]t[ā*]m paradat[tā*]m vā jō(yō) harēd(rēta) vasumdhārām [i*] shashtir¹¹-
 varishaha-sahasrām
 21 viśthāyām jāyatē kṛmī[h*] || sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētum(tur)=nripānām
 kālē kâ-
 22 lē (yō) pālānyam(-yō) bhavadbhīh [i*] sarvān=yōpētām¹² bhāginah
 pārthavēmdro bhū-
 23 yō yāchatē Rāmachamdrah [i*] Ākās-ōtpatī¹³ nidhi gaja da[t*]tam iti
 grāmya
 24 vāhyam rāja-dravyam || ¹⁴java chadras=cha sūrjas=cha jāva tishthati mēdinī ||
 (i) jāva-
 25 tu Bhramakōṭya rājavamsa tāvatu || chhūri-kāra mēdipōtasya putra-
 26 pautrē sāsanam¹⁵ pālānyam || grāma-mēdhyē¹⁶ chhūri-pravadham¹⁷ kō=pi na
 pravi-
 27 satī¹⁸ || kulāyanī¹⁹-jōginī-āchāryasya(h) sthālam n=āsti || ētad=arthē

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 grāmam grīhitam dayā-dharma-sarva-jamtu-(l)upakār-ārtha-hētum || Chakrakō-
 29 tya-mandala-madhyē sākshī nāyaka śrī-Dhārēsvarah(śvarah) Mudhasēlī Nāga-
 30 hasti | karana Dārā | Likhitam kāyastha-Dhānūkēna(h) iti
 31 lekha[nī] dhritam kumara²⁰ Tumgarāja Dhāmadēva Gōvardhanah
 Danārdanah²¹ pātra
 32 Gāgirā sādhu Sāhāranga(-su ?) | Manavridhi-²² svahastō=yam matam=ārōpaya-
 33 ti ||

¹ Read *kumāra*

² Read *kumāra Nāyakah.*

³ Read *Sūdrakah*

⁴ Read *śrēsthī*

⁵ Read *ēkānmatī*-, cf *ēkamattibhūtvā* in II 29, 30, and 33 of the Siyadonī inscription (above, Vol. I p 177)

⁶ Read *siva nirmālyam=uditam*

⁷ Read *grīhnām=smam*

⁸ Read *-tadāga.*

⁹ Read *brāhmana*

¹⁰ Read *tasy-asy-āpi*

¹¹ Read *shashtim varsha sahasrām*

¹² Read *sarvān=svam bhāvinah pārthivēndrān bhāyō bhā*

¹³ Read *ākās-ōtpatī*

¹⁴ Read *yāvach=chandraś=cha sūryas=cha yāvāt=tishthati mēdinī yāvāt=tu Bhramarakōṭyō rāja-rāmēś=pi tāvatā*

¹⁵ Read *sāsanam*

¹⁶ Read *-mēdhē*

¹⁷ Read *-pravadham*

¹⁸ Read *satī*

¹⁹ Read *kulāyanī-yōginī*

²⁰ Read *kumāra.*

²¹ Read *Danārdana* In Bastar and the adjoining Ōriyā country this name is commonly pronounced *Danārdana*, and I have found a Tahsildar of Kālāhandī who actually writes his name so. All these names should properly be in the instrumental

²² Read *Manavridhi*

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail ! (In the reign of the king) born of the race of the Nāga (Cobra), which is resplendent with the mass of rays (proceeding from) the jewels in (its) thousand hoods, who is lord of Bhogavati the best of cities, while the space between the ten quarters is resounding with the deep sound from the shrill drums (proclaiming his) brilliant victories, whose crest is a bow and a tiger, who is (as it were) the sun to the lotus (-like) crest jewel of the Chhindaka family, who resembles a bee which is rendered yellow by the mass of the pollen served to the lotus feet of the great Mahéśvara, whose circle of enemies is terrified by the sound of the *dundubhi* (drum) and *tūrya* (musical horn) won from Indra, who is endowed with victories gained since a long time, whose banner is the lotus and plantain (leaf) supported on (the back) of Airāvata (white elephant), and who is hailed by the sound of conches only, in the year of the (Śaka) king 987 expired, in the month of Kārttika, during the currency of the Parābhava-samvatsara, in the bright fortnight, on Wednesday, in the Anurādhā lunar mansion, in the Saubhāgya *yūga* and *Gara harana*, in all these auspicious moments, the illustrious Madhurāntakadēva, Prince Kanharadēva, Queen Nāgala Mahādēvi, Prince Nāyaka, Nāyaka Śūdraka, Prince Tungarāja and Śrēsthin Pulama, having unanimously agreed, the village Rājapura (situated) in the Bhramarakōtya *mandala* is granted, after washing the feet and (accompanied) with pouring streams (of water), (and) 70 *gadyānaka* gold are received in the hand of (by) Mēdipōta, (who is the head) of the twelve *pātras* (persons worthy of receiving gifts) The gift is declared as *Śivanirmālya* (as sacred as a gift offered to Śiva and therefore inviolable) as long as the moon, the stars, etc, endure. If any one from time to time says "I take it" the result for him also (will be the same as in the case of) breaking a thousand *lingas* in Bīnars, breaking a thousand tanks, and killing a thousand Brāhmins and a thousand cows

"He who resumes land given by himself or given by another becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years"

"Common is this religious bridge to princes, and it should be guarded by you from age to age Thus does Ramachandra again and again conjure all future lords of the earth."

The produce from the heavens, deposits (in the earth) and (wild) elephants¹ are given, but other things outside the village are the State property So long as the sun and the moon and the earth and the royal race of Bhramarakōtya endure, so long (must this charter be observed) This charter is to be respected in the case of Chhurikāra Mēdipōta's sons and grandsons

Nobody enters the *chhuriprabandha* at the village sacrifice There is no place for the preceptor of the resident (local) *jōginis* For this purpose this village is taken, for the benefit of all creatures, for the purpose of (showing) kindness and (performing) virtue In the Chakra-kōtya *mandala* the witnesses are.—Nāyaka Śrī Dhārēśvara, Mudhasēli, Nāgabasti, (and) Karana Dārīā. Written by Dhānūka Kāyastha.

The pen (engraving stylus) (was) touched by Kumāra Tungarāja, Dhāmadēva, Gōvardhana, Danārdana, Pātra Gāgirā (and) Sādhu Sāhāranga (Sāhārasu ?). This is in Manavridi's hand(writing) (which) sets up (expresses) the (general) opinion

¹ In Blochman's *Am i-Aklari*, Vol I page 122, the following occurs —

"Elephants are chiefly found in the Subah of Agra, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar as far as Berār, in the Subah of Allahābād, in the confines of Pattah and Ghoraghāt and Ratanpur, Nandanpur, Sargachh and Bastar"

No 24—SIHAWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNARAJA

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1114

BY HIRA LAL, B A., NAGPUR

This inscription is on a slab built into the wall of the Karnêśvar, *vulgo* Kanêsar, temple at Sihâwâ, the principal village of the tract of that name in the Dhamtarî talûq of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It was first noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 503, and it is referred to by General Cunningham in his *Reports*, Vol. VII p. 145. The place does not seem to have been visited by any archæologist. The inscription was brought to notice by the District officials, who thought it sufficient to ascertain the date, and the full contents of the record have hitherto remained unknown. I therefore edit it from an ink impression supplied by Mr Gokul Prasâd Îśvardâs, Tahsildâr of Dhamtarî, from which a reduced facsimile is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

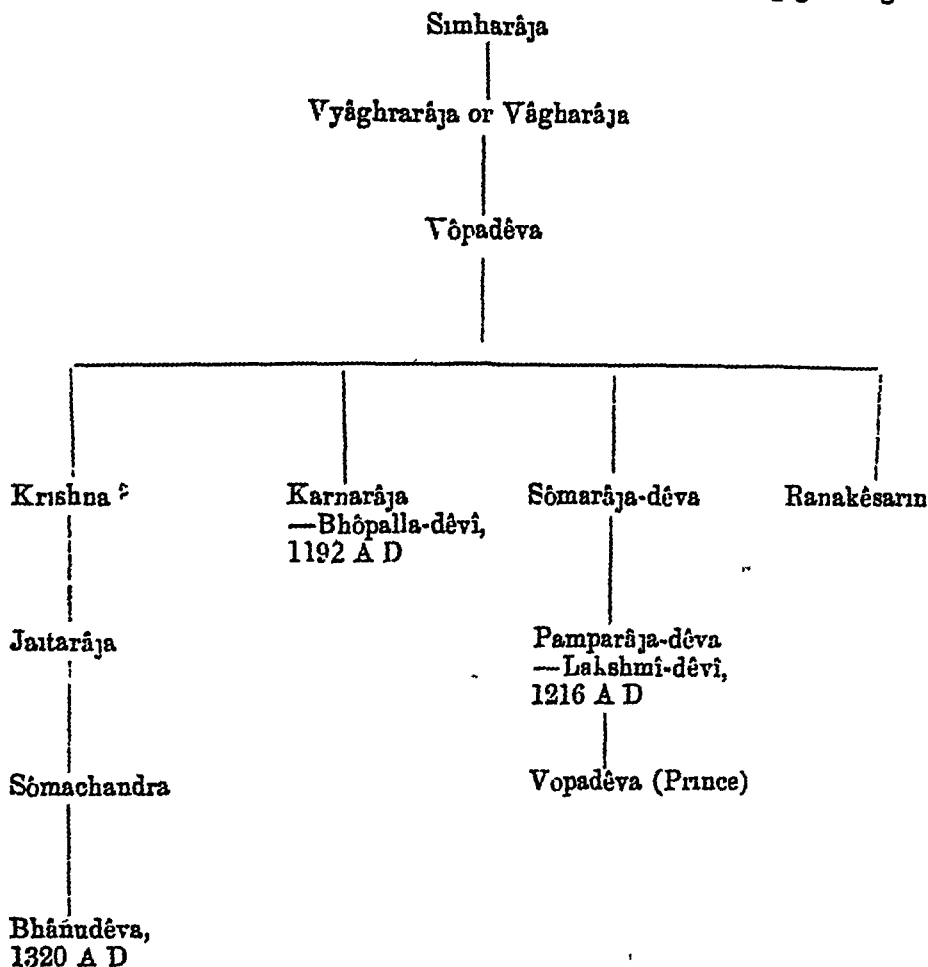
The inscription contains 16 lines covering a space 22" × 13½". The letters are bold and well formed. They are all intact excepting one which is broken off in line 2. Their average size is about ½". The script is Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the invocation in the beginning, *Om namaḥ Śivâya*, and the name of the *sûtradhâra* at the end. There are altogether 13 verses, 4 in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, 8 *A nushtubhs* and one *Upajâtî*.

The following are the principal orthographical peculiarities:—*s* is almost invariably used for *ś*. The sign of the *avagraha* is not used at all (see lines 3, 4 and 15). Letters following an *anusvâra* changed from a nasal are doubled (lines 2, 10, and 13). Letters with a *répha* are sometimes doubled and sometimes not. Instances of doubling may be seen in lines 1 and 15, and of non-doubling in lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11, while lines 8, 9, 10 and 14 afford instances of both. In conjunct letters *n* has been used instead of the proper nasal as in *panchakaṁ* and *punyataḥ* in lines 12 and 15. *Simha* is spelt throughout as *sm̐gha*, following the usual vulgar pronunciation, and, finally, in line 1 the vowel *ri* is used instead of the *ri*, *tritaya* being written as *tritaya*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of five temples, two in his parents' name, two in his own, and one in his issueless brother's, by king Karnarāja of Kākaura, and of one by his wife, queen Bhôpalla-dêvi. These were all built at the sacred place Dêvahrada. The date of the inscription is given in the last verse as Śaka 1114, without any other details as to the day or month, etc. The inscription was accordingly written in the year A.D. 1191-92, apparently after the completion of the whole group of temples, and it was put up in one of the king's own temples, in which Śiva was enshrined. The other one of those which he had built for himself was dedicated to Kêśava, who apparently occupied a secondary place in his estimation. The temple in which the slab is found, is still called Kanêsar or Karnêśvara, after the king's own name. The writer was the *sûtradhâra* Sûpâ, and the composer of the *prastâv* Nrisimha.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the three-eyed Śiva, and in the second verse the moon, as the progenitor of the dynasty, is praised. Then begins the genealogy of the king, commencing with Simharāja, whose son was Vâgharāja, from whom was born Vôpadêva, the father of Karnarāja, who married Bhôpalla-dêvi, and who, having conquered all the neighbouring

princes, assumed the title of a paramount sovereign. Combining the information from the other two Kākāra inscriptions¹ of these Sōmavamsī kings we get the following genealogical tree,—



It would appear that Vopadēva had four sons, but the probability is that he had only three, the doubtful Krishna of the Kanker *prāsasti* being probably identical with Karna of our inscription. Evidently the three brothers were all ruling chiefs, who appear to have divided the state between them and selected their residences in different places, though always keeping in touch with the ancestral capital at Kākāra and recognising one amongst themselves as over-lord. Karna seems to have had a predilection for a site near the older capital, viz, Sihāwā, and was probably living in Dhanōrā, now in the Bastar State, at a distance of about 28 miles from Sihāwā. In this village my friend Rai Bahādur Pandā Baijnāth, B A, Administrator of the Bastar State, has recently discovered ancient remains, there being about 20 tanks and 25 mounds, one of which he excavated and found in it a huge Śiva *linga* with beautiful carvings. Dhanōrā is enclosed by hills on three sides, and is a likely place selected by a Rāja for his residence. There is a local tradition that a Rāja Karna ruled there, although the people of that place do not even now know of the existence of any inscription mentioning his name. Sōmarāja and his son Pamparāja favoured Pādi-pattana, which I cannot identify. It was possibly somewhere towards Dhamtar side. Ranakēsarin was issueless, as our inscription informs us, and he was probably wholly dependent on his brother Karnarāja, as we find the latter building a temple in his name to perpetuate his memory—a thing which he would perhaps have done himself had he been his own master. If he was ruling as a chief subordinate to his brother, we have no information as to

where he had selected his residence. There can be little doubt that all these branches of the Kākara family owed allegiance to some other power, which was very probably represented by the Haihaya kings of South Kōśala, as the use of the Kalachuri era by Pamparājadēva would indicate. Karnarāja was apparently more ambitious than the rest. He subdued the neighbouring princes, as our inscription relates, and probably set himself up as an independent ruler in the out-of-the-way jungles; that is perhaps the reason why he used the Śaka era in his inscription instead of the Kalachuri era, thus intimating that he did not acknowledge the Haihaya domination, unless it was customary to use the Kalachuri reckoning in official documents involving disposal of property, etc., while the older Śaka era was used for other religious and general purposes.

The earliest date¹ of this line of kings is that which we get from the present inscription, viz., 1102 A.D., and the latest is that of Bhānudēva, 1320 A.D., there being thus a difference of 128 years between Karnarāja and Bhānudēva. Karnarāja stood in the same relationship to Bhānudēva as did the first ancestor Simharāja to Karnarāja. Simha was great-grandfather of Karnarāja, the latter being great-grandfather (or great-granduncle) of Bhānudēva, and if a similar interval is allowed between Simha and Karnarāja, Simha's time would be about 1074 A.D. According to this calculation the generations would be very long lived, about 12 years each on an average, which is hardly probable, though in sporadic cases there could be nothing extraordinary about it. The present Rāja family, according to its traditions, believes its first ancestor to have come from Orissa about Vikrama Samvat 1150 or 1013 A.D., and this curiously fits in well with the evidence afforded by the inscriptions under consideration. Apparently, then, Simharāja was the first emigrant, and he came about the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. The Rāja family story² as related before (above, page 121) is to the effect that a Puri king, having become a leper, quitted that place and came to Sihāwā, which was merely a dense jungle, where he found a spring of water in which he took a bath which removed his leprosy. He was then installed king of that place, and it is probable that the locality was named after him, being called *Simha + arak* = *Simhārah* (the comfort of Simha) which finally was corrupted into Sihāwā. From our inscription it appears that it was also known as *Dēvahrada tīrtha* or the holy lake of the gods, and there was certainly ample reason³ for calling it so. In fact a large portion of the Sihāwā tract seems to have been regarded as a piece of holy land. Local tradition avers that it was the hermitage of the *rishi* Śrīguṇa who is still worshipped there. Five miles from this place is the village Ratārā where Angira (Aṅgiras) *rishi* used to live, and Machukunda had his *āśrama* in the village Mechaki 12 miles from Sihāwā. About 10 miles west of Sihāwā there is Dēvakūta (the hillock of the gods), which also

¹ It is perhaps more than a coincidence that a king Vyāghrarāja of Mahakāntāra, who must have held sway in the same neighbourhood, is mentioned as early as the fourth century in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 6 ff.

² A variant of the same story is that a Puri king having appointed an illegitimate son of his as his successor, the others took offence and quitted the place. They came over to the wilds of Chhatīsgarh and became the leaders of the local tribes, who installed them as their kings. That there is some truth in this story is evident from the fact that the installation of most of these chiefs is considered complete when it is confirmed by a particular tribe, by way of expression of gratitude on the part of the Rāja family. Thus the Kanker family seems indebted to the Halbās, the Kālāhandī family to the Kandhs, the Rairakhol to the Butkā Sudhs, the Bamra to the Bhuiyās, and so on.

³ Besides the healing power of the spring, which in itself is sufficient to cause the place to become a *tīrtha*, Sihāwā is the source of the Mahānadi or Chitrōtpalā, of which it is said—

Suvarnāthyā purī punyā punyā Mārjārakṣarī, Kōśalāyām trayā punyā punyā Chitrō'palā nadi
Suvarnapuri is the present Sōnpur, capital of the state of the same name, and Mārjārakṣarī is another name of Narasimhanāth in Borasāmbhar Zamindari of the Sambalpur District. A visit to that place is held to wipe out all sins. *En passant* it may be noted that the apparent mistake of a sculptor in carving out a cat-lion instead of a man-lion has metamorphosed the statue of the latter kept in the Narasimhanāth cave, into a new incarnation of the God, to account for which there has been no lack of imagination on the part of the local Brāhmins.

contains ruins of old temples.¹ At Sihāwā there are two old temples close together in a pretty fair state of preservation. One of them, in which our inscription was found, is dedicated to Mahādēva, and it is certainly identical with one of the two mentioned in line 12. The other is dedicated to Rāmachandra, but the people say that it was also formerly a Śiva temple and that the present statues of Rāma and others in it were brought from the ruined temple (about 300 yards away) near the Amṛta Kund, a bath in which is reputed to have cured the leprosy of the first Kanker king. One of these must be the temple dedicated to Kēśava. There are three other temples close by, which may possibly be those constructed by Karnarāja in 'his parents' and brother's name. In the village Bhītarrās, which means 'the interior' and which probably formed the interior of the Sihāwā town in its days of glory, there is another old temple containing idols not easily distinguishable but stated by the people to represent Rāmachandra, etc., and this may possibly be the temple which Bhōpalla-dēvi built. It cannot, however, be confidently identified, the probability for such a conjecture being based on another supposition, *viz*, that Bhōpalla-dēvi was a Vaiṣṇavi, while her lord was a Śaiva. It appears that it was in deference to her that Karnarāja dedicated one of his temples to Kēśava. And as one temple erected in her name was thus built on the holy spring, it seems reasonable to suppose that she should have selected a site for another which she built independently, in the interior of the town.

TEXT.

- 1 श्रीं नमः शिवाय ॥ ²तत्पातु ³वस्तुतयमीस्वरलोचनानामग्न्यर्क्षसोममयमूर्त्ति-
धरं स-
- 2 मन्तात् । ⁴यज्ञोक्तदुःखदहनप्रतिभासनादि[स्त्रा]प्यायनानि कर्पयानुदिनं करोति ॥१॥
⁵कन्दर्पवा-
- 3 णगणसाणसिलामनोन्नदिकामिनोवदनदर्पणमण्डलसीः⁶ । देवः ससी⁷ विजय
तेजि-
- 4 तपः पयोधिसु[क्ताफलं] हरसिरोमुकुटेकरव⁸ ॥२॥ ⁹पुरुवरःप्रभृतिभिः नृपैर्द्यौ-
ववृधन्वयः । त-
- 5 स्य तस्मिन्नभूद्रूपः ¹⁰[सिं]घराजो नृपाग्रणीः ॥३॥ ¹¹तस्मादजायत महोपतिमी-
लिसंघर्षघृष्ट-¹²
- 6 चरणः किल वाघराजः । ¹³राजन्यती समभवज्जगती समन्ताद्येन प्रजासपि
दतां भजता नृपेण ॥
- 7 ॥४॥ ¹⁴वोपदेवोभवत्तस्मात्सिंघः¹⁵ सिंघादिवापरः । येन विनासिता जग्मु-
द्विसः¹⁶ सन्नृपद्विपाः ॥५॥

¹ Mr. Gokal Prasad visited these temples lately (November 1907) and has sent me a copy of a small inscription found in one of them, in which I read the name of Śrī Vāgharaja. Thus the Devakūta temples appear to be older than those of Sihāwā, having been built in the times of Karnaraja's grandfather

² Metre Vasantatilaka

³ Read वस्तुतयमीस्वर^o

⁴ Read यज्ञोक्त

⁵ Metre Vasantatilaka Read कन्दर्पवाणगणसाणसिलामनोन्न^o

⁶ Read श्री

⁷ Read श्री I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda Śāstri, M A, for pointing out that the moon is Atri's son who comes out of the Ocean in the form of his penance

⁸ Read त्रिरी^o

⁹ Metre Anushtubh Read भिन्नपैर्यो ववधे न्वय .

¹⁰ Read सिंह^o

¹¹ Metre Vasantatilaka

¹² Read सघसघर्ष^o

¹³ Read राजन्यती

¹⁴ Metre Anushtubh

¹⁵ Read सिंघ सिंघा^o

¹⁶ Read द्विसः सन्नृ^o

- 8 तस्माद्भूतपतिमण्डलमण्डनस्त्रीः स्त्रीकर्षराजनृपतिर्विदितप्रतापः । यन्मायवर्त्त-
नक्षपाणभ-
- 9 याववेष्टुं काकैरदेसममलं न कलिः समर्थः ॥६॥ तस्य भोपद्भदेवीति
महिषी वरवर्षिनी । वभूवः
- 10 मेने यांस्त्रीको लक्ष्मीं क्षितिगतामिव ॥७॥ स्ववाङ्मयीयेण विजित्य सर्वानु-
पान्तदेशाधिपतीन्सम-
- 11 न्नात् । सेवाकरोपायनदानसीलांश्चकार साम्राज्यपदं दधानः ॥८॥ तीर्थे
देवकदे तेन कृतं प्रासा-
- 12 दपञ्चकं⁹ । स्त्रीयं तत्र द्वयं जातं यत्र शकरकेसवी¹⁰ ॥९॥ पितृभ्यां प्रददौ
चान्यत्स्वरयित्वा¹² द्वयं नृपः ।
- 13 सदनं देवदेवस्य मनोहारि त्रिसूदनः(शूलिनः) ॥१०॥ रणकेसरिणे प्रादांनृपायैक¹⁴
सुरालयं । तद्वंसक्षीण-
- 14 तां ज्ञात्वा भ्रातृन्नेहेन कर्षराट् ॥११॥ भोपद्भदेव्या तत्रैव प्रासादः कारितः
सुभः¹⁷ । भर्तुः संक्षेप-¹⁸
- 15 मिहन्त्या देहतः । पुन्यतस्तथा ॥१२॥ चतुर्दशोत्तरे²⁰ सेयमेकादशे सते
सके । वर्षतां सर्वतो नित्यं
- 16 नृसिंहे²¹ कतिना कृता ॥१३॥ सूत्रघा[रः*] सृषा

TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to Śiva.

(Verse 1.) Let that triad of eyes of Śiva, consisting of fire, sun and moon, protect you on all sides—(that triad) which out of kindness burns the miseries of this world (and) illuminates and pleases it daily.

(V. 2) May the god moon be victorious—(the moon) who is a good whetstone for sharpening the arrows of Cupid, who is (the embodiment of) the splendour on the orb of the mirror (-like) faces of the maidens of the (various) quarters of the sky, who is a pearl from the ocean (emanating in the form of) Atri's penance, and (who is) the only jewel on the crest of Śiva's head.

(V. 3.) In that (moon's) family which prospered through Purūravas and other kings there was a king Śimharāja who was the leader of (other) kings

¹ Metre Vasantatilaka Read तस्माद् °श्रीः श्री°.

² Read °देव°.

³ Metre Upajāti. Read स्ववाङ्°.

⁴ Metre Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ Metre Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Metre Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Read प्रादात्°.

⁸ Read सुभ°.

⁹ Metre: Anuṣṭubh. Read चतुर्दशोत्तरे सेयमेकादशे सते सके

¹⁰ Metre Anuṣṭubh.

¹¹ Read पञ्चकं

¹² Read °स्वरयित्वा.

¹³ Read तद्वत्°.

¹⁴ Read संक्षेप°

¹⁵ Read यन्माय°.

¹⁶ Read वभूव°.

¹⁷ Read °श्रीला°.

¹⁸ Read °केसवी°.

¹⁹ Metre Anuṣṭubh.

²⁰ Metre Anuṣṭubh.

²¹ Read पुण्यत°.

²² Read नृसिंह°.

(V. 4) From him was born Vāgharāja, whose feet were indeed scratched by the friction of diadems (adorning the heads) of (other) kings (prostrating themselves before him). "By (this) king, who was devoted to his subjects like a father, the world came to be well-ruled on all sides

(V. 5) From this lion as it were was born Vōpadēva, another lion, frightened by whom the elephant like hostile kings went (i.e. retired) to the (various) cardinal points (of the compass)

(V. 6) From him was born the illustrious Karnadēva (who was) the splendour (adorning) the assembly of kings, whose glory was (well) known, and through fear of whose sword in the 'orm of dispensation of justice the Kali (age) was unable to enter the spotless Kākara country.

(V. 7) His queen was the beautiful Bhōpalladēvi, whom the people considered as if she were Lakshmi (goddess of wealth) come to this earth

(V. 8) Having completely conquered the lords of all the neighbouring countries by the force of his arm and having secured paramount sovereignty (over them), (he) caused them to become devoted to his service, to pay tribute and presents and to become charitable

(V. 9) In the holy place Dēvahrada five edifices were built by him. Two of them were his own, where Śankara and Kēśava (are enshrined)

(V. 10) The king, having caused two other temples of the god of gods, the holder of the trident,¹ to be built bestowed them on (i.e. dedicated them in the name of) his parents.

(V. 11) One temple Karnarāja gave to (i.e. dedicated in the name of) king Banakēśarin, through fraternal affection, knowing that his lineage was to become extinct

(V. 12) There, an auspicious temple was also caused to be built by Bhōpalla-dēvi, who wished for the union with her husband (both) in body as well as in meritorious acts.

(V. 13) This (was done) in the Śaka year eleven hundred increased by fourteen. Let prosperity daily attend Composed by the clever Nṛsiṃha

The Sūtradhāra (architect) was Sūpā (P)

No. 25 —VASANTGADEH INSCRIPTION OF VARMAALATA;

[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 682.

By D. R. BHARDARKAR, M.A., POONA

Last year a summary of this inscription was published by Prof. Kielhorn,² with a promise to publish the full text on some future occasion. The impressions sent by Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur were not sufficiently clear for that purpose. During the touring season ending March 1906, my work chiefly lay in the Sirohi State. I was thus able to inspect the original stone in person and take the best possible impressions. When the summary was afterwards published on my return to head-quarters, I sent my impressions to Prof. Kielhorn. But, as circumstances arose which prevented him from publishing them, the impressions were

¹ In the original the word is *trishūnah* which I originally read as *trishūdanah*. Dr. Konow has suggested the correction adopted in the text

² *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1906, H. 2.

returned to me. This is, indeed, to be regretted, as no other scholar could have done better justice to this important inscription.

The inscription was originally discovered at Vasantgadh, about five miles to the south of Pindwārā, which is the principal town of the district of the same name, Sirohi State, and which is also a station on the Rājputānā-Mālwa Railway running from Ahmedābād to Ajmer. The stone was lying utterly neglected outside the shrine of Khimel *mātā* recently repaired, of which, I was told, it originally formed part. Vasantgadh itself is now desolated, but many people of the Sirohi State come there to pay their homage to the goddess. The shrine is looked after by the Bhils of the adjoining hamlets, and they had for a long time utilised the stone for sharpening their implements. As soon as the news of the find of this ancient inscription stone reached the ears of Pandit Sukhānandjī, an antiquary of Sirohi, he hastened to the spot, took it into his possession, and brought it to Sirohi. It is now lying in safe custody in his house.

The inscription contains 17 lines of writing, which covers a space about 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The writing is, on the whole, well-preserved, but the proper right portion of it is a little worn, which is doubtless due to its having been used for whetting weapons. Again, there are two or three cracks running horizontally across the inscription and injuring a few of the letters in lines 1, 2, 10 and 11, but, with care, nearly the whole of the inscription can be made out with certainty on the original stone.

The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{4}$ " to $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, which was prevalent during the 7th and 8th centuries. The chief peculiarity of this type is the representation of the medial vowels *ā*, *i*, *ī* and the four diphthongs far more frequently by superscript signs placed above the letters than by vertical strokes attached to the sides of the letters to which they belong. This is clearly noticeable e.g. in the Udaipur inscription of the Guhila prince Aparājita, the Jhālrapātan inscription of Durgagana, and the Kansuvām inscription of Dhavala; and this characteristic is exhibited by our inscription also. The characters of our record are, as pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, almost identical with those of the Udaipur inscription. As in the latter, we have the tridented form of the letter *y* and a distinct separate sign for *b*. The letter *y* occurs in the present record no less than thirty times, and, in all these cases except one, the tridented form alone is employed. In this exceptional case (in *yōjanādrā*, l 1) like that in the Udaipur inscription, the letter is indicated by the old sign occurring, e.g. in the Maukhari inscriptions. We also have special forms for final *k*, *t*, and *n*. In the Udaipur epigraph, final *t* and *m* are represented by ordinary signs for those letters with a small horizontal stroke placed above each. Here, on the other hand, final *k*, *t*, and *n* are denoted by their usual signs, but with the tops a little curved towards their proper right (e.g. in *vanth*, l 10, *śakrit*, l 3, and *gunān*, l 6). The sign for the *upadhāniya* occurs three times in *śrīpatih-pa't*, l 4, and *prīyah=prīyah=praśray-ād*, l 7. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs only once, in *śachana-vatāh=kā[ryya]*, l 4. Again, our inscription shows a tendency to use some signs with a little ornamentation. Thus, the *anusvāra* is often represented, not by a simple dot but by something like an asterisk (e.g. in *śatatain*, l 3). The superscript signs of medial vowels are also sometimes ornamentally engraved (e.g. *au* in *śasy-ājau*, l 3). We further find the somewhat rare signs for *n*, *dh*, *th* and *ph*. With regard to *th*, it deserves to be noted that it is exactly like *dh* (e.g. in *brāhman-ātthi*, l 8), and can only be distinguished by having regard to the sense of the word wherein it occurs.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *ōm namaḥ* at the commencement and the list of the names of the *gōshthikas* contained in lines 13-17, the text is in verse. Solecisms are not infrequent. I need only point out the verse (11) which specifies the date, the language of which is anything but grammatical. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. Consonants are, as a rule, doubled after *r*, *visarga* followed by *s* is changed to that letter; *ri* has once been substituted for *ri*, in *śringa*, l 1, on the other hand,

r stands for *r* in °*krīyā*°, l. 3, lastly, *t* has at least twice been doubled in conjunction with a following *r*, in °*rāttri*°, l. 2, and °*mātrai*°, l. 4

The inscription opens with two verses, the first invoking the blessings of Durgā and the second of Kshēmāryā,¹ who is ordinarily supposed to be a form of Durgā, and who here, in particular, is to be identified with Khimel *mātā*, outside whose temple the inscription stone was lying before it was removed to Sirohi, and of which it originally formed part. Verse 3 speaks of a king named Varmalāta, on whom the next verse bestows nothing but conventional praise, comparing him to a sorcerer, as pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn. Verse 5 informs us that Varmalāta had a feudatory of the name of Vajrabhata-Satyāśraya, who was devoted to the worship of *mātā*, i.e. doubtless Kshēmāryā, and able to guard 'the son of Himavat,'² i.e. Mount Ābū. His son was Bājila (v. 6), who behaved like Vaiśravaṇa, i.e. Kubēra, the god of riches, in Vāṭa, by lavishing wealth on Brāhmanas, personages deserving hospitality, subordinates, and men skilled in arts (v. 7). While this chief (*rājā*) was governing, the temple of the goddess (Kshēmāryā) was caused to be made by the *gōshhī*³ at Vatākarasthāna (v. 8). The *kārāpuka*⁴ selected by the *gōshhī* to see this work through was Satyadēva, the son of Pitāmaha, who was a merchant by birth (v. 9). Then follows a verse expressing a wish for the endurance of the temple as long as the mountain Mēru, the rivers, the sun and the moon last. Then follows the verse which contains the date. The language of it, however, to quote Prof. Kielhorn, is 'curiously ungrammatical'. Making allowance for the solecisms, the year intended appears to be 682. As almost all the dates of the inscriptions found in Mālwa and Rājputānā, the era of which is not specified and which are capable of being verified, have been shown to belong to the Vikrama era, our date may be taken to be a Vikrama year, and may, therefore, be supposed to be equivalent to A.D. 625. It was in this year, as verse 11 informs us, that the temple of *mātā* was erected. The *prastāva* was composed by the Brāhmana Dhūrtarāṣi, the son of Divākara, and incised by Nāgamundin (v. 12). Then follows a list of the individual members of the *gōshhī* who built the temple, their names occupying lines 13-17. Of these, three deserve some notice. The first is that of the only woman who was a member of the *gōshhī*. Her name is Būtā, and she is spoken of as a courtesan (attached to the temple) of *Śrī-mātā*,⁵ i.e. undoubtedly the

¹ In the verse the words *Kshēmāryā* *Kshēmakarī* occur, of which the latter is taken by Prof. Kielhorn to be the name of the goddess. And this appears no doubt to be supported by the fact that *Kshēmakarī* or *Kshēmamkarī* is actually the name of a goddess. But then the remaining word *Kshēmāryā*, which cannot be an adjective, remains unexplained. The final *āryā*, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of *āt*, mother, frequently applied to goddesses, shows that *Kshēmāryā* is the name intended. Moreover, *Kshēma* is as much a name for Durgā as *Kshēmakarī*.

² In addition to the verse referred to (viz., above Vol. I p. 234, verse 5) by Prof. Kielhorn in support of Mount Ābū (Arbuda) being called "son of Himavat," it may be mentioned that, in the *Arbuda-māhātmya* also, a copy of which exists in the *Pustakapraśāsa* at Jōdhpur, Arbuda has been spoken of as a son of Himālaya and as being put by the latter at the service of the sage Vasishtha to fill up a deep wide chasm, into which his cow had fallen.

³ The word *gōshhī* no doubt signifies, by itself, a *pañch* or committee entrusted with the management of the religious endowments, as was first pointed out by Prof. Bühler (above, Vol. I p. 190, n. 50), though in compound words, such as *pandita-gōshhī*, *pāna-gōshhī*, and so forth, it has the general sense of "an assembly."

⁴ The proper sense of this word was first shown by Prof. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 62, n. 53). This meaning was not known to me when I edited the Eklingji inscription, where I have wrongly translated the word by "those who caused the temple to be constructed" (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXII pp. 152-3) instead of "persons appointed to look after the construction of the temple."

⁵ The inscription says that the temple of Kshēmāryā was built by the *gōshhī* of Vata or Vatākara, i.e. Vasantgadh, and that Būtā was one of the members of this *gōshhī*. Būtā, as we have seen, was a courtesan of the temple of Kshēmāryā, and she could only acquire this position *after*, and not *before*, the erection of the temple. Nobody would appoint a courtesan to a temple to do the duties of dancing and singing before the deity, *before* it was constructed, and much less would she be raised to such a dignified position as the membership of the *gōshhī* prior to the actual building of the temple itself. I am, therefore, somewhat inclined to think that the temple was not built, but *rebuilt*, by the *gōshhī*, and that the word *kārita* in verse 8 has to be taken in the latter sense. Instances of a similar use are not wanting.

mātā to whom the temple was dedicated. The second name is Pratihāra Bōṭaka, the first of which words I think signifies the race. Botaka was thus a Pratihāra, i.e. Padiār, and this is the earliest instance of the denomination Pratihāra occurring in an inscription. The third name is *rājasthānīya Ādityabhāṭa*, the first part of which is unquestionably an official designation, meaning the foreign secretary.¹

Prof. Kielhorn thinks that the name of Varmalāta spoken of in our inscription as paramount sovereign settles the date of the poet Māgha. It would be impossible not to agree with him when he says, that, out of the numerous forms found in the manuscripts of the *Śisupālavadha*, of the name of the king at whose court Māgha's grandfather Suprabhadra is stated to have held the office of prime-minister, the variant Varmalāta is to be selected as the most likely one. But to the identification of this prince with the Varmalāta of our inscription, supposing the date V.E. 682 to be correct, it is possible to raise an objection. As every student who has read the *Śisupālavadha* knows, Māgha in his work distinctly alludes to the two grammatical treatises, the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and its commentary called *Nyāsa*. The former is the joint production of Jayaditya and Vāmana, and, with regard to the former author, the Chinese traveller I-tsing informs us in unmistakable terms that he died about A.D. 661-662. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the author of the *Nyāsa* was Jinēndrabuddhi, who like Jayaditya was a follower of the Buddha.² And it is inconceivable that I-tsing, one of whose principal objects in coming to India was to collect information about Buddhist authors, could have passed him over in silence, if the latter had flourished before A.D. 695 when the Chinese traveller's departure from India took place. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the author of the *Nyāsa* could not have lived before the first half of the 8th century. Māgha, therefore, has to be assigned to the latter part of the 8th century. This line of argument adduced by Prof. Pathak appears to me to be worth considering. Dr. Konow, however, informs me that he does not think it convincing. He says, "the *argumentum ex silentio* is always unsafe, and, even if we admit that Jinēndrabuddhi cannot have written before A.D. 695, that does not disprove Professor Kielhorn's identification of our Varmalāta with the king whose minister Māgha's grandfather was. Our inscription may very well date from a time previous to his appointment as minister, and it does not, at any rate, make it impossible to bring Māgha down to the first twenty years of the 8th century. There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that Jinēndrabuddhi flourished about A.D. 700. The alleged reference to his work in the *Śisupālavadha* would, I think, be more intelligible if we suppose it to have been a new work at the time when Māgha wrote his poem."

I quite accept Dr. Konow's main conclusions. But I agree with Professor Pathak that the *argumentum ex silentio* carries some weight in this particular instance. One of the chief objects I-tsing had in view was to gather all available information about Buddhist authors in India. And, when we consider that he has even mentioned his own contemporaries, it is very unlikely that he should have failed to notice Jinēndrabuddhi, if the latter had actually achieved fame in his time. As pointed out by Dr. Konow, there is, however, nothing to prevent us from considering Māgha and Jinēndrabuddhi as contemporaries. The mere fact that one author quotes another one, only shows that he knows him, and not necessarily that he belongs to a later time. Māgha and Jinēndrabuddhi can, therefore, very well both have lived at the beginning of the eighth century, and Professor Kielhorn's identification of the two Varmalātas remains unaffected by Professor Pathak's argument.

¹ *History of Gujarat in the Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I Pt. I p. 82.

² It might perhaps be doubted whether Jinēndrabuddhi was a Buddhist. But there are no reasonable grounds for this doubt. A Deccan College manuscript (No. 83 of 1881-82, leaf 90b) has the following: *Iti bōdhisattvaditīya-dhārya-Dvyāḍ(Jinēndrabuddhi)(ddhi)-virachitāyām Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pamchikāyāṁ dīptī dāhyasya chatur-thak pādah*. I am indebted to Prof. Pathak for this reference. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 57.

³ *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XX, pp. 305-6.

The place Vata, where the feudatory prince Rājula was reigning, is doubtless Vasantgadh itself. This will be seen from the fact that the temple to Kshēmāryā, said in the inscription to have been built by the *gōshihī* of Vata, is no other than the temple of Khimel *mātā* in Vasantgadh of which the inscription stone originally formed part. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the temples dedicated to the Sun and Brahmā mentioned as existing in Vatapura in the inscription of Pūrnapāla dated V E 1099, are still existing at Vasantgadh. A slightly different name for the place, viz. Vatākara, occurs in l. 9. We have a similar instance of a certain old place called both *Ārāsana* and *Ārāsanaṅkara*. The remains at Vasantgadh have been fully described and the question regarding the name Vata and Vatākara is fully discussed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the months July 1905 to March 1906, inclusive, pp 49 ff¹

TEXT²

- 1 श्री³ नमः ॥ धातुर्या योगनिद्रा [जलन] — उ उ [नस्या] कृतिर्विश्व
योनेः कैलासोच्चाङ्गश्चिद्गतिनियतमुदावासिनोर्द्धाङ्गसक्ता [1*] या
- 2 राक्षिस्सर्वलोके स्मृतिरपि च सतां या श्रुतिर्ब्रह्मगीता सा देवी दुर्गमेषु
प्रदिशतु जगते मङ्गलानीह दुर्गाः⁵ ॥ [१*] नियतमतिप्रणतिप-
- 3 रस्याजौ यागे कृयाफलेष्वसक्तत् [1*] क्षेमार्थ्यं क्षेमकरी विदधातु शिवानि
नस्सतत्⁷ ॥ [२*] जयति जयलक्ष्मलक्षितवक्षस्थलसंश्रितश्रियाधारः⁸ [1*] श्री-
- 4 वर्मलातनृपतिः पतिरवनेरधिकवलवीर्यः ॥ [३*] केचिन्देशमात्रैरतिविशदपद⁹
मुद्रया पारगर्था¹⁰ केचिच्चान्ये प्रकामं प्रतिवचनयुतैर्ह [1]
- 5 [र्य]जापैरजसं [1*] अन्ये वै मण्डलान्ते कृतवलिकुहकैर्भूतिदानेन चान्ये
तेनेत्यं सन्नरेन्द्रव्रतमनुचरता शासिता भूमिपालाः¹¹ ॥ [४*] तस्याशेषविशे-
- 6 [ष]दोषरहिताम्पुण्याति भक्त्या गुणान् (i) नाम्ना वज्रभटेति भृत्यपदवी-
माश्रित्य सत्याश्रयः [1*] ख्यातः कीर्त्तिमतामलघ्यचरितः¹² ¹³ श्रीमातु-
रप्यर्जने¹⁴ किञ्च
- 7 [ज्ञा]तगुणः प्रभुर्हिमवतस्सूनोश्च संरक्षणे¹⁵ । (ii) [५*] तस्य सूनुरधिकं प्रियः
प्रियैः प्रश्रयादिसकलैर्महागुणै¹⁶ [1*] राजिलोभवदशेषराजकव्याप्तकी-

¹ In l. 9 of the Vasantgadh inscription of Pūrnapāla, Vata is also spoken of as the name of a country. In verse 17 of the *mātā-ki-sāl* inscription found at Ghatiyālā (*Jour. R. As Soc* 1895, p 518), the expression *Vadānāyā mandala* occurs. This is doubtless identical with *Vata-Nānaka-mandala*. Here the country or district is not called simply after Vata (Vasantgadh) but also after *Nānaka* which evidently is the present Nānā, about thirteen miles north-east of it.

² From the original stone

³ Read कैलासोच्चाङ्गश्च⁰

⁴ Read क्रिया⁰

⁵ Wrong for ऋयाधार which would not have suited the metre

⁶ Read पदैर्भुद्रया

¹¹ Metre Sragdharā

¹² The letter य is not in the same line with र and र्ज, but is engraved exactly below between these two letters and two vertical strokes are added one above and one below between them to draw attention to the omission

¹³ Read, probably ऋ⁰ instead of र्ज⁰.

¹⁴ Read ऋपैः⁰.

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁵ Read दुर्गा⁰, metre Sragdharā

⁷ Metre Āryā, and also of the verse following

¹⁰ Read ऋगर्था⁰

¹² Read ऋलघ्य⁰

¹⁵ Metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 8 त्तिरमले कुले नृपः¹ [॥*] [६*] ब्राह्मणातिथिमृत्यादिकलावत्सु विशेषतः² [१*]
 सोधिकं³ द्रविणैः⁴ शश्वटे वैश्वणायते⁵ ॥ [७*] तस्मिन्नाजनि
 देव्याश्चासति राज्यं
- 9 वटाकरस्थाने[१*] गोष्ठ्या कारितमेतद्भवनं भुवनस्य चिह्नमिव⁶ ॥ [८*]
 कारापकस्तु स्रुतः पितामहाख्यस्य सत्यदेवाख्यः [१*] गोष्ठ्या प्रसादपरया
 निरूपितो ज-
- 10 [न]ना स वणिक् १(॥) [८*] यावन्मेरोस्तटानि प्रचुरहिमकणोत्तुङ्गशैलाधिपस्य
 स्यन्दि[न्यो] यावदु[च्चा] अपगतक[लु]षा — — — — [१*]
 यावच्चन्द्राक्षभास-
- 11 [सु]तरलजलधे[रु]र्भयो यावदुच्चैस्ताव[हे]वालयं [निस्थि]तमिह भवतु श्रेयस
 पौरजाना⁹ ॥ [१०*] हिरण्योत्पधिके काले पण्णां वर्षशतोत्तरे [१*]
 जगन्मातु-
- 12 ¹⁰[रिदं] र[थ]ानं स्था[पि]तं [गो]ष्ठिपुङ्गवैः¹¹ ॥ [११*] दिवाकरसुतस्येयं
 धूर्तराशेहिजन्मनः¹² [१*] पूर्वातिमृदुभिर्वर्णैः प्रोत्कीर्णा नागमुण्डिना
 [॥] [१२*] ॥ ॐ ॥
- 13 [गो]ष्ठिकाक्ष¹³ [१] राजिल । बकट । चन्द्रक । प्रतीहारवोटक ।
 राजस्थानीयादित्यभट । जा(?)व(?)र्ण । मातृदासवङ्गदेव । कुलवर्धन ।
 धनदत्त[व]सु [१]
- 14 घुषक । धोन्धकपुत्रसत्यदेव । ककिलक । धनदत्त । गोमिक । हरि-
 गुप्त । [व]पक । पपोष्ट । सत्यदेव । रेभिलाक । रतिदास ।
 तरण । — — — — दत्त
- 15 दृढगुर । धनगर । वपाणन्दि । — — — । राजक । भद्रदेव ।
 रुद्रक । दत्तभिल्वमालकुय । खिलकु । आर्यदिण्ड । शणु ।
 शण्णरटनाग — —
- 16 तता । भिलमालकु । सत्तमदेव । वङ्गदास — — । श्रीमातागणिका
 वृटानाम्नी ॥ * ॥ एवमेषां गोष्ठिकाराणां ¹⁴ना-
- 17 ¹⁵

¹ Metre Rathôddhatâ² Read शश्वटे³ Read विशेषतः⁴ Metre Ślôka (Anushtubh)⁵ Read द्रविणैः⁶ Metre Ārya, and also of the verse following⁷ The word *pauraja* is curious, but it probably means "descendants of the citizens (of Vata)"⁸ Metre Sragdharâ⁹ Metre Ślôka (Anushtubh)¹⁰ १. ३. १ गोष्ठिका अत्र¹¹ About five letters have been incised in cursive form, but I am unable to read them.¹² Read "राशेहि".¹³ Read नामानि.¹⁴ The letter य is engraved below the line.¹⁵ The *aksharas* "रिदं" are very indistinct.

NO 26. — DAULATABAD PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA SANKARAGANA,
SAKA-SAMVAT 715

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A, POONA.

These plates were in the possession of a Tongawalla, named Bhan Devram Bhat, a Brahmkshatri by caste, and residing at Daulatâbâd, in the Nizam's territory. They seem to have been preserved as heirloom in his family, and, according to the account given by him, it appears that they were given to his great-grandfather as a *sanad*. The plates were obtained on loan by me from the owner through Maulvi Syed Mohammad Bilgrami, First Tâlukdâr, Aurangâbâd district, who was kind enough to accede to my request promptly

There are three plates, each of which measures about $7\frac{1}{2}$ " long by about 5" broad. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the remaining ones on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is, on the whole, in a state of almost perfect preservation. The plates are strung on a circular ring, the ends of which are joined together by means of a knob bearing a roughly round seal, containing, in relief on a countersunk surface, a representation of Garuda, squatting and facing full-front, his hands are joined, palm to palm, on the chest, and are turned upwards, his legs rest one upon the other, and two projections at the sides denote his wings.

The characters of the original inscription belong to the northern class of alphabets prevailing in the 8th century. With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *â*, *e* *g* in *Âsî*², l. 2; to *n*, which looks almost exactly like *m*, *e* *g* in *°pulina*², l. 12, to *ña* in *bhanga*, l. 14, to *nka* in *Śrī-Śankaraganarāja*, l. 27, to *rya* in *vīryô*, l. 20, and to *ñcha* in *°pañchabhî*², l. 35. The alphabet also includes sigas for the numerals 7, 1, and 5 in line 41. The last sign is almost exactly like that for 5 given in the Sāmāngadh grant of Dantidurga, where the date is also expressed in words. No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the correct reading of the date of our inscription. The language is Sanskrit. Up to almost the close of line 24 the inscription is in verse, and two benedictive and imprecatory verses occur in lines 38-40, the rest is in prose. The number of verses at the beginning is 12. Of these, verses 1-9 also occur in other early Rāshtrakūta records. The remaining three verses are peculiar to this inscription, and are historically important. The whole of line 31 after the word *vra(bra)hmachārī* and a part of the line following have unquestionably been tampered with. They contained names of the donees and the village granted, which have been cancelled and replaced by new ones by heating the plates and beating in the letters originally engraved. The boundaries of this new village are specified after about the middle of line 42, where the original inscription really ends, down to line 55. The letters of these lines are as carelessly written and are of exactly the same type as those incised in lines 31-32 just referred to. Lines 42-55 are thus a continuation of the forgery commenced in lines 31-32. In respect of orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*, the *visarga* is often wrongly omitted, the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *bhūpas=trivishṭapa*, l. 5, *Kanakādrī=iv=Īndrarājah*, l. 8, and *prīy-ā[tma*]jah*, l. 24, the letter *qh* is employed instead of *h* once in *rāja-singhah*, l. 4, and an *-anusvāra* in conjunction with a following *n* is changed to that letter once in *dhvastin=naya*², l. 2.

The inscription records a grant by Samarāvalōka-Śrī-Śankaragana-rāja of the Rāshtrakūta family. In the introductory metrical portion, his genealogy is given, beginning with Gōvinda-rāja I. The genealogy set forth as far as Krishnarāja I is in verses 1-9 which, as already said, are to be met with in many other grants of this dynasty, and which consequently teach us nothing new. It then describes Gōvinda II in the following words in verse 10, occupying ll. 19-21 and bearing a double entendre. "His son was king Gōvindarāja who was like Hari (Krishna) inasmuch as both were fond of battles, inasmuch as the former was celebrated for

having snatched away the glory of Śrī-Pārijāta just as the latter was for having carried off the greatness of the auspicious pārijāta (tree), and inasmuch as the prowess of his arms was shown by the former by supporting Gōvardhana just as it was shown by the latter by uplifting the Gōvardhana (mountain).” The mythological sense is clear enough, and, besides, the verse seems to show that Gōvinda II. defeated a king of the name of Pārijāta, and made alliance with, and espoused the cause of, another prince called Gōvardhana.¹ The names Pārijāta and Gōvardhana are new, and have not so far been met with in epigraphic records. Then follows a verse (11) which is as important as it is unfortunately corrupt. But if the emendations proposed by me are accepted, the following appears to be its sense: “His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even deprived of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the elders, in order that the sovereignty might not devolve from the family.” What the verse means is that Gōvinda II. was a self-conceited ruler and resorted to bad policy, which resulted in the royal authority being held by a person who had no respect for the Rāshtrakūta sovereigns that preceded him, and consequently created disaffection amongst his feudatory chieftains who deserted him, and that Dhruva-Nirupama fearing that the sovereignty would pass away to another dynasty, was compelled to take the reins of the government into his hands and thus rule over his brother’s dominions. The Dēoli and Karhād grants of Kṛṣṇa III., however, give a slightly different account. They record that “sensual pleasures made Gōvinda II. careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose.” The discrepancy in the two accounts is with regard to whether Dhruva-Nirupama was actually entrusted by Gōvinda II. with the management of the kingdom, the Dēoli and Karhād grants saying that it was so, but our inscription implying that it was not so, as it was left to the care of one who was anything but attached to the Rāshtrakūta family.² But the facts, the actual occurrences, mentioned in our charter, which is the earlier of the two and consequently more reliable, could not have been distorted, though the motives might have been coloured and differently expressed, and hence what most probably happened was that Gōvinda II. gave himself up to sensual pleasures and allowed the government of his kingdom to slip into the hands of a person other than Dhruva, and not of Dhruva himself, as the Dēoli and Karhād grants claim, and whether it was to remove the danger thereby caused to the stability of the Rāshtrakūta supremacy, as the motive is stated in our inscription, or, what is more likely, his mind lusted after sovereignty, for securing which a splendid opportunity had presented itself when Gōvinda II. gave himself up to vicious courses, Dhruva-Nirupama was successful in making himself ruler of his brother’s dominions.

Verse 12 informs us that the paternal uncle of (Dhruva-)Nirupama was Śrī-Nanna, brother of Śrī-Kṛṣṇarāja and son of Śrī-Kakkarāja. Then follows the preamble of the pre-se passage which usually precedes the formal part of a copper-plate inscription, and therein the

¹ I have taken the word *uddharana* in the sense of “uplifting, upholding,” but it also signifies “eradication, extermination.” In that case it would mean that Gōvinda II. slew a prince of the name of Gōvardhana. Or if Gōvardhana is here supposed to denote a province, it would mean that he devastated the province of Gōvardhana. A province and a place of that name have been mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscriptions, and have also been spoken of in the Purānas. But whether the name was extant so late as the 6th century is doubtful. A similar play upon the word *Gōvardhana* occurs in the Bagumrā grants of Indrarāja III. (above, Vol. IX pp. 32 and 34.)

² This discrepancy may perhaps be removed by putting a different interpretation on the words *guru bhāṣi-matō-nyasamīham*. It might be said that the person who had no respect for the elders, i.e. the Rāshtrakūta sovereigns who were dead, and in whose hands the sovereignty lay, was no other than Gōvinda II. himself. It might be argued that the management of the kingdom had actually been entrusted to Dhruva by him on account of his sensual courses, as the Dēoli and Karhād plates claim, and that the motive put forth by Dhruva and his party for ousting Gōvinda II. and completely severing his connection with the Rāshtrakūta kingdom was that he had shown himself unworthy of his elders, i.e. the sovereigns who preceded him, by abandoning himself to sensual pleasures and not himself carrying on the administration of his kingdom. In my opinion, this interpretation would be far-fetched and fantastic.

name of the grantor Samarāvaloka-Śrī-Śankaragana-rāja is specified, and he is mentioned as son of Śrī-Nanna just referred to. It is worthy of note that no titles have been coupled with his name. He was thus not even a feudatory chieftain. It is, therefore, no wonder that he is spoken of as issuing the charter with the express consent of Śrī-Kaṭhivallabha Narēन्द्रadēva. The latter was doubtless an epithet of (Dhruva-)Nirupama, who was then the paramount sovereign and whose cousin Śankaragana was. The proper object of the inscription is stated in ll. 28-33, but, as said above, the names of the original donee and the village granted to him which were engraved in ll. 31-32, have been erased, and new ones incised in characters which, though old, are not quite legible. The only particular which has survived of the original grantee is that he had emigrated from Tēnvi, and the expression *tat-pāda-pūjārtham guru-dakṣiṇā*, which occurs in l. 33, shows that he was the preceptor of Śankaragana. Lines 34-36 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might rescind it. Lines 37-40 quote two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the original inscription then concludes thus: "And this charter was written by Chandayika by order of the supreme ruler, when 715 years had elapsed in accordance with the era of the Śaka Kings." The supreme ruler here alluded to is (Druva-)Nirupama, and the Śaka year 715 must consequently refer to his reign. The earliest record—the Pāṭhan grant—of his son and successor Gōvinda III is dated in Śaka 716. It is thus plain that (Dhruva-)Nirupama could not have lived long after Śaka 715 when our grant was made.

After this commences the second part of the forged record. It has been mentioned above that the names of the grantee and the village granted engraved in the original inscription in lines 31-32 have been erased, and new ones substituted for them by beating in the previous letters. The name of the new grantee cannot be made out, but his *gōtra* specified is Bhāradvāja. Secondly, the name of the new village incised appears to be something like Sāmira. And it is the boundaries of this village that are now specified in lines 42-53 after the completion of the old genuine inscription. The names are written so carelessly and the composition is so full of grammatical inaccuracies that it is not possible to be here definite about anything. In line 52 is given the expression *vala(ḷa)ḷha-narēन्द्रa* which is an epithet generally borne by the Rāshtrakūṭa rulers. The connection of this expression, however, with what precedes and follows is not clear. The forged document ends with *Śrī-Bhaṭṭa(ṭi)ṭka mataḥ || 800*. The name *Bhaṭṭa* reminds one of the inscriptions of the Valabhi princes, and if the numerals taken for 800 are correctly read and represent a date, as is highly probable, it must be referred to the Valabhi era, and it thus becomes equivalent to A D. 1119 which may be taken to be the date of the fabrication of the forged record. Our copper-plate charter, as has been said at the outset, was in the possession of a person from Daulatābād, a Brahmakṣatri by caste, and has been preserved in his family as heirloom. As Brahmakṣatris in the Dekkan are known originally to have come from Kāthiāwār, it is not unlikely that somebody in his family, after securing these plates, tampered with them in order to use them as documentary evidence to strengthen his otherwise disputable claim to the village therein mentioned, and it is but natural that he should engrave the name Bhaṭṭa after the manner of the Valabhi plates which he must have either seen himself in Kāthiāwār or known about from his forefathers.

TEXT¹

First Plate

1 श्री² स्वस्ति [॥*] स वोव्यादेधसो³ धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [।*] हरश्च
यस्य कान्तिन्दु-

¹ From the original plates

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read "देधसा".

- 2 कलया कमलंकृतं ॥ [१*] ¹आसीद्वपत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिन्नयं-²
 3 नभिसुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु [१*] भूपः शुचिः पृथुरिवाप्तदिगन्तकीर्त्तिं ³गोविन्द-
 4 राज इति राजसु राजसिंहः⁴ । (॥) [२*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विन्दुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिं-
 5 रार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । ⁵भूपस्तृविष्टपट्टपानुकृतिः
 6 कृतज्ञः श्रीकङ्कराज इति गोत्रमणिर्व्वभूव⁶ । (॥) [३*] तस्य प्रभिन्न-
 7 करटच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तिप्रहारविपमोस्त्रिखितांसुपीठः⁷ ।
 8 क्षापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकादृरिवेन्द्र-⁸
 9 राजः । (॥) [४*] तस्योपार्जिततपसस्तनयश्चतुरदधिवलयमालिन्या⁹ ।
 10 भोक्ता भुवि¹⁰ शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् । (॥) [५*] आसेतोव्विपुलो-¹¹
 11 पलावलिललल्लोलोर्म्मिवेलाजलादाप्रालेयकलांकितोमल-¹²
 12 शिलाजालात्तुषाराचलात् । आपूर्व्वपरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्त-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 13 ¹³प्रसिद्धावधिर्येनियं जगती ¹⁴स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपत्रीकृता । (॥) [६*] अभूव-
 14 भङ्गमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमज्ञातमप्रतिहृताक्षमपेतयत्नं [१*] यो व-
 15 क्षमं सपदि दण्डवलेन¹⁵ जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप । (॥) [७*]
 काञ्ची-
 16 ¹⁶सकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्जटविभेदविधानदक्ष [१*] कर्णाटकं
 17 ¹⁷वलमचिन्त्यमजोयमन्यैः भृत्यै¹⁸ कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा विजिग्ये । (॥) [८*]
 तस्मिन्¹⁹ दि-
 18 व प्रयाते वल्लभराजे कृतप्रजापालः [१*] श्रीकङ्कराजसूनुर्महो-
 19 पति²⁰ कण्णराज[ी]भूत् ॥ [९*] त[त्सू]नुराहवरुचिः प्रथितो वभूव²¹ श्रीपा-
 20 रिजातविभवाह्वर[ण]प्रतीत²² [१*] गोवर्धनोद्धरणलक्षितवाहुवीर्यो²³
 21 गोविन्दराजनृपति ²⁴हरिणा समानः । (॥) [१०*] तस्यात्मजो निरुपमस्त-
 सुदीर्घर्म्मो-

¹ Read °आसीद्वपत्ति°

⁴ Read °सिंहः

⁷ Read °दन्तिदन्त° and °स्त्रिखितांस°.

¹⁰ Read भुव

¹² Read °प्रसिद्धावधे°

¹⁵ Read °काञ्ची° the letter ल in °केरलनराधिप° was first inadvertently omitted, but was afterwards engraved below between र and न, and the omission indicated by a horizontal stroke above

¹⁷ Read °वल° and °भजेय°.

²⁰ Read °पतिः

²³ Read वाहु

² Read °न्नय°

⁵ Read °भूपस्त्रिष्टपट्ट°.

⁸ Read कनकाद्रि°.

¹¹ Read °सेतोव्वि°.

¹⁴ Read °वले°.

¹⁸ Read °भृत्यैः°.

²¹ Read वभूव

²⁴ Read °नृपतिर्हरिणा

³ Read °कीर्त्तिर्गो°

⁶ Read °वभूव°.

⁹ Read मालिन्या..

¹³ Read °कलकितामल°

¹⁵ Read °वलेन

¹⁹ Read तस्मिन्.

²² Read °प्रतीत°.

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22 च¹ त्यक्तं नृपैरपि नयेन विलुप्यमानं । र[1*]ज्यं चभार² गुरुभक्तिव-
तोन्मसंस्थ³

23 मा भूक्लिलान्वयपरिच्युतिरत्र लक्ष्माः⁴ [11*] [११*] पितृव्यस्तस्य⁵ गुणवा
श्रीनन्न इति

24 विद्युतः [1*] श्रीकृष्णराजभ्राता हि श्रीकृष्णराजपुत्राजः⁶ [11*] [१२*] तत्पुत्रः

Second Plate, Second Side

25 प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्तदिक्चक्रो⁷ पात्तानुरागः परच्छिद्रापवादरह⁸

26 स्येध्वन्मूकवधिरो⁹ विरुद्धकामसेवी विमलागाधसलिल¹⁰ कान्तारभू-

27 मौ जलाशय इव प्रणयिनां¹¹ नृदह्योता समरावलोकश्रीशङ्करगणराजः

28 श्रीकलिवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवानुमंत्या¹² सर्वानिवागामिनृपतिग्रामकूट-

29¹³ महत्तराधिकारिदीप्तमनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभि-

30 र्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चानल्पपुन्ययशोभिद्वये¹⁴ (i) तेन्वीविनि-

31¹⁵ र्गतव्रजचारी भारद्वाजगोत्राय वासुदे — — — नेयप-

32 ण्डि — — — भुक्त्या सामिराभिधानग्रामः साभ्यन्तरसिद्धिसर्व-

33 देयप्रहीणचतुराघाटविशुद्धस्तत्पादपूजार्थ¹⁶ गुरुदक्षिणा दत्ता ।

34 यतोऽस्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्वा पालनीयो रक्षणीयश्च । यो वाञ्छानतिमि-

35 राहतमतिः¹⁷¹⁸ आच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं चानुमोदितः¹⁹ स पञ्चभिर्म[हा]-

36²⁰ पातकै चोपपातकैः सयुक्त²¹ स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्या-

37 सेन ।

Third Plate, First Side

38 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति²² भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च

39 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [१३*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयाशु²³ शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*]

¹ दृश्य seems to have been intended, but is, of course, an ungrammatical form

² Read चभार, व and not च must have been in the original draft, and, being similar in formation, च was engraved instead of व

³ Read °भक्तिमतो

⁴ Read लक्ष्मा

⁵ Read गुणवाच्छी°

⁶ Read °प्रियारमज, रम is omitted in the text The श्री° of श्रीकृष्ण° or, what is more probable, the हि preceding it, is superfluous

⁷ Read दिक्चक्र, and पात्तानुराग

⁸ हि was first incised, and then it was corrected into व by erasure

⁹ Read °वधिरो

¹⁰ Read °सलिल.

¹¹ Read नृदह्योता.

¹² Read °देवानुमंत्या

¹³ Read °कार्यादीप्तमनुबोध°.

¹⁴ Read °पुण्य°.

¹⁵ Read °व्रजचारी°, all letters of l. 31 after °व्रजचारी° and the first eight letters of the line following are forged ones, put in after effacing the original letters of the charter, which must have contained the name of the grantee and of the village granted.

¹⁶ Read °पूजार्थ.

¹⁷ Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed

¹⁸ Read आच्छिद्या°.

¹⁹ Read °मोदित.

²⁰ Read °पातकैचोप°.

²¹ Read सयुक्त

²² This ought to be मोदते according to the rules of grammar; but this will not suit the metre

²³ Read °तोयाशु.

- 40 कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ।(॥) [१४*] लिखितं
चैतत्सासनं^१
41 शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु ७१५ परमेश्वराज्ञया पर-
42 मेश्वराज्ञया^२ चन्दयिकेन ॥ पुनरपि^३ 'सिम' [१*] पूर्वतः[१*]^४ चिच-
43 ग्रामः [द]क्षिणतः निवग्रामः पश्चिमतः दधि[वाह]-
44 न ॥ उत्तरतः^५ पडलावदपटन एवं चतु[र]— —^६
45 सिम^७ पूर्वतः^८ टंकं । खेतसिमा^{१०} पूर्वदरिदरिगहो (१) [पुनः]
46 टोणस्य टोणस्य मस्तके शिलतलं । तोयनरज । नि-
47 बुतटाकं [१*] दक्षिणतः जंबुग्र(१)हरकः [१] दक्षिणतः^{११} नीवग्राम
48 सती (१)ताविह—रेलाद्रिसंबकः हस्तिनिकगोग्रहदरीद-
49 धिवाहलतटा[कं] सिलाहयं सिबकपलासचिचाव-
50 दरितटाकं ॥ उत्तरतः^{१२} खाटके हटो क — — —

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 51 यु[न]म(१)णिः । पूर्वदरीर(१)[ल]—वससिमापर्यंत^{१३}व-
52 ली—[निव]ह । वलभनरेद्रेण हिरमाल—गांडुड-
53 क उत्तरतः^{१४} देसिलस्यद्र ॥ ग्रामे भूमी ॥ इयञ्चोना-
54 चरमधिकाचरं वा सर्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥
55 श्रीभटःकर्मतः ॥ ८००

No. 27.—BUCHKALA INSCRIPTION OF NAGABHATTA;
SAMVAT 872.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

This inscription was first discovered by a *Brahmahatta* of Jôdhpur named Nannurâma whose zeal for antiquarian matters is as unflagging as it is disinterested. It was found at Buchkalâ in the Bilâdâ district, Jôdhpur State. It is incised on a pilaster on the proper right forming part of the shrine wall jutting out into the *sabhdamanâdapa* of what is popularly known there as the temple of Pârvatî. The inscription contains twenty lines of, on the whole, well-

^१ Read चैतत्सासन

^२ This word is repeated unnecessarily.

^३ The original inscription ends at चन्दयिकेन, and after that begins again the forged part which goes on till 1 55 at the close. It is engraved so carelessly that I am by no means certain of my reading of it. It is, moreover, so full of grammatical inaccuracies, which, in many cases, are due to local pronunciation, that it is not desirable to correct them all.

^४ Read सीमा

^५ Read पूर्वतः.

^६ Read उत्तरतः.

^७ Probably चतुराष्टाटः.

^८ Read सीमा.

^९ Read पूर्वतः.

^{१०} Read सीमा.

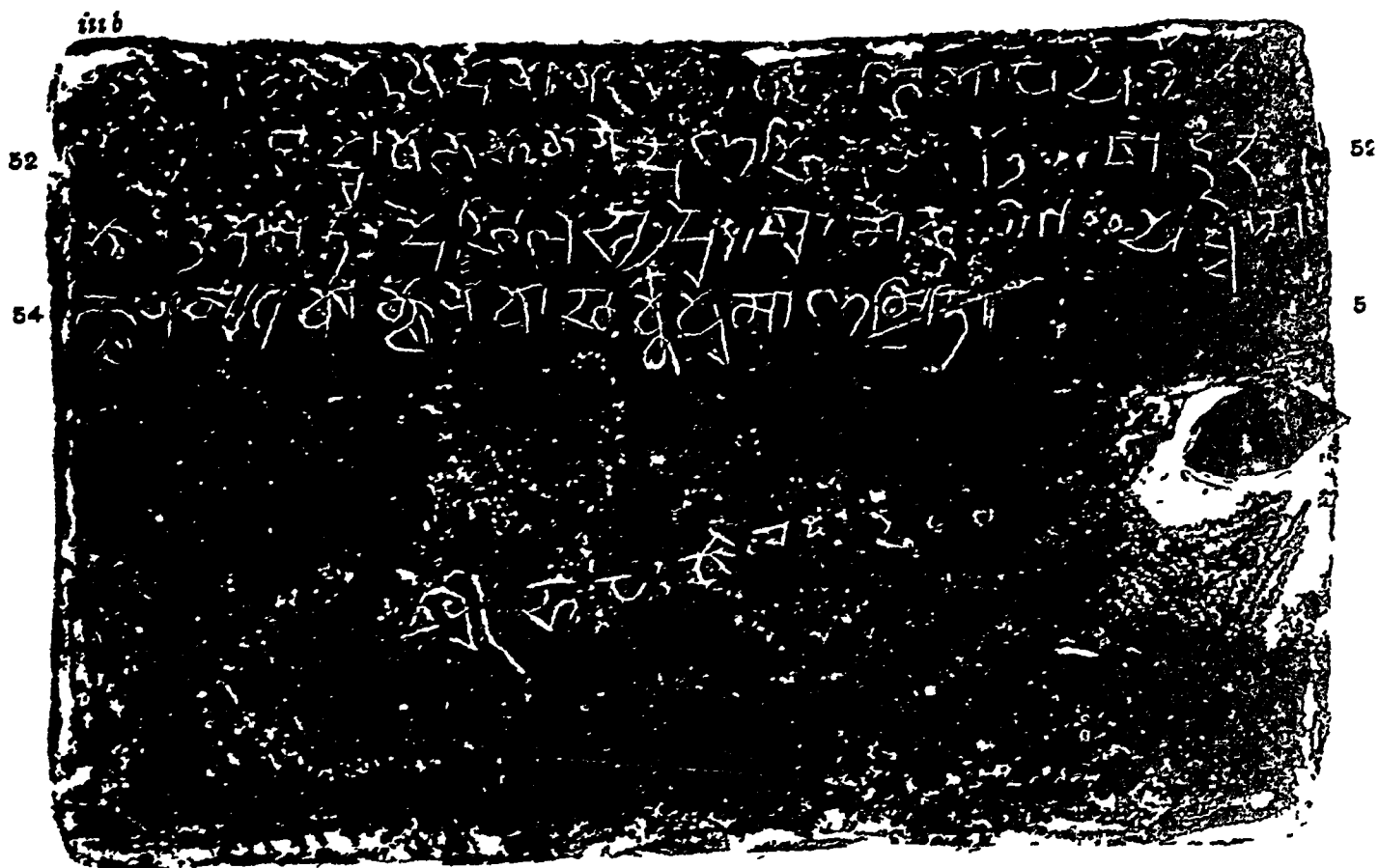
^{११} This दक्षिणतः is probably a mistake for पश्चिमतः.

^{१२} Read उत्तरतः.

^{१३} The reading बुली is also possible

^{१४} Read उत्तरतः.

^{१५} Read श्रीभटःकर्मतः.



preserved writing which covers a space of about 2' 4½" high by 11¼" broad. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare forms of *gh* and *n* and the numeral figures 8, 7, and 2. Attention may also be drawn to the way in which the letters *ś* and *n* are engraved. With regard to the latter there is no difference between it and *m*, except that the upper vertical strokes in the case of the former are much nearer to each other than in the case of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, but is anything but grammatical, and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*, *dh* is written *ddh* twice in the word *mahārājāddhūrāja*, and there is a tendency to use the dental sibilant instead of the palatal, though in one case the latter is substituted for the former, viz in *sūtradhārah*, l. 20.

The inscription is dated Samvat 872¹ the fifth of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, and refers itself to the reign of the *P M P* Nāgabhatta-dēva meditating on the feet of the *M. P* Vatsarāja-dēva. It is thus clear that Nāgabhatta is no other person than Nāgabhatta, son of Vatsarāja, of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty wielding sway over the larger portion of North India. Of the princes of this royal family we have had but few dates earlier than the time of Bhōjadēva I. In fact, we had only one date, viz Śaka 705 = A D 783-84, for Vatsarāja furnished by the Jaina work *Harivaṃśa-Purāna*. And our inscription now supplies the second date, V. S 872 = A D 815 for his son Nāgabhatta.²

The purport of the inscription, however, is not quite clear. Something is said therein to have been set up (*nivṛtā*), but what that 'something' was is far from evident. This something, we are told, was set up, after building the temple (*dēvagriha*) and worshipping the feet of *Paramēśvara*, in the village of Rājyaghangakam, by the queen Jāyāvalī, the daughter of Jajjaka, who himself was a son of the Pratihāra Bapuka, and wife of Bhumbhuvaka, the son of Haragupta of the family called Avāṅgānaka. As Jāyāvalī has been spoken of as queen (*rājñī*), her husband must have been some kind of ruler, most probably a chieftain, feudatory to Nāgabhatta, and reigning at, or, at any rate, holding, Rājyaghangakam, which must be supposed to be the old name of Buchkalā. The name of the *sūtradhāra* or mason is Pañchahari, the son of Dēśa.

The temple is, as we have seen, said to have been dedicated to *Paramēśvara*, which is usually taken to be a name of Śiva. This, however, does not agree with the sculptural details of the temple. Although it is now-a-days called a temple of Pārvatī, there is, truly speaking, no image in the sanctum. But on the dedicatory block on the shrine door and in the principal niche at the back, the images in which enable one to determine to what god the temple is dedicated, is a figure with four hands, doubtlessly representing some form of Viṣṇu, as the mace, discus, and conch-shell can be distinctly seen in its hands. Other images, also carved on the inner and outer walls of the temple, show that it was a Vaishnava structure. The word *paramēśvara* must, therefore, be taken in its ordinary sense and as referring to Viṣṇu.

TEXT³

- 1 ओं [1] संवत्सरशते ८७२
- 2 चैत्रस्य सितपक्षस्य पंचम्यां
- 3 निवेसिता⁴ ॥ महाराजाधिराज-⁵

¹ It is worthy of note that, in the copper-plate charters issued by Bhōjadēva I, Mahēndrapāla and Mahīpāla alias Vināyaka-pāla, letter-numerals are used to express figures, whereas, in the present as well as other stone-inscriptions belonging to the time of these princes, decimal notation is employed. It will thus be seen that both systems were current in North India about this time. [In the facsimile 892 is a misprint for 872—S K.]

² The date has already been given by Prof. Kielhorn in his *Synchronistic Table for Northern India*, col. 9, from information furnished by Mr. Ojha.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ Read निवेसिता.

⁵ Read महाराजाधिराज.

- 4 परमेश्वरश्रीवत्सराजदेवपा-
- 5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
- 6 ¹जादिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनाग-
- 7 भट्टदेवस्वविषये प्रवर्द्धमान-
- 8 राज्ये राज्यचङ्गकङ्गामे
- 9 राज्ञी जायावली प्रतीहार-
- 10 ²स्वगोक्षश्रीवपुक्षपुत्रश्रीज-
- 11 ज्जकदुहिता ताकुहुवोत्पनावा-³
- 12 ज्ञानकस्वगोक्षश्रीहरगुप्त-⁴
- 13 पुत्रभुवकपत्नी ⁵अत्त च पर-
- 14 मेस्वरो निर्वी⁶ क्त्वा अनेकजन्मा-
- 15 ⁷तरस्वसिर्वर्तसारदुखाव-⁸
- 16 हरस्य परमेश्वरस्य⁹ पादा¹⁰
- 17 पुजयित्वा¹¹ देवगृहं करा-
- 18 प्य¹² [i*] पुन ¹³तस्य उपलेपन¹⁴
- 19 देहआसुतप[च्च]हरि¹⁵
- 20 शुचधारः¹⁶ ॥

No 28—KENDUR PLATES OF KIRTIVARMAN II.

SAKA SAMVAT 672

By K B PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA

This inscription was first brought to my notice in May 1902 by Bhṛṅgārkar bāva, a well-known reciter of *kīrtans* at Poona. He was then engaged in a literary controversy about the identity of Jñānēśvara, the well-known saint of Alandi, with Jñānēśvara, the author of the Jñānēśvari, a famous Marāṭhī commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, and asked me whether the inscription threw any light on the point he was discussing. When I told him that the grant was issued in Śaka 672, and had nothing to do with the author of the Jñānēśvari, who was contemporary with Rāmadēva, the last of the Yādava kings of Dēvāgiri, Bhṛṅgārkar bāva was kind enough to lend me the plates for the purpose of editing the inscription.

¹ Read "राजाधिरज".² Read "सगोक्ष".³ Read "वोत्पन्ना".⁴ Read "सगोक्ष".⁵ Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.⁶ The words परमेश्वरो and निर्वी as they stand, make no sense, and I can suggest no correction.⁷ Some such reading as "जन्मान्तरेष्वनिवर्ति" might be expected.⁸ Read "दुःखा".⁹ Read परमेश्वरस्य.¹⁰ Read पादा.¹¹ Read पूजयित्वा.¹² Read कारयित्वा.¹³ Read पुनस्तस्य.¹⁴ Read उपलेपने. This word seems to have been here used in the sense of "engraving".¹⁵ Read "हरि".¹⁶ Read शुचधारः.



The plates were found at Këndûr, a village in the Khêd tâluka of the Poona district. They belong to Mr Purushôttama Râjapâthak, now residing at Këndûr. There are five plates, the first and the last of which are inscribed on one side only. The plates are equal in size, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. Their edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The ring on which the plates are strung is about half an inch thick and $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal on the ring is oval, measuring 2" by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". It has, in relief, on a countersunk surface, a standing boar facing to the proper left. The weight of the plates, together with the ring and seal, is 225 tolas. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit throughout, and with the exception of the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole is in prose.

The grant is one of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II., and is issued from the city of Raktapura, which is probably to be identified with Lakshmêsvara, in the Dharwar district. It records that on the full moon day of the month Vaisâkha, during a lunar eclipse, in Śaka 672 expired, in the sixth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at Raktapura, Kirtivarman II., at the request of his great queen, granted to a Brâhmana named Râmasârman, the village of Beppatti in the centre of the villages of Penbâsaaru, Kîsuman-galam, Sullam and Perbballi, in the district of Velvola. The five villages can be easily identified with Behatti, Hebsur, Kusugalla, Sulla and Hebbalh, in the Dharwar district. Velvola is a Sanskritized form of Belvola or Belvala, a name which is applied even at the present day to a portion of the southern Marâthâ country.

Before the discovery of the present grant, only three records of Kirtivarman II.'s time were known to scholars. Of these the most important is the Vakkalêri grant, which has been published by Mr. Rice¹ and re-edited by Dr. Kielhorn². As interpreted by these scholars, the date of that grant is Śaka 679 expired, which is spoken of as the eleventh year of Kirtivarman's reign, while, according to the present grant, Śaka 672 expired was the sixth year of his reign. These two statements cannot be reconciled. It is, however, important to note that the present grant was issued five years earlier, and is perfectly legible throughout. It also mentions the occurrence of a lunar eclipse. Therefore the date in this grant, which admits of verification, is correct. But in the Vakkalêri grant, the first word describing the Śaka year is not legible. Both Mr. Rice and Dr. Kielhorn have proposed to read it as *naia*, nine, and this view has been endorsed by Dr. Fleet. But the proposed emendation does not agree with the present inscription, according to which Śaka 677 expired was really the eleventh year of the king's reign.

The historical information in the present grant may be briefly summarised thus. The first king of the Chalukya line was Polekêsin who performed horse sacrifices. Then came his son Kirtivarman I., who defeated the kings of Vanavâsi and other countries. His brother Mangalîsa being passed over, we are next introduced to Satyâśraya, better known as Polekêsin II., who defeated the famous Buddhist king Harshavardhana, the patron of the illustrious Chinese traveller Hsuen Tsang and the hero of Bâṇa's immortal work, the *Harshacharita*. Polekêsin II.'s son, Vikramâditya I., was the next king, who recovered, by means of his horse Chitrakantha, part of the Chalukya dominions, which had been overrun by the Pallavas, and had obeisance done to him by the lord of Kâñchi, who had bowed down to none other. Vikramâditya I.'s son and successor was Vinayâditya, who broke the confederacy of the Chôlas, Kâśalas, Pândyas and Pallavas, and defeated the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Vinayâditya's son Vijayâditya, the next king, had greatly assisted his father and grandfather in their wars. Though suddenly taken prisoner by the enemy, whom he had put

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 23 ff.

² Above, Vol. V p. 200 and ff.

to flight, he skilfully effected his escape and restored the splendour of the Chalukya empire. He was succeeded by his son Vikramāditya II, who led an excursion into the Tundāka country, defeated his natural foe the Pallava king Nandipōtavarma, and entered the Pallava capital Kāñchi, but did not destroy it. He restored to the Rājasimhēśvara and other temples, which had been caused to be built there by Narasimhapōtavarma, heaps of gold and rubies, which had been taken away from them. Vikramāditya II. was succeeded by his son Kirtivarman II, who issued the present grant.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 Svasta [*] Jayaty=āvishkṛta[m] Vishnōr=vvārāham kshōbhāt-ārnavam [*]
dakṣiṇ-ōnnata-damshtr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanam
- 2 vapuh [*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇām Hār[1]ti-
putrāṇām sa-
- 3 pta-lōkamātrībhis=saptamātrībhir=abhirvardhitānām Kārttikēya-parirakṣhaṇa-prūsta(pta)-
kalyāṇa-
- 4 paramparānām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshana-
kshana-
- 5 vaśi-kṛt-āsēśha-mahābhritāñ=Chalukyānām kulam=alamkarishnōr=aśvamēdh-āva-
- 6 bhritasnāna-pavitri-kṛta-gātrasya śrī-Polekēśi-vallabha-mahārājasya sū-
- 7 nuh parākram-ākṛanta-Vanavāsy-ādi-paranripati-mandala-pranibaddha-viuddha-kirtti-
śrī-
- 8 Kirttivarman-prithu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājasya=tasya=ātmanas=samara-samsakta-sakalōttarā-
- 9 pathēśvara-śrī-Harshavardhana-parājay-ōpātta-paramēśvara-śabdasya=tasya Sa-

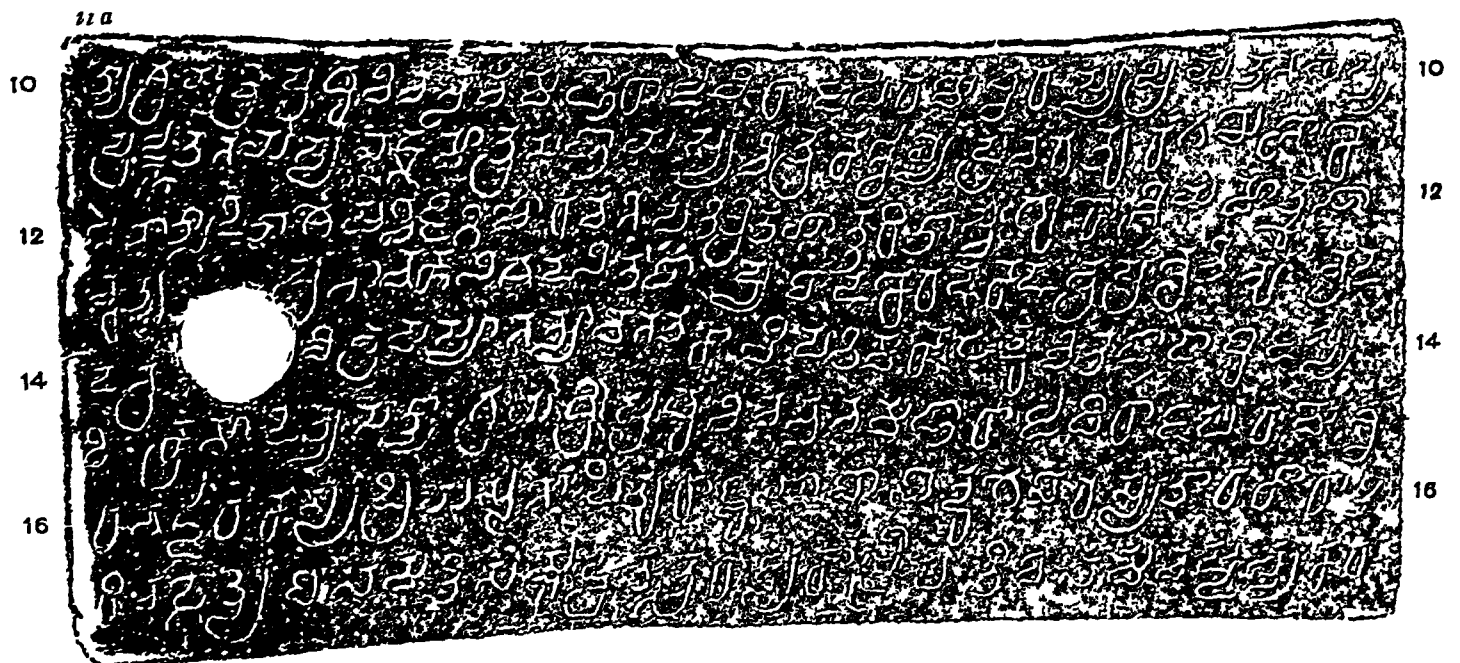
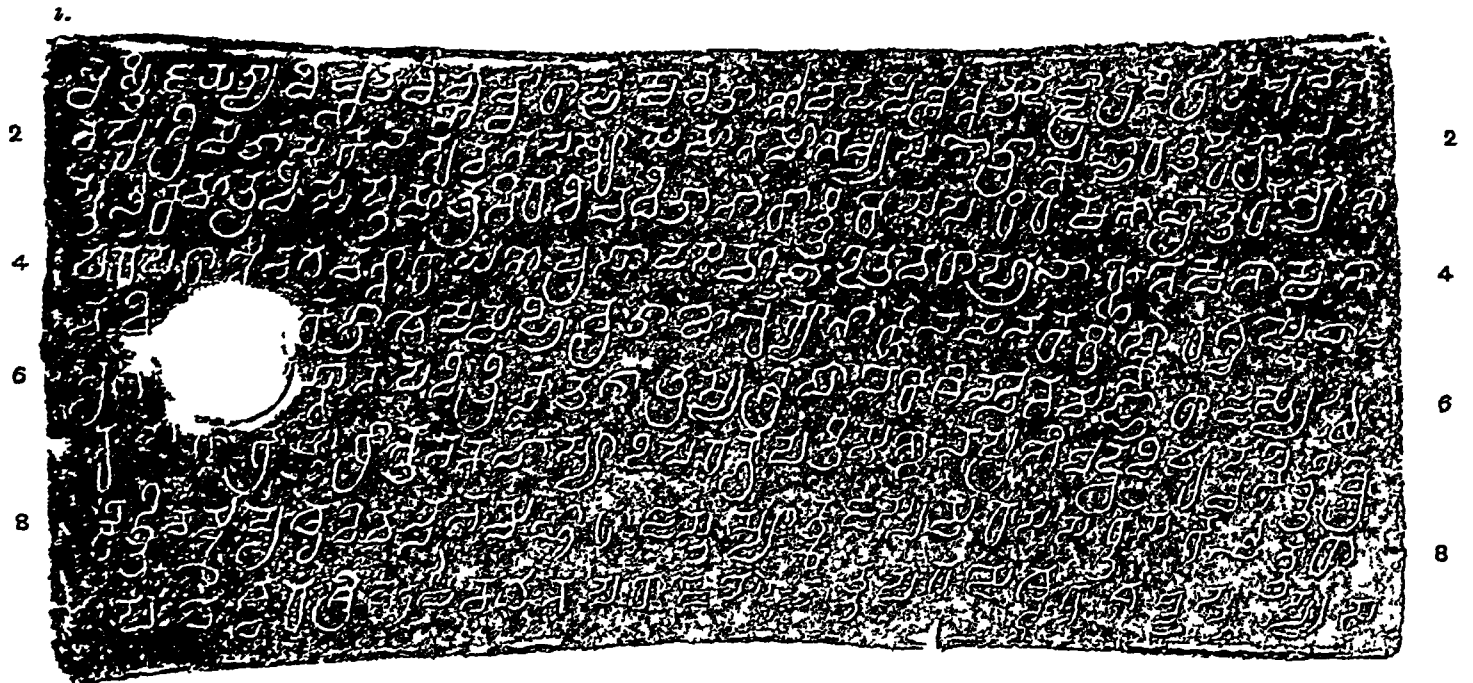
Second Plate, First Side

- 10 tyāśraya-śrī-prithu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priyatanayasya
- 11 prajāta-nayasya khatga(dga)-mātra-sahāyasya Chitrakanthākhyā-pravara-turamgamēn=
aikā-
- 12 n=ay=ōtsādīt-āsēśha-vijigishōr=avanripati-tritay-antaritām svagurō śrīyam=
ātmasā-
- 13 t-kṛtya prabhāva-kulīśa dalita-Pāṇḍya-Chōla-Kēraja-Kaṣabhra-prabhṛti-bhūbhṛd-a-
- 14 dabhra-vibhramasya=ānanyāvanata-Kāmchīpati-makuta-chumbita-pādāmbujasya
- 15 Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-prithu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
- 16 ra-bhātārakasya priyasūnōh pitur-ājñayā Bālēndugē(śē)kharasya Tārakārāti-
- 17 r=iva dāityabalam=atīsamuddhatam trairājya-Kāmchīpati-balam=avashtabhya kara-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 18 dīkṛita-Kavēra-Pārasika-Simhaḥ-ādi-dvīp-ādhipasya sakal-ōttarāpatha²-nātha-mathan-
ōpārjāt-ō-
- 19 rjita-pālidhvaj-ādi-samasta-pāramasvāryya-chinḥa(hna)sya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-
śrīprithu(thi)vīvala-
- 20 bha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhātārakasya priy-ātmanas=śai[śa*]va ēv=ādhipat-
āsēśh-āstra-
- 21 śāstrō dakṣiṇāśā-vijayim pītāmahē samunmūlta-mkhila-kantaka-samhatir=
uttarāpatha-
- 22 vijigishōr-gurōr=agrata ēv=āhava-vyāpāram=ācharann=arāti-gaja-ghatā-pāṭa-

¹ From the original plates² The engraver has originally written *pathā, but corrected it



STEN KONOW

SCALE 0 7

W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D R BHANDARKAR

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- 23 na-viśīryyamāna-kṛpāna-dhāras=samagra-vigrah-āgrāsara[h*] san=sāhasa-rasikah
 24 parām(u)mukhikṛta-śatrumandalō Gangā-Yamunā-pālidhvaja-padaḍhakkā-mahāśabda-
 mā-
 25 mkyā-matamgaj-ādin=piṭṛisāt=kurvvan=parah palāyamānair=āsādyā katham=api
 vidhivaśā-
 26 d=apanitō=pi pratāpād=ēva viśhaya-prakōpam=arājakam=utsārayan=Vatsarāja 1-

Thwrd Plate, First Side.

- 27 v=ānapōkshit-āpara-sāhāyakas=tad-avagrahān=nirggatya svabhuj-āvashtambha-prasādhit-
 āśēsha-viśva-
 28 mbharah prabhur=akhamdita-śaktitrayatvāt(ch)=chhatru-mada-bhamjanatvād-
 udāratvān=niravadyatvād=yas=sa-
 29 masta-bhuvan-āśrayas=sakala-pāramaiśvaryā-vyakti-hētu-pālidhvaj-ādy-u[j*]jvala-prājya-
 30 rājyō Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
 31 ra-bhattāśarakasya priyaputras=sakala-bhuvana-sāmrājya-lakshmi-svayamvar-ā-
 32 bhishēka-samay-ānantara-samupajāta-mahōtsāhah ātmavamsāja-pū-
 33 rvyā-nripati-chchhāy-āpahārinah prakṛty-amitrasya Pallavasya samūl-
 ōnmūlanāya
 34 kṛta-matir=atitvarayā Tumdāka-vishayam prāpy=ābhimukh-āgatan=
 Nandipōtavarmma-ā-
 35 bhūdhānam Pallavam rana-mukhē samprahritya prapalāyya
 katumukha-vāditra-sa-

Thwrd Plate, Second Side

- 36 mudraghōsh-ābhūdhāna-vādya-viśēshān(shan)=khatvānga-dhvaja-praunvia-prabhūta-
 prakhyāta-hasti-varā-
 37 n=sva-kirana-nikara-vikāsa-nirākṛta-tumiram-mānikya-rāsīn=cha hastēkṛitya
 Kalāśabhava-nīla-
 38 ya-harid-amgan-āmchita-kāmchīyamānām Kāmchīm=avināśya praviśya satata-
 pravṛtta-dā-
 39 n-ānā(na)ndita-dviya-dīn-ānātha-janah Narasimhapōtavarmma-nirmāpita-silāmaya-
 40 Rājasimhēśvar-ādi-dēvakula-suvarnarāśi-pratyarpṇa-ōpārjit-ōrjita-pu-
 41 nyah anuvārita-pratāpa-prasara-pratāpita-Pāndya-Chōla-Kērala-Kalābhra-
 42 prabhṛti-rājanyakah kshubhita-kari-makara-kara-hata-dalita-fukti-mukta-muktāphala-
 43 prakara-marichu-jāla-vilasita-vēl-ākulē ghūnamān-ārō-mdhānē dakṣiṇā-
 44 rṇavē śarad-amala-śāśadhara-viśada-yaśō-rāśi-mayam jayastambham=atīst[h*]ipat

Fourth Plate, First Side.

- 45 Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bha-
 46 ttāśarakasya sūnuh(r) bālyē anīkshita-śāstra-śāstra[h*] sva-guna-kalāp-ānandita-
 hṛi-
 47 dayēna pītṛā samārōpita-yanvarājya[h*] svakula-vairinah Kāmchīpatēr=
 nmgrahā-
 48 ya mām prēshaya ity=ādēśam prārthya labdhvā tad-anantaram=ēva kṛta-
 prayānas=sann-a-
 49 bhūmukham=āgatya prakāśa-yuddham kartum=asamarttham praviśta-durggah
 Palla-
 50 vam samantatō=bhūbhūya bhagnasaktim kṛtvā prabhūta-matta-matamgaja-su-
 51 varna-mānikya-kōtīr=ādāya pītṛē samarpṇitavān=ēvam kramēna prāpta-sā-
 2 D

- 52 ivaabhauma-padaḥ pratāp-ānurāg-āvanata-samasta-sāmanṭa-makuta-mā-
 53 la-rajah-pumja-pimjanṭa charuṇa-sarasuḥab(ruḥab) Kirtivarṇa-na-Satyā-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 54 śraya-śīprithuvirallabha-mahāñājīdhirāja-paramēśvara-bhattārakas-sarvān-ēva-
 55 m-ājñāpayati [*] Vidyam=astu vō=smābhīr-dvīsaptaty-uttara-shaṭchhatēshu
 Śakavarshēshv-atitēshu
 56 pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē shashthē varttamānē Raktapuram-
 adhrivasa-
 57 ti vijaya-skandhāvātē Vaisākha-paurṇamāsyām sōmagrahanē Kāśyapa-gō-
 58 tīyā Vajrasarmmanah¹=pautrāya Makaya-Vājīpō[ja*]-yājñah
 59 putrāya vēda-vēdāṅga-pāṇagāya Rāmasarmmanē Veļvola-visha-
 60 yō Penbasaaru-Kisumamgalam-Sullam-Perballi-nama-gāmānām=ma-
 61 dhyē Beppatti-nāma-grāmō śī-mahādēvi-vijñāpanayā dattah

Fifth Plate

- 62 Tad=āgāmibhīr=asmad-vamśyar=anyas=cha rājabhīr=āyur-aśvāryy-ādinām vilasitam=
 achi-
 63 i āmśu-chañchalam=avagachchhadbhīr=āchandr-āika-dhar-ārnava-sthiti-samakālam yasaś=
 chiki-
 64 iśnubhīr-sva-datti-nirvvisēsham paripālaniyam=Uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda-
 vyāsēna
 65 Vyāsēna [*] Bahubhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhīr=Sagar-ādibhīr [*] yasya
 yasya
 66 jadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tuda phalam [||*] Svan=dātum sumabach=
 chhakyam
 67 dūlikham=anyasya pālanam [*] dānam vā pālanam v=ētti(v=ēti) dānāch=chhrēyō=
 nupālanam [||*]
 68 Svadattām paradattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [*] shashth(t)im
 vaisha-saha-
 69 srām viśthāyām jāyatē kr(kr)mu=iti [||*] Dhanamjaya-Punyavallabhēna
 likhita-
 70 m=adam

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) Hail! victorious is the body of Vishnu, manifested in the form of a boar on whose uplifted right tusk rests the world, and who has agitated the ocean

(Lines 2 to 6) The great king, the prosperous Polekēśi-vallabha, whose body was purified by the *arabhritha* bath terminating a horse-sacrifice, and who adorned the family of the prosperous Chalukyas, who belonged to the family of Manavya praised by the whole world, who were the sons of Hariti, who were reared by seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds, who had acquired a series of benefits through the protection of Kārttikēya, and who had subdued in an instant all kings at the sight of the sign of the boar acquired through the favour of the revered Nārāyana

(Ll 6 to 8) His son was the prosperous Kirtivarman, the great king, and the lord of the earth, who had achieved spotless fame by the conquest of Vanavāsi² and other countries of hostile kings

¹ [Looks like *Vajrasarmmanah* — S. K.]

² Also called Banavāsi or Banavase

iii b

36
38
40
42
44

36
38
40
42
44

iv a

46
48
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52

STEN KONOW

SCALE 0.7

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

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60

70

(Ll 8 to 9) His son was he who had acquired the title of *Paramésvara* by defeating the prosperous Harshavardhana, the lord of all the north, and addicted to war

(Ll 10 to 16) The dear son of that¹ asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the great lord, was Vikramāditya, well versed in politics, whose companion was his sword alone, who had destroyed all rivals only with his excellent horse called Chitrakautha, who retrieving the fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by the confederacy of the three² kings, had destroyed the great splendour of the mountain-like kings of the Pāndyas, Chōlas, Kēralas, Kalabhras and others with his prowess resembling a thunderbolt,³ whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crest of the lord of Kāñchi who had not bowed down to others, and who was the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the venerable emperor

(Ll 16 to 20) His dear son, who reduced to the condition of tributaries the kings of Kārēra, Pārasika, Simhala and other countries after vanquishing the proud army of the confederacy of the three⁴ kings and the lord of Kāñchi at the command of his father, just as Kartikīya, at the command of Śiva defeated the very insolent host of demons, who had acquired all the symbols of sovereignty such as a lofty *pāṇḍhava*⁵ and others by subjugating the king of all the north, was Vinayāditya, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord

(Ll 20 to 30) His dear son, who while still a child, had mastered all the sciences and the use of arms, who when his grandfather conquered the southern region had uprooted the multitude of all his foes resembling thorns, conducting warlike operations in the very presence of his father who was desirous of conquering the north, who had the edge of his sword blunted by destroying the group of hostile elephants, who took the lead in all fighting, fond of meeting danger, who caused the multitude of his enemies to turn their backs, delivering to his father the variegated *pāṇi*-banner,⁶ the *dhalā*, the great musical instruments,⁶ rubies and intoxicated elephants, who, though taken captive through the force of circumstances by the flying foe approaching with some difficulty, put an end to anarchy and popular commotion by his prowess alone and like Vatsarāja, expecting no help from others, escaped from the peril and conquered the whole earth by dint of his arm, who was an emperor, the asylum of truth, through his three powers being uninterrupted, through his breaking the pride of his enemies, through his liberality and blamelessness, whose vast empire was resplendent with a *pāṇḍhava* which was a symbol of universal sovereignty, was Vijayāditya, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings and the venerable lord

(Ll 31 to 45) His dear son, who had enjoyed great pleasure immediately after the time of his anointment at the self-choice by the goddess of universal sovereignty, who resolved to uproot the Pallava king, his natural foe, who had robbed of splendour the former kings of his line, who on coming to the Tundāka⁷ district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king named Nandipōtsavarman,

¹ *Tasya* means "of one who is well known or referred to above"

² Compare the expression *avanipatitritaya* with *trairājya* in line 17. *Āmasā-kṛitya* should be **kṛitā*

³ Vikramāditya is compared to Indra

⁴ *Trairājya* is used by Jināsena in the following verse (*Ādipurāṇa*, XXX 35), and is explained by the commentator to mean Chōla, Kērala and Pāndya —

prasādhya dakṣiṇām=āśām tībhus trairājyapālakān |
samam pranamayām=śa vijitya jayasādhanaḥ ||

⁵ For the explanation of *pāṇḍhava*, see my paper in the *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV p 104

⁶ The expression *mahāsabha* is frequently used in this sense in *Pampa Bhārata*, p 211

⁷ Tundākanvishaya or Tondai is a name of the Dravida country Kāñchi or Conjeeveram was the capital of it

took¹ possession of particular musical instruments, called *kaṭumukhavāditra* and *samu-draghōsha*, the *khaṭvāṅga-dhwaja*, many excellent and well-known intoxicated elephants and a heap of rubies, which dispelled darkness by the brilliancy of the multitude of their rays, who entered, without destroying it, the city of Kāñchi, which was, as it were, a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south, who had rejoiced Brāhmaṇas, and poor and helpless people by his uninterrupted liberality, who acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temples of Rājasūhāsvara and other gods, which had been caused to be built by Narasimhapōtavarma, who distressed Pāndya, Chōḷa, Kēraḷa, Kaḷabhra and other kings by the extent of his valour which could not be withstood, and who erected a pillar of victory² in the form of his great fame, as bright as the cloudless autumnal moon in the southern ocean, full of rolling waves, the shores of which were shining with the multitude of rays of numerous pearls dropped from shells struck and broken by the trunks of excited elephants resembling whales, was Vikramāditya, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 46 to 54) His dear son, who was trained in science and the use of arms in his childhood, was appointed heir-apparent by his father whose heart was delighted with a multitude of his virtues; who having asked for and obtained an order to put down the lord of Kāñchi, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the Pallava king in every quarter, who, unable to meet him in an open field had taken refuge in a fort, made him powerless, took possession of many ruttish elephants, gold and crores of rubies, and delivered them to his father, who thus gradually attained to the position of an emperor, and whose lotus-like feet were rendered yellowish by the mass of pollen on the numerous crests of all feudatory kings, who bowed to him through love of his heroism, Kirtivarman, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord, thus commands all,

(Ll. 55 to 61.) Be it known to you, when six hundred and seventy-two years of the Śaka era had passed away, and the sixth year of [our] increasing prosperous reign was current, when our victorious camp was located at Raktapura, on the full moon of Vaiśākha during a lunar eclipse, the village named Beppaṭṭi surrounded by the villages named Penbasaaru, Kṣumangalam, Sullam and Perbballu, in the district of Veḷvola, was granted by us at the request of the prosperous great queen to Rāmaśarma, well versed in the Vēdas and Vādāṅgas, who was the son of Mākaya, a performer of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, and the grandson of Vājappasarma of the Kāśyapa gōtra.

(Ll. 62 to 64) This should be preserved, as though it were their own gift, by future kings of our own family or others, knowing the flash of life and other things to be as changeful as lightning, and desirous of achieving a fame lasting as long as the moon, the sun, earth, and ocean will endure.

(Ll. 65 to 70) And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, including Sagara. Whoever is the owner of the earth, reaps its fruit. It is very easy to give what is one's own; it is difficult to preserve what is given by others. Of the two things—a gift and preservation—preservation is the better. He who takes away land, whether given by himself or others, is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. This is written by Dhanañjaya³ Punyavallabha.

¹ The expression *haṣṭa kṛitya* is not wrong; compare Dhanañjaya, *Drīśandhānakāvya* XIII 86, and Bhaṭṭōja Dikṣita's remark on Pāṇini I. 4, 77: *solkāramātram=ity=anyā, haṣṭa-kṛitya mahāstrānti*. See *Padamañjarī*, p. 224 (Benares edition)

² Vikramāditya II. did not set up a pillar of victory, only his fame, which spread to the shores of the southern ocean, is compared to such a pillar.

³ This must be the same person who composed the Vakkaḷēri grant five years later. A relative of his, perhaps his father, was Amvāritapunyaallabha, who wrote the Kāñchi inscription of Vikramāditya II. (above, Vol. III. p. 359 f.).

No. 29 — DATES OF CHOLA KINGS

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, O.L.E., GÖTTINGEN

(Continued from Vol VIII, page 274)

From the materials supplied to me by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya I publish here, with the results of my calculations, twenty-two more dates of Chôla kings (Nos 137-158), and two dates (Nos 159 and 160) of the king Peruñjinaḍēva, "who claims to be a Pallava and who subverted the Chôla sovereignty about A.D. 1231-32"¹ Five of these dates (Nos. 145-149) belong to the king Rājādhirāja [II] Rājakesarivarman, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163. The other dates in general merely confirm the correctness of the results previously found for the commencement of the reigns of the kings to whom they belong, but No 142 reduces the period, during which Rājārāja II. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 6th April to the 11th July A.D. 1146.²

I am still keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttunga-Chôla II Rājakesarivarman in the hope that more dates of this king may be discovered before long

At the end of this article I give a list of all published dates of Chôla kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign

A.—RAJARAJA I.

137.—In the Śivayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tīruviśālūr³

- 1 Svasti śri [|| —] Kō-Rājārājakesarivarmmakku yāndu 5 āvadu ivv-ātt[ai]
[Dha]nu-[n]āyaru Nāyaru-kk[ī]lamaiyum Mūlamum pakka-
2 m 'prathipadamum kūḍiṇa vara-yōgatt[ī]ṇ pōdu.

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Rājārājakesarivarman,—on the day of the auspicious yōga which was combined with the first tithi of a fortnight,⁴ (the nakshatra) Mūla and a Sunday in the month of Dhanus of this year"

I have previously found⁵ that Rājārāja I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985. This date of the 5th year of his reign corresponds to Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the first tithi (of the bright half of Pausa) commenced 5 h. 6 m., while the nakshatra was Mūla, by the equal space system for 16 h. 25 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise

For dates with the auspicious yōga—also called amṛita-yōga⁷—of a Sunday with the nakshatra Mūla, see above, Vol. VI. p 21, No 33, and note Compare also Hēmachandra's Śabdīnaśāsana-vṛtti, end of Adhyāya II Pāda 2 Mūlārkaḥ⁸ śrūyatē śāstrē sarvakalyāṇa-kāranam | adhunā Mūlārājas=tu chitraṁ lōkēśhu gīyatē ||

¹ See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1906-07, p 89

² Compare above, Vol VIII p 264

³ No 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

⁴ Read *prathipada*

⁵ It is not stated whether it was the bright or the dark fortnight.

⁶ See above, Vol VII p 6

⁷ See *Ep. Carn* Vol IV. p 114, No 10

⁸ I.e. Mūla nakshatrēna yuktīś'rkah sūryah.

138 and 139.—In the Amṛitaghaṭśvara temple at Tirukkadayūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] [Tiru-ma]ga] śrī-kōv=Irājarājakēsarīpanmaṅku yānd[u]
 2 16 vadu āgum yāndu Pi-
 3 [ra]ttādi=tti[nga]l pīṟ=pakkattu=[p]pakkam [8 ettu]=kkī[la]mai² Tīngal nāl.
 Pa[na]rpūśam
 9 1[v*]v-[āndēy] Tulā-nāyaṟu pū[rva-bha]kshat[tu]
 dvā[da]śiyum Nāya[r]u-kīla[m]ai[yum] peṟṟā Iraivadi . . .³

"In the year which was the 16th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājarājakēsarīvarman,—on the day of Punarvasu, the week-day (being) Monday, (and) the day of the fortnight being [8—eight—] of the second half of the month Purattādi on [the day of] Rēvatī which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā in this year"

The first of these two dates regularly corresponds to Monday, the 23rd September A D. 1000, which was the 29th day of the month Purattādi (i.e. the month of Kanyā), and on which the 8th tithi of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 0 h 55 m., while the nakshatra was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h 20 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h 40 m, after mean sunrise.

The second date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 13th October A D. 1000. This was the 18th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the 12th tithi of the bright half (of Kārttika)⁴ ended 1 h 17 m after mean sunrise, but as the nakshatra was Rēvatī only from 11 h 10 m after mean sunrise, I should have expected the day to be described as the day of (the preceding nakshatra) Uttara-Bhadrapadā

140 — In the Śiva temple at Pērangiyūr⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] śrī-Rāja-Rājarājādēvaṅku yāndu
 2[4]āvadu 1-yāndu⁶ Mīrūchika-nāyaṟu pū[r]vva-
 pakshattu=P[pudan]-kīlamaiyum pañjamiyum peṟṟā Tī[ru]vō[na]ttin nā[il]

"In the 2[4]th year (of the reign) of the glorious Rāja-Rājarājādēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to the fifth tithi and to a [Wednesday] of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika in this year"

For the given week-day (Wednesday) and the nakshatra Śravana the date would be wrong for all the ten years from the 20th to the 29th year of Rājarāja's reign. Irrespectively of the week-day, the date for the 24th year would correspond to Saturday, the 6th November A D. 1008, which was the 12th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 5th tithi of the bright half (of Mārgaśīrsha) ended 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, while the nakshatra by all systems was Śravana the whole day. I have little doubt that this Saturday is the proper equivalent of the date and that the week-day, if not misread, has been wrongly given in the original.

¹ No 27 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² The letter *la* is engraved below the line

³ Read *Rēvatī-nā*

⁴ I.e. the *utthāna-dvādasi tithi* (the tithi of the awakening of Viṣṇu)

⁵ No. 203 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

⁶ Read *Vṛiśchika-*

B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

141.—In the Amṛtagaṭhēśvara temple at Tirukkadaiyūr¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-mālai m[1]daindu
 16 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar-ā[na] Tribhuvana-
 chchakravatti-
 17 gal śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēvaṅku yāṇḍu 6 āṛ[ā]vadu V[ri]śchi
 . . .²[y]aiyum [Ba]ḍaṅ-ki[ma]iyum peṇṇa Mṛigaśīrshaṭṭi-nāḷ.

"In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day of Mṛigaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [second?] *tithi* of the
 [of the month of] Vriśchi[ka]"

The reign of Vikrama-Chōla has been found³ to commence on the 29th June A.D. 1118, and this date of the 6th year of his reign undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123. Thus was the 11th day of the month of Vriśchika, and on it the second *tithi* (of the dark half of Kārttika) ended 4 h 45 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h 13 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise.

C.—RAJARAJA II.

142 — In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maraviya Tira-mādum
 13 . . . kō=Pparakēsa[pa]tmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakravati-
 14 tugal śrī-Rajarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu⁵ [1]5[vadu]⁶ Mā-
 15 sha-nāyaṅgu pūṛva-pakṣhaṭṭi ashtaṁ[yu]m Budan-ki-
 16 [ma]iyum peṇṇa Pūṣaṭṭi-nāḷ.

"In the [1]5th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

With the result previously obtained⁷ for the commencement of the reign of Rājārāja [II.] Parakēsarivarman, this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161, which was the 13th day of the month of Mēsha and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 12 h 54 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h 10 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

143 — In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.⁸

- 4 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar-āna
 [Tri]bu-
 5 vanachchakravattigal śrī-Rājārājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 1[7]vadu Dha[nu-nāya]ṅgu
 [a]para-pa-
 6 kṣa[t*]tu navamiyum Nāyaṅgu-ki[la]maiyyum peṇṇa A . . .

¹ No. 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² Perhaps *ḍaiḷḷaiyum* is meant.

³ See above, Vol. VII. p. 8

⁴ No. 140 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁵ The letter *n* is engraved below the line.

⁶ The letters *vadu* are written in a group.

⁷ See above, Vol. VIII. pp. 2 and 264.

⁸ No. 129 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

"In the 1[7]th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of A . . . ,¹ which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus "

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162, which was the 7th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mârgasîrsha) ended 16 h 56 m, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h 47 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 10 h 30 m, after mean sunrise

The result shows that the *nakshatra*, of the name of which only the initial vowel *a* remains in line 6 of the original, was Attam (Hasta) —The date is the latest one hitherto examined of the reign of Râjarâja II

144 —In the Grâmârdhanâthêśvara temple at Elvânâśūr.²

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pâ maruviya Tiru-mâdum kô=
8 P[p]ara[k]êsaripatmar=âna Tribhuvana[ch]chakrava[1]tugal śrī-Râjarâjadêvarku
yându 15[vadu]³ M[î]na-
9 nâyarru p[û]rvva-pakshattu pañ[jam]y[u]m Tingal-klamayum peṇṇa
M[r]igaśi[r]shatt=nâ

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of Mṛigaśîrsha, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mîna "

In accordance with the previously obtained results, this date should fall in A.D. 1161, some time before the 24th March (the first day of the month of Mêsha), but with the actual reading of the original it would be incorrect. In my opinion, the fifth *tithi* (pañ[jam]y[u]m) has here been quoted erroneously instead of the seventh (*saptamayum*), and the date corresponds to Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161, which was the 12th day of the month of Mîna, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 3 h. 41 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśîrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 3 h. 17 m, after mean sunrise

Of the three dates, the date No. 142 would show that the reign of Râjarâja II. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th April A.D. 1146 *

D.—RAJADHIRAJA II.

145 — In the Tyâgarâjasvâmin temple at Tiruvârûr.

1 Svasti śrī 6 Kadal sūlnda pār-mag[a]lu[m]
2 . . . kô Râjakêsaripa[nma]r=âna Tribhuvanachcha[k*]karavattugal śrī-
Râjadha(dhî)râjadêvarku yându 2[âvadu]⁶ Mêsha-nâyarru pûrvva-pakshattu
shashthiyun=Dingat-klamayum peṇṇa Punarpûsatti=nâl

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Râjakêsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjadhîrâjadêva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mêsha."

¹ The name of the *nakshatra*, which is lost in the original, may be Aśvati (Aśvini), Attam (Hasta), Avittam (Dhanishthâ) or Anulam (Anurâdhâ)

² No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

³ The letters *adu* are written in a group

⁴ No. 538 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁵ The word *aradu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the figure 2

⁶ Compare the date No. 106, above, Vol. VIII. p. 264

The five dates Nos 145-149 are of the reign of a king Rājādhirāja Rājakēsarivarman, and are taken from inscriptions every one of which begins with the words *kadal sūṇḍa*. The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163. With such a commencement of his reign —

This date, No 145, corresponds to Monday, the 30th March A.D. 1164, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Vaiśākha) ended 19 h 3 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 7 h 13 m, according to Garga from 9 h. 51 m, and by the equal space system from 21 h 40 m, after mean sunrise.—This equivalent of the original date might perhaps be objected to on the ground that the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu only from 7 h. 13 m (or later) after mean sunrise, and in the case of the date No 106, above Vol VIII p 263, where also the *nakṣatra* was found to be Punarvasu from 8 h. 32 m. (or later) after mean sunrise, I have myself stated that that *nakṣatra* in the original date might have been quoted erroneously instead of the immediately preceding *nakṣatra* Ārdrā. But the two dates together now seem to me to show that in either case there was some special reason for quoting the *nakṣatra* Punarvasu, instead of the *nakṣatra* Ārdrā in which the moon was at the commencement of the day¹

146.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvañaijūḷi.²

- 1 Svasti [śri] [||*] Kadal sūṇḍa pār-mādarum
 5 [kō] Rājakēsar[vanma]r= ā[na] Tribhuvanachchakrava[tti]-
 6 gal śri-R[ā]jādhirājadēvaṅku [y]āṇḍu [Sā]vadu Sum[ha] n[ā]y[aru] [a]para-
 pakshattu [dv]āda[śiyu]m [Tī]-
 7 [nga]t-kīlamai[yu]m peṅga [Puna]r[pū]ṣat[tu] nā[li]

"In the [8]th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th August A.D. 1170, which was the 14th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvana) commenced 2 h 3 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu,³ by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h 4 m., after mean sunrise

147.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmīn temple at Tiruvārūr.⁴

- 1 [Sva*][stā] śrih ||— Kadal sūṇḍa pār=ō[lu]n=diśai
 7 . . kōv=Irājakēsaripaṅmar=ēṅga Tribhuvanachchakravattigal śri-Rājādhirājadēvaṅku
 yāṇḍu 10[āvadu]⁵ Miṇa-nā[yaṅ]u pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyuñ=Jevvāy-kīlamai-
 yam peṅga Magattu nā

"In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Miṇa "

¹ For other dates with *nakṣatra*, which also, if I may say so, commenced some time after sunrise, compare e.g. Nos 23, 47, 66, 105, and 121 of this series

² No 627 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

³ A 12th *tithi*, joined with the *nakṣatra* Punarvasu is called *jayanṭi*, it is a *maṇḍa daddaṭ*. This may be the reason why the 12th *tithi* has been quoted in the original date (as a current *tithi*)

⁴ No 540 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁵ The word *āvadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the symbol for ten.

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 27th February A D. 1173, which was the 5th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phalgunā) ended 10 h 50 m, while the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m, and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m, after mean sunrise

148 — In the Darbhāranyéśvara temple at Tirunallār¹

- 1 Svasti śi[^h] [[*] Kadal śūl[ⁿ]da [pū]r-mādaum śi-Ir[^ā]-
[^h]ōv-Ir[^ā]śa[ké]sar[ⁱ]pa[^rmar=ā[^{na} Tirubuva]na[^{ch}]chakkarava[ⁱ*]tigal
[^ā*]d[ⁱ]in[^u*]dēva[^rku ya[^p]-
2 du paḍiṇ-oni[^{lv}adu Sīna-nā[^{ya}]r[^{ru} pū[r]va-pasha(ksha)ttu paṇjamyu[m]
Budān kīlamai[^y]um p[^e]r[^{ra} Śod[ⁱ]-nāl

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 15th August A D 1173, which was the 19th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Bhādrapada) ended 13 h 53 m, while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 17 h 44 m, according to Garga for 5 h 16 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h 19 m, after mean sunrise

149 — In the Vṛishabhapurīśvara temple at Mēl-Sēvūr.²

- 1 Svasti śi [[*] Kadal śūlnda pūr-m[^ā]daram Irāśakā[^{śa}]ripatmar=āṇa
2 kō
Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Rājā[^{dh}irā*]jadēva[^rku yāndu 13āvaḍu
Kaṛkadaga-nāya[^rru=ppaḍinmu(mū)ṇrān=di(di)yadiy=[^ā]-
3 na Budān-kīl[^{mai}yum=apara pakshattu ēkāda[^ś]iyum per[^{ra} R[^ō]śani-nāl.

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājā[^{dh}irā]jadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to a Wednesday, the thirteenth solar day of the month of Karkataka "

In the three hundred years from A D 1000 to A D. 1300 there are only two days which would satisfy the requirements of this date, viz. Wednesday, the 8th July A.D 1097, and Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181

In A D 1097 the Karkataka-samkrānti took place 17 h 26 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 25th June, the first day of the month of Karkataka therefore was Friday, the 26th June, and the 13th day of the same month was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) ended 5 h 36 m, and the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 56 m after mean sunrise

In A D 1181 the Karkataka-samkrānti took place 10 h 56 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th June which was the first day of the month of Karkataka; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Wednesday, the 8th July On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) commenced 4 h 24 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h 58 m. after mean sunrise

¹ No 394 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 222 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

It is clear that if as was assumed above, the reign of Rājādhirāja Rājakesarivarman commenced between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163, neither of the two Wednesdays given above could have fallen in the 13th year of his reign. On the other hand, I may state that if either of the two days really fell in his 13th year, the other dates would be incorrect. In these circumstances, and assuming that, with the exception of the regnal year, the details of the original date have been given correctly, I can only suggest that the year 13 (which is given in figures¹ only) has been quoted erroneously instead of the 19th year, and that the proper equivalent of the date therefore is really Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181. It might of course be objected that this day would fall in the reign of Kulōttunga III Parakēsarivarman, which commenced between the 6th and the 5th July A.D. 1178. But I have already shown that we have a similar overlapping of two reigns also in other cases. A date (No 94) of the 39th year of Kulōttunga III corresponds to the 25th January A.D. 1217, while the reign of his successor Rājaraja III commenced in June-July A.D. 1216, and of this king again we have two dates (Nos 96 and 97) of the 7th February and the 22nd April A.D. 1248, whereas the reign of his successor Rājendra-Chōla III. commenced in March-April A.D. 1246.

From the materials available I therefore infer that Rājādhirāja Rājakesarivarman, i.e. Rājādhirāja II, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.

E—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III

150 —In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr²

- 1 Tīrivanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Vīra[ā]jēndra-Śōladēvaṛ[ku] yāṇḍu 6vadu
Maṅara nāyayru pūrvā-pakku[ā]ttu³ dvit[i]yayum Tīngat-kīlamai[y]um pe[er]a
A]ttattināl

"In the 6th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājēndra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śravishtā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 16th January A.D. 1184, which was the 22nd day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 5 h 36 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Śravishtā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 10 m, after mean sunrise.

151 —In the Amritaghatēśvara temple at Tirukkadayūr⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Puyal vāyppa
5 kō=[Ppa]rakēsariparmar=āṇa
Tīrivanachchakkaravattigal Madu[r]ayum Pāṇḍi[ya]yayum mudittalai-
kond-aruliyā śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvaṛku yāṇḍu 16 vadu Mēsha-nāyayru, pūrvā-
pakshattu [a]ttamiyū[m]
6 Viyāla-kkīlamayum peṇṇa Pūṣatti=nāl

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the

¹ Mr Venkayya has informed me, about three years ago, that the figures undoubtedly are '13'. I would suggest that 'the thirteenth' solar day, which is mentioned closely to the regnal year, may have misled the writer to put down '13' also for the latter.

² No 158 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

³ No 48 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

⁴ Read -pakshattu.

⁵ Read Tribhu.

crowned head of the Pāndya,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”¹

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 10 h 50 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h 25 m, after mean sunrise

152.—In the Śivayōganāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvīśālūr.²

1 Svasta śrī ||— [Pu]al vāppa kō=P[pa]ra-
16
17 k[éśa]m[pa]rmar=[ā]na T[ri]ribuva[na]chcha[kka]ravattigal Ma[du]rai[ya]m [P]ān[di]-
18 yan mudī-ttalaipun-gond-arul[na] śi-Kulo[ttu]ng-Śō[la]-
19 dēvarkku yāṇḍu padine[t]tāva[du] Kum[bha]-nāya[r]u pūr[va]-paksha[tta]
20 tr[tri]tiyayum Śaṇi-kkālamayum p[er]ra [Pū]ratu n[ā].

“In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāndya,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong because on the third *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Kumbha the *nakshatra* could not possibly be Pūrva-Phalgunī, and the probability would seem to be that either has the first fortnight been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Pūrva-Phalgunī (*Pūratu*) instead of Pūrva-Bhādrapadā (*Pūra[ttu]*)³ In my opinion, the date corresponds to Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1196, which was the 10th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h 40 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Bhādrapadā, by the equal space system for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

153.—In the Vatāranysēvara temple at Tiruvālangādu.⁴

1 [Sva]sta [śrī] [i*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal Madurayum [i]lamum
P[ān]di[ya]n mudittalai[ya]n-go-
2 [p]d-arul[na] śrī-Kulōttunga-Śō[la]d[ō]va[r]kku yāṇḍu 2]3 vadu . . .
4 Kannu-nāya[r]u=ppadinā[rān]-di[ya]ndi[y]=ā[ṇa]
Śevvāy-kka(kki)[la]mai[ya]m pū[ru]va-[pa]ksha[t]-
5 tu [tr]itiyayum p[er]ra Śittu[n]-nā[1]

“In the [2]3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, [i]lam and the crowned head of the Pāndya,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight and to a Tuesday which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of Kanyā”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200. The preceding Kanyā-samkrānti took place 20 h 58 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th August; the first day of the month of Kanyā therefore was Monday, the 28th August, and the 16th day of

¹ Another inscription of the [1]8th year of the same king with apparently the same astronomical details is found in the same temple (No. 42 of 1906). But the portion, where the fortnight, the *nakshatra* and the *tithi* may be expected, is damaged. What is actually found is [pā]
Vīśālā-kkālamayum p[er]ra Pū[ratu] nā[1]

² No. 14 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907

³ Compare the date No. 50, above, Vol. VI p. 288

⁴ No. 456 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

the same month was Tuesday, the 12th September A.D 1200. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of *Āśvina*) commenced 7 h 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was *Chitrā*, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise —There seems no reason why the second *tithi* (*dutīyāyum*) should not have been quoted in the original date instead of the third (*trītiyāyum*).

F—RAJARAJA III.

154 —In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly ¹

- 1 Svas[ti] śr[ī] [||*] [Tr]bhuvanachchakravattigal śrī-²Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu
24[āvadn³] Mid[u]ṇa-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum
Śaṇi-kkīlāmay[u]m perṇa [Ś]ōḍi-nāl.

"In the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The reign of Rājarāja III. has been found to commence⁴ between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D 1216 This date of the 24th year corresponds to Saturday, the 2nd June A.D 1240, which was the 9th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishtha) ended 3 h 37 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 5 h 55 m., after mean sunrise

155 —In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly ⁵

- 1 Svas[ti] ś[ri]h [||*] Tribhu[va]ṇachchakravarttigal śrī-⁶Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu
2[9⁷āvadn⁸] Tulā-nāyarru=ppūrvva-[pa]kshattu prathamāyum [Ś]evvāy-
kīlāmayum per-
2 ṇa Śōḍi-nāl

"In the 2[9]th⁷ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā."

The date, for the 29th year, regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244, which was the 7th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the first *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārtika) ended 12 h 58 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 15 h 46 m., and according to Garga for 3 h 17 m., after mean sunrise —For the 26th year of the reign of Rājarāja III the date would be incorrect

156 —In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly ⁹

- 1 Svast[ī] śrī [||*] Tribhu[va]ṇachcha[kra]vattigal śrī-¹⁰Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu
2[9¹⁰āvadn¹⁰] Tulā-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu prathamāyum Śevvāy-
kka(kkī)[la]mayum perṇa Ś[ōḍ]i-nāl.

"In the 2[9]th¹⁰ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā "

¹ No 503 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year

⁴ See above, Vol VIII. p 260

⁵ No 501 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

⁶ This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side

⁷ The second figure of the date might also be 6.

⁸ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year

⁹ No 502 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

¹⁰ See the notes on the preceding date

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244

157 — In the Jambukêśvara temple near Trichinopoly ¹

1 Svast[1] śr[i] [||*] Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal śr[i]-²Râjarâjadêvarku
[y]ându 2[9 âvadu]³ Kumbha-nâyarru=ppû[r]vva-pakshattu navamiyum
Tingat-k[1]a[m]aiyum peṭṭa Urôśan[1]-nâl.

"In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Rôhinî, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th February A D 1245, which was the 14th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phâlguna) commenced 1 h. 12 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rôhinî, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h 53 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise.

158.— In the Jambukêśvara temple near Trichinopoly ⁴

1 Svast[1] śr[i] [||*] Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal śr[i]-²Râjarâjadê[va]rku
[y]ându 2[9âvadu]³ Kumbha-nâyarru=ppûvva-pakshattu navam[1]yum Tingat-
k[i]l[1]a[m]aiyum peṭṭa Urôśan[i]-nâl

"In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Rôhinî, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Monday, the 6th February A.D 1245

G — PERUNJINGADEVA

159.— In the Jambunâtha temple at Jambai ⁵

1 Svasta śr[i] [||*] Śa[galabu]vaṇachchakkaravattagal śrî-kô=Pperu[ñ]jungadêva[1]ku
yându 16vadu Danu-nâyarru pû[r]vva-pakshattu trayôdâś[1]yum Tingat-
k[1]l[1]amaiyu[m*] peṭṭa Urôśan[1]-⁶nâl.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Perunjungadêva,—on the day of Rôhinî, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first [fortnight] of the month of Dhanus "

Above, Vol VII p 165, I have found that the reign of Perunjungadêva commenced between (approximately) the 11th February and the 30th July A D 1243 This date, of his 16th year, corresponds to Monday, the 9th December A D 1258, which was the 14th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Pausa) commenced 7 h 48 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rôhinî, by the Brahma-siddhânta the whole day, according to Garga from 1 h 19 m, and by the equal space system from 13 h. 8 m, after mean sunrise —Instead of the 13th, I should have expected the 12th *tithi* to have been quoted, especially as, joined with Rôhinî, this *tithi* is a *mahâ-dvâdâśî* (*pâpa-nâsinî*)

¹ No 500 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *râja* placed side by side

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year

⁴ No 62 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

⁵ No 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

⁶ The syllables *śan[1]* are repeated by mistake in the original

160 — In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr ¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śagalabuvanachchakkaravattigal
śrī-kō-²Pparuñ-
- 2 iṅgaḍēvarkku yāṇḍu muppadāvaḍu Tulā-nāyarṇu apara-pakshattu
- 3 tri(tri)tiyayum Tiṅga[!]-kijamayum peṇṇa Kāttigai na!

“In the thirtieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Peruṅgingaḍēva,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā ”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th October A D 1272, which was the 13th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Āsvina) commenced 6 h 40 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Kṛittikā, by the equal space system for 13 h 47 m, by the Brahma-siddhanta for 0 h 39 m, and according to Garga for 1 h 58 m, after mean sunrise

A LIST OF THE DATES OF CHOLA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A —Parāntaka I Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 15th January and the 25th July A D 907.)

- No. 101 (Vol VIII p 251) —Year 36, Kaliyuga 4044 (current) Saturday, the 14th January A.D 943
No 55 (Vol VII. p 1) —Year 40 Saturday, the 25th July A D 946

B —Rājarāja I Rājakēsarivarman

(Between the 25th June and the 25th July A D. 985)

- No. 137 (Vol IX p 207) —Year 5 Sunday, the 1st December A D 989.
No 1 (Vol IV p 66) —Year 7 the 26th September A D 991
No 61 (Vol VII p 169) —Year 11 Sunday, the 14th June A D 996
No 25 (Vol V p 48) —Year 15 Tuesday, the 29th August A D 999
No 27 (Vol V p 197) —Year 15 Wednesday, the 15th May A D 1000 ³
No 138 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 16 Monday, the 23rd September A D 1000.
No 139 (Vol IX p. 208) —Year 16 Sunday, the 13th October A D 1000
No. 2 (Vol IV p 67) —Śaka 929 (current) The date is incorrect
No 140 (Vol IX. p 208) —Year 24, Saturday, the 6th November A D 1008 ⁴
No 3 (Vol IV p 68) —Year 28, Śaka 934 The date would correspond to the 23rd December A.D 1012, but contains no details for exact verification.

C —Rājēndra-Chōla I Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 27th March and the 7th July A D. 1012)

- No 102 (Vol VIII p 261) —Year 5 Tuesday, the 26th March A D 1017
No 32 (Vol VI p 20) —Year 9, Śaka 943 (current) Thursday, the 7th July A D 1020
No 4 (Vol IV p 68) —Śaka 943 (current) · Wednesday, the 1st March A D 1021.
No 5 (Vol IV p 69) —Year 31 (for 21), Śaka 954 Monday, the 23rd October A D 1032

¹ No 159 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² Read =Pperuñyaga

³ In the original the week-day is wrongly given as Thursday

⁴ The week-day is wrongly given as Wednesday.

- No 33 (Vol VI. p 21).—Year 22, Śaka 955 Sunday, the 25th November A.D 1033
 No 34 (Vol. VI. p 22).—Year 26, Śaka 959 The date is incorrect
 No 62 (Vol. VII. p. 169) —Year 31 Friday, the 23rd July A.D. 1042¹

D —Rājādhirāja I. Rājakēsarivarman.

(Between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018.)

- No 15 (Vol. IV p. 218) —Year [3]2 (for 22) Thursday, the 22nd November A.D 1039.
 No. 12 (Vol IV. p 216).—Year 26 Wednesday, the 14th March A.D 1044.
 No 13 (Vol. IV p. 217) —Year 27 Wednesday, the 13th February A.D. 1045
 No 14 (Vol. IV p 217) —Year 29 · Wednesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1046²
 No. 11 (Vol IV p 216).—Year 30 : Śaka 970 (current). The date does not admit of exact verification.
 No 35 (Vol VI. p 22) —Year 35 : Śaka 975 —probably Sunday, the 23rd May A.D 1053³

E.—Rājēndradēva Parakēsarivarman⁴

(The 28th May A.D. 1052)

- No 38 (Vol. VI p 24).—The 82nd day of year 4 . Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055
 No. 36 (Vol VI p 23).—Year 6, Śaka 979 · Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.
 No 37 (Vol VI. p 23).—Year 12 (for 11 ?), Śaka 984. The date does not admit of exact verification.

F —Virarājēndra Rājakēsarivarman.⁵

(Between the 11th September A.D 1062 and the 10th September A.D. 1063)

- Vol. VII. p 9. —Year 5 Monday, the 10th September A.D 1067

G —Kulōttunga-Chōla I Rājakēsarivarman (Rājēndra-Chōla II.)

(Between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.)

- No 56 (Vol VII p 1) —Year 4 Thursday, the 7th November A.D 1073
 No. 39 (Vol VI. p. 278) —Year 7, Śaka 998 · Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077⁶
 No 63 (Vol VII p 170) —Year 16 Thursday, the 12th March A.D 1086
 No. 6 (Vol IV. p 70) —Year 37, Śaka 1030 (for 1028 ?) The date does not admit of exact verification
 No 9 (Vol IV p 72) —Śaka 1035 · Sunday, the 22nd February A.D. 1114.
 No 7 (Vol IV. p 70).—Year 44 Friday, the 13th March A.D 1114.
 No 8 (Vol IV p 71) —Year 45 Thursday, the 8th October A.D 1114
 No 40 (Vol VI p. 279).—Year 45, Śaka 1036 · Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114
 No 26 (Vol V p 48).—Year 48 Monday, the 7th January A.D 1118.
 Nos. 20 and 28 (Vol IV p 262, and Vol V p. 198) —Year 48 . Friday, the 25th January A.D. 1118.⁷

¹ The *nakṣatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong

² The 2nd *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

³ The 13th *tithi* has probably been wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

⁴ In No 37 surnamed Rājakēsarivarman

⁵ No 273 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 contains a date of the 7th year of this king and of Śaka 991 expired (= A.D 1069-70)

⁶ The month Māgha is wrongly quoted instead of Phālguna

⁷ In No 28 the 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd which is correctly given in No 20.

H — Vikrama-Chôla Parakêśarivarman.

(The 29th June A D 1118)

- No. 21 (Vol IV. p 263, and Vol. VII p 3) —Year 4 Monday, the 1st May A D 1122.
 Nos 103 and 104 (Vol. VIII p 262).—Year 4 Wednesday, the 10th May A.D 1122
 No 22 (Vol IV. p 264, and Vol. VII p 3).—Year 5 Monday, the 31st July A.D. 1122.
 No 57 (Vol VII p 3) —Year 5 . Thursday, the 31st May A D 1123
 No 10 (Vol IV p 73, and Vol. VII. p. 4).—The 340th day of year 5 Sunday, the 3rd June A.D. 1123¹
 No 141 (Vol. IX p 209).—Year 6 Wednesday, the 7th November A D 1123
 No 84 (Vol VIII. p. 1) —Year 7 Thursday, the 7th August A D. 1124;
 No 105 (Vol VIII p. 263).—Year 8 Tuesday, the 18th August A D 1125
 No 42 (Vol VI p 280) —Year 9, Śaka 1049 the 27th May A D 1127²
 No 59 (Vol. VII p 5) —Year 10 Sunday, the 15th April, or Saturday, the 14th April A D. 1128.³
 No 64 (Vol. VII p. 170) —Year 11 . Wednesday, the 19th December A D. 1128
 No 58 (Vol VII p 4) —Year 11 . Saturday, the 5th January A D 1129
 No. 65 (Vol VII p 171) —Year 15 The date does not admit of verification
 No 41 (Vol VI. p. 279, and Vol VII p 3) —Year 16 Monday, the 16th April A D 1134
 No 43 (Vol VI. p 281, and Vol VII. p 5) —Year 17, Śaka 1054 (for 1057) Thursday, the 18th April A.D 1135

I — Kulôttunga-Chôla II⁴

Vol VII. p. 9 —Śaka 1056 (for 1065) the 24th March A.D 1143.

J.—Râjarâja II Parakêśarivarman.

(Between the 6th April and the 11th July A D 1146)

- No 85 (Vol VIII p 2).—Year 4 . Wednesday, the 23rd November A D 1149.
 No 86 (Vol VIII. p 2) —Year 6 Thursday, the 24th January A D 1152
 No 89 (Vol. VIII. p 3) —Year 6 Thursday, the 14th February A D 1152⁵
 No 87 (Vol. VIII p 2).—Year 12 . Wednesday, the 26th March A D 1158
 No 88 (Vol VIII. p 3) —Year 15 : Thursday, the 12th January A D 1161
 No. 144 (Vol IX p 210) —Year 15 : Monday, the 6th March A.D 1161.⁶
 No 142 (Vol IX p 209).—Year 15 . Wednesday, the 5th April/A D. 1161
 No 106 (Vol VIII. p 263) —Year opposite to 16 Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162.
 No 143 (Vol IX p. 209) —Year 17 . Sunday, the 2nd December A.D 1162

K —Râjâdhirâja II. Râjakêśarivarman.

(Between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163)

- No 145 (Vol IX p 210) —Year 2 Monday, the 30th March A D 1164
 No. 146 (Vol IX. p 211).—Year 8 . Monday, the 10th August A D. 1170
 No 147 (Vol. IX p 211) —Year 10 . Tuesday, the 27th February A D 1173
 No 148 (Vol IX p 212).—Year 11 . Wednesday, the 15th August A D. 1173
 No. 149 (Vol IX p 212) —Year 13 (for 19 ?) Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181 (?).

¹ The 7th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th² The year *Plava* is wrongly quoted instead of *Plavanga*³ In the original date either the *nakshatra* or the week-day is quoted incorrectly.⁴ Perhaps identical with Kulôttunga-Chôla II Râjakêśarivarman, of whom I possess unpublished dates of the regnal years 4, 10, 14 and 15⁵ The month of *Mina* is wrongly quoted instead of *Kumbha*⁶ The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 7th

I.—Kulōttunga-Chōla III. Parakēsarivarman (Virarājendra-Chōla,¹ Tribhuvanavira²).

(Between the 6th and the 8th July A.D. 1178.)

- No. 66 (Vol VII p 171) —Year 3 Monday, the 11th August A.D. 1180³
 No 67 (Vol VII p. 171).—Year 3 the date is incorrect.
 No 107 (Vol VIII p 264).—Year 4 Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182.
 No. 150 (Vol IX p. 213) —Year 6 Monday, the 16th January A.D. 1184.
 Nos 108 and 109 (Vol VIII p 264) —Year 6 Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1194.⁴
 No. 68 (Vol VII. p. 172) —Year 7 : Wednesday, the 22nd August A.D. 1184.
 No 23 (Vol IV p 264) —Year 8 Monday, the 8th July A.D. 1185.
 No 90 (Vol VIII. p. 4) —Year 10 : Tuesday, the 5th January A.D. 1188⁵
 No 19 (Vol IV p. 220).—Year 12 Monday, the 4th December A.D. 1189.
 No. 60 (Vol VII p 6) —Year 14 Thursday, the 2nd January A.D. 1192⁶
 No 110 (Vol VIII. p. 265) —Year 16 Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194.
 No 151 (Vol IX p 213).—Year 16 . Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194.
 No. 24 (Vol IV. p 265) —Year 16 Saturday, the 4th June A.D. 1194⁷
 No. 69 (Vol VII p 172) —Year 17 Monday, the 13th February A.D. 1195.
 No 70 (Vol VII. p. 172).—Year 17 Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1195.
 No 152 (Vol. IX p 214).—Year 18 Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1196⁸
 No 71 (Vol VII. p 173) —Year 19 Monday, the 2nd September A.D. 1196⁹
 No 17 (Vol IV. p. 219) —Year 19 . Tuesday, the 12th November A.D. 1196.
 No 72 (Vol. VII p 173).—Year 19 : Wednesday, the 30th April A.D. 1197.
 No 16 (Vol IV p 219) —Year 19 (for 20), Śaka 1119 : Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197¹⁰
 No 111 (Vol VIII p 265) —Year 20 . Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198.¹¹
 No 31 (Vol. V p. 199).—Year 20 The date is quite incorrect.
 No. 73 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 21 . Wednesday, the 7th April A.D. 1199
 No 74 (Vol VII p 174).—Year 21 Saturday, the 10th April 1199¹²
 No 153 (Vol IX p 214) —Year 23 . Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200
 No 112 (Vol VIII p 265).—Year 23 : Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200
 No 113 (Vol VIII. p 266) —Year 25 Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202¹³
 No 44 (Vol VI. p 231).—Year 27 Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205
 No 29 (Vol V p 198) —Year 29 . Wednesday, the 7th March A.D. 1207.
 No. 114 (Vol VIII p 266) —Year 32 Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209¹⁴
 No 18 (Vol. IV p 220).—Year 34 Monday, the 19th September A.D. 1211.
 No. 91 (Vol VIII p 4) —Year 35 Sunday, the 2nd June A.D. 1213
 No 92 (Vol VIII p 4) —Year 36 Monday, the 14th April A.D. 1214

¹ This name occurs in the dates of the 6th and 7th years

² This name occurs in the dates from the 32nd to the 39th year.

³ I now take this to be the proper equivalent of the date.

⁴ The 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 11th

⁵ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first

⁶ The first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second

⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th

⁸ The *nakṣatra* Pūrva-Phalguni is wrongly quoted instead of Pūrva-Bhādrapadā

⁹ The *nakṣatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong

¹⁰ The 15th solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 25th

¹¹ The *nakṣatra* Uttarāṣāḍhā is wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Bhādrapadā

¹² The month of Rishabha is wrongly quoted instead of Mēsha.

¹³ The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 4th

¹⁴ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

- No 93 (Vol VIII. p 5) —Year 37 . Monday, the 17th November A D 1214
 No 30 (Vol V p 199) —Year 37 . Sunday, the 7th June A D 1215
 No 94 (Vol VIII p 5).—Year 39 . Wednesday, the 25th January A D 1217.

M.—Rājarāja III. Rājakēśarīvarman.¹

(Between the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216)

- No 115 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year 2 Monday, the 29th January A.D 1218.
 No 75 (Vol VII p 174).—Year 4 Monday, the 22nd June A D 1220
 No 76 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 5 Wednesday, the 19th August A D 1220²
 No 77 (Vol VII p 175).—Year opposite to 6 Thursday, the 13th October A D 1222
 No 95 (Vol VIII p 6) —Year opposite to 8 . Monday, the 7th October A D. 1224³
 No 116 (Vol VIII. p 267) —Year opposite to 8 Sunday, the 23rd February A.D 1225⁴
 No 117 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year 10 Friday, the 17th April A D 1226
 No 78 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 10 Tuesday, the 21st April A.D 1226
 No. 118 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 12 Monday, the 2nd August A D 1227.
 No 119 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 16 Thursday, the 10th July A.D 1231
 No 120 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 16 Saturday, the 22nd May A D 1232
 No 45 (Vol VI p. 281) —Year opposite to 16 Saturday, the 25th September A D 1232
 No 46 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 17 Tuesday, the 18th January A D 1233.
 No 47 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 18 Tuesday, the 23rd August A D 1233
 No 121 (Vol VIII. p 269) —Year 18 Sunday, the 13th November A D 1233
 No. 48 (Vol VI p. 282) —Year 18 Wednesday, the 7th December A D 1233
 No 122 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 18 Sunday, the 25th December A D 1233
 No 49 (Vol VI p 283) —Year 18 Monday, the 2nd January A D 1234.
 No 123 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 19 (for 18) Sunday, the 1st June A D 1234.
 No 50 (Vol VI p 283) —Year 19 probably Sunday, the 13th August A D 1234.⁵
 No 124 (Vol VIII p 270).—Year 19 Sunday, the 5th November A D. 1234
 No 125 (Vol VIII p 270).—Year 19 Thursday, the 25th January A.D 1235
 No 128 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 27 (? for 21) Monday, the 12th January A.D 1237⁶
 No 51 (Vol VI. p 284) —Year 22 Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238⁷
 No. 52 (Vol VI p 284) —Year opposite to 22 Monday, the 28th February A D 1239
 No 53 (Vol VI. p 284) —Year opposite to 22 . Wednesday, the 2nd March A D 1239
 No 54 (Vol. VI p 285).—Year opposite to 22 Friday, the 4th March A.D 1239
 No 154 (Vol IX p 215) —Year 24 Saturday, the 2nd June A D 1240
 No. 126 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year opposite to 24 Saturday, the 12th January A D. 1241
 No 127 (Vol VIII p 271).—Year 27 Wednesday, the 30th July A.D 1242
 Nos 155 and 156 (Vol IX p 215).—Year 29 . Tuesday, the 4th October A D 1244
 Nos 157 and 158 (Vol IX p 216).—Year 29 Monday, the 6th February A.D 1245
 No 129 (Vol VIII p 271).—Year 29 . Monday, the 26th June A D 1245
 No 130 (Vol VIII p 272) —Year 30 . Sunday, the 17th December A.D 1245.⁸

¹ This surname occurs only in the date No 45

² The 5th *tithi* may have been quoted erroneously instead of the 4th

³ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th

⁴ [The last day of] the month of Kumbha has been quoted erroneously instead of [the first day of] the immediately following month of Mīna

⁵ In the original date either the *nakṣatra* Uttaraṭṭādi (Uttara-Bhadrapadā) has been wrongly quoted instead of Uttirāṃ (Uttara-Phalguni), or the first fortnight instead of the second

⁶ If the published reading of the original date is correct, the second fortnight has been wrongly quoted instead of the first

⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th

⁸ The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 12th.

No. 96 (Vol VIII. p 6).—Year 32 : Friday, the 7th February A.D. 1248.

No 97 (Vol VIII. p. 6).—Year 32 . Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248.

N.—Rājendra-Chôla III.

(Between the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1248.)

No 79 (Vol. VII p. 175) —Year 3 Saturday, the 20th March A D. 1249.

No. 98 (Vol. VIII. p. 6) —Year 4 Sunday, the 12th September A.D. 1249

No 131 (Vol VIII p 272) —Year 4 Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250.

No 80 (Vol VII p 176) —Year 7 Wednesday, the 25th December A D 1252.

No 83 (Vol VII. p. 177) —Year opposite to 7 The date is intrinsically wrong.

No 132 (Vol VIII p 272).—Year 9 Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255.

No 133 (Vol VIII p. 273).—Year opposite to 11 . Monday, the 9th July A.D 1257.

No 134 (Vol VIII p 273) —Year 16 (for 17) Monday, the 1st May A.D 1262

No 135 (Vol VIII p 273) —Year 18 . Wednesday, the 2nd January A D 1264.¹

No 136 (Vol VIII p 274).—Year 20 Wednesday, the 20th January A.D 1266.

No 81 (Vol. VII p 176) —Year 21 Wednesday, the 30th June A.D 1266.

No 99 (Vol VIII p 7) —Year 22 Wednesday, the 20th April A.D. 1267.

No 82 (Vol. VII p 177) —Year 22 Sunday, the 8th May A.D. 1267.

* * * * *

O.—Peruñingadêva.

(Between the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243.)

Vol VII p 164, B.—Year 7 Friday, the 30th July A.D. 1249.

No 159 (Vol IX. p 216).—Year 16 Monday, the 9th December A D. 1258.

Vol. VII. p 164, A.—Year 18, Śaka 1182 Sunday, the 31st October A D 1260.

No 160 (Vol. IX p 217) —Year 30 Monday, the 10th October A D 1272.

Vol. VII p. 165, D —Year 31 Saturday, the 10th February A D. 1274

* * * * *

P.—Tribhuvanavîra-Chôladêva.

(Between the 24th August A.D. 1331 and the 23rd August A.D. 1332.)

No. 100 (Vol. VIII p 7).—Year 11 Friday, the 23rd August A.D. 1342.

No. 30.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, C.I.E; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. page 283.)

From the numerous dates of Pāndya kings sent to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, I here give five (Nos. 63-67), the European equivalents of which may be given with certainty. The remaining dates must wait till more dates of the kings to whom they belong have been discovered. Of those here published, Nos 64 and 66 are valuable inasmuch as, taken together with previously published dates, they show that Māravarman Kulasēkhara I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 2nd and the 27th June A D 1268, and Māravarman Kulasēkhara II. between (approximately) the 6th and the 29th March A.D 1314.

¹ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.

In a postscript I give a date of a king Rājakēśarīvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, according to Mr Venkayya a ruler of Kongu, which quotes both the Śaka year 1202 and the regnal year 15, both given in words. This date is of considerable interest, because my calculations prove its meaning to be this that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which (reign) commenced in the Śaka year 1202 (and not, that the day of the date itself fell in the Śaka year 1202). The date thus suggests another point of doubt and uncertainty regarding the interpretation of dates that do not contain sufficient *data* for exact verification, even when at first sight such doubt seems to be out of the question.

At the end of this article also I give a list of all published dates of Pāṇḍya kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A — MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

63.—In the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tirumaiyam.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Māravanmar-āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravattigal śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 7vadu [Risha]bha-[nāy]ṛṇa-ppāḍinm[ū]ṇrān=diyaḍiyum pūrvva-
² mikelhattu daṣamiyum Nāyṛṇu-kkila.³

2 ma[ṇ]m per[ṇa*] U[tti]rattu nāl

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the thirteenth solar day of the month of Rishabha "

I have previously found ⁴ that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A D. 1238 and the 18th January A D 1239. This date of his 7th year regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245. The preceding Vṛṣhabhasamkrānti took place 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th April A D 1245, which was the first day of the month of Vṛṣhabha; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishtha) commenced 0 h. 43 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

For the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I the date would be quite incorrect.

B — MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I

64.—In the Arjunēśvara temple at Kiladī.⁵

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārava[rma]ṇa-āṇa T[ri]bhuvanachcha[ka]vattigal⁷
 [em]mandalamun-gond-araliya ś[ri]-Kulāsēkharadēvaṅku [yā]ṇḍu 23vadu
 Mith[un]a-nāyṛṇu 6 ti⁸ pūrvva-pakshattu [tri]t[ithi]yā[yum] Vell[il]lāmaiyum
 perṇa Pūśattu nāl

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulāsēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country, — on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 6th solar day of the month of Mithuna "

¹ No 387 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

² Read *-pakshattu*

³ The whole of this line is engraved over an erasure

⁴ *I.e.* the *tithi* of the *Daśaharā*

⁵ No 447 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

⁷ Read *°chakra°*

⁴ See above, Vol VI p. 305

⁵ The syllable *ti* here stands for *tivadi*

I have previously found¹ that the reign of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 19th March and the 27th June A.D. 1268. This date of his 23rd year regularly corresponds to Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291. The preceding Mithuna-samkrānti took place 7 h 16 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th May A.D. 1291, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 6th day of the same month therefore was Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Āshādha) ended 3 h 3 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise.

The date reduces the period, during which Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 2nd to the 27th June A.D. 1268.

65.—In the Arjunēśvara temple at Kiladi.²

1 Svasta śrī [||*] śrī-kō
Mārapanmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachohakavattiga[³ e]mmandalamun=gon[d-a]ruliya
śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṛku yāṇdu 30vaḍu edirām=āṇdu Ka[r]kkataka-nāyayru 8 t⁴m
apara-pakshattu ē[k]āda[śi]yum peṛra Rōhin[¹]-nāl.

“In the year opposite the 30th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māṛavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the 8th solar day of the month of Karkataka.”

For the year opposite the 30th, *i.e.* for the 31st year, of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara I. this date regularly corresponds to [Saturday], the 5th July A.D. 1298. The preceding Karkataka-samkrānti took place 17 h 19 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June A.D. 1298. The first day of the month of Karkataka therefore was Saturday, the 28th June, and the 8th day of the same month was Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1298. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādha) ended 18 h 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rōhinī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m., after mean sunrise.

C—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II

66.—In the Bhūmīśvara temple at Gudimallūr⁵

1 Suvasi⁶ [śrī] [||*] Kō Mārapanmar T[ra]buvanachchakkarava[t]ti śrī-Kula-
[ś]ēgaradēvaṛku yāṇdu 12[āvaḍu]⁷ paṇṇ[i]ran[dāva]ḍu [M]ēsha-nāyayru
pupu[r]va-⁸pakshattu chatutteśiyum Velli-kkīlāmayum peṛra Avittat[tu n]āl.

“In the 12th—twelfth—year (of the reign) of king Māṛavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Dhanishthā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

This date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakshatra* cannot possibly be Dhanishthā on the 14th *tithi* of a first fortnight in the month of Mēsha. Irrespectively of the *nakshatra*

¹ See above, Vol. VIII p. 273.

² No. 449 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ Read “chakra”.

⁴ The syllable *t*: here stands for *tiyadig*.

⁵ No. 419 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ Read *svasti*.

⁷ The word *vaḍu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to 2.

Read *pārva*.

the date would be wrong for the 12th year of the reign of Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I. But for the 12th year of the reign of Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II (which has been found¹ to commence between approximately the 6th March and the 23rd July A D 1314) the date would regularly correspond to Friday, the 29th March A D 1325, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 7 h 9 m, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise—I have no doubt that this is the true equivalent of the date, and that the concluding words of the original date ought to be *Attattu nāl*, 'the day of Hasta,' instead of *Attattu nāl*.

The date would prove that Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II, could not have commenced to reign later than (approximately) the 29th March A D 1314.

D.—JATĀVARMAN PARĀKRAMA-PANDYA.

67 —In the Satyagiri-nātha-Perumāl temple at Tirumaiyam²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śrī-kō=[Chchadaṇi]panṇai=āna Tī[1]buvanaśa[kīa]vatt[1]gal śī[?]-
Parākk[1]ama-Pa[ndiyadē]varkku [a]ndu 5vad[īn]
2 edir 7vadu . . . -n[ā]yaru apara-pakshattu dvādisiyum Nayanru-kk[1]-
lamaiyum perṇa Uttarādattu nāl

"In the 7th (year) opposite the 5th year (of the reign) of the glorious king [Jatā]-varman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pandya-dēva,—on the day of Uttarāshadhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of . . . "

I have previously found³ that Jatāvarman Parākrama-Pāndya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 10th January A D 1357 and the 9th January A D 1358. This date of the 7th opposite the 5th year, *i.e.* of the 12th year of his reign, undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 4th February A D 1363, which was the 11th day of the month of [Kumbha], and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 21 h 7 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttarāshadhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h 34 m after mean sunrise.

The date shows that Jatāvarman Parākrama-Pāndya could not have commenced to reign before (approximately) the 5th February A D 1357.

POSTSCRIPT.

RAJAKESARIVARMAN VIRĀ-PANDYA⁴

In the Kariyamānikka-Perumāl temple at Vijayamangalam⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Nanmangalañ=prakka [||*] [Śaga]i-yāndu āyatt=iru-nūṭ=irandil
[kō]v=[1]ā[śa]k[ī]śaripa[ṇ]mai=āna [Tr]bhuvanachcha[kra]vat-
2 tgal śrī-Vīra-Pāndiyadēvarku yāndu pa[ḍi]ṇaiṇṇāvadu⁶ 7u[1]ā-nīyaru apara-
pakshattu=7ṭtingat-kūlamay[u]m daṣamiyum pe[ṭṭa] Ut[t]attu n[ā]l

¹ See above, Vol VI p 315

² No 395 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ See above, Vol VII p 17

⁴ This king is neither a Pāndya nor a Chōla, but a ruler of Kongu, see Bai Bahadur V Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1905-06, page 79

⁵ No 544 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

⁶ The *akshara tu* is engraved above the line

⁷ The guttural *n* is engraved above the line

"In the Śaka year one thousand two hundred and two, the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king [Rā]jakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to the tenth *tithi* and to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Tūlā "

The meaning of this date would naturally be taken to be that the day of the date fell both in the 15th year of the king's reign and in the Śaka year 1202, either current or expired, but for either of these Śaka years the date would be incorrect

For the current Śaka year 1202 the date might be taken to correspond to Monday, the 2nd October A D 1279, which was the 4th day of the month of Tula, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 2 h 37 m after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatras* on this day were Maghā and Pūrva-Phalguni

For the expired Śaka year 1202 it would correspond to Saturday, the 19th October A D 1280, which was the 22nd day of the month of Tūlā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 18 h 25 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the Brahmasiddhānta for 11 h 10 m, according to Gaiga for 15 h 46 m, and by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m, after mean sunrise.

The date would be incorrect also for the Śaka year 1200 (current or expired) and for all years down to Śaka 1214 expired. It would be correct for Śaka 1215 expired (= 1216 current). For this year it would correspond to Monday, the 26th October A.D. 1293, which was the 29th day of the month of Tūlā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 6 h 52 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was Uttara-Phalguni during the whole of the day

I have no doubt that Monday, the 26th October A D 1293, is the proper equivalent of the date, and, in accordance with this result, I take the true meaning of the original date to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which commenced some time during the (current) Śaka year 1202 (= A D 1279-80) that is quoted at the beginning of the date. For dates that have to be similarly interpreted, I may refer to Nos 261, 262 and 269 of my *Southern Inst.*

A LIST OF THE DATES OF PANDYA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Jatāvarman Kulasēkhara

(Between the 30th March and the 29th November A.D. 1190.)¹

- No 2 (Vol VI. p. 302).—Year opp to 13 Thursday, the 26th February A D 1204.
 No. 1 (Vol VI. p 301).—Year 12 opp. to 13 Saturday, the 29th November A D. 1214.
 No. 45 (Vol VIII. p 275).—Year 13 (for 13 opp. to 13 ?) Thursday, the 6th October A D 1216(?)
 No 44 (Vol VIII p 275).—Year 14 opp to 13: Wednesday, the 29th March A D. 1217.

B.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāndya I.

(Between the 29th March and the 4th September A.D 1216.)

- No 6 (Vol VI. p 304).—Year 7 Monday, the 13th March A D 1223.
 No 5 (Vol VI p 303).—Year 9 Friday, the 28th March A D. 1225.
 No 46 (Vol VIII. p. 276).—Year 15: Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D 1230.

¹ Or perhaps Between the 7th October and the 29th November A D 1190

No 3 (Vol VI p 302).—Year opp to year opp. to 17. Monday, the 4th September A.D 1234

No. 4 (Vol VI p 303).—Year opp to year opp to 17 Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1235.

C.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

(Between the 15th June A.D 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239)

No. 63 (Vol IX p 223).—Year 7 Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245

No 10 (Vol VI p 305).—Year 11 Sunday, the 25th April A D 1249

Nos 7 and 8 (Vol VI p 304).—Year opp to year opp. to 11. Wednesday, the 18th January A.D 1251

No. 9 (Vol. VI. p 305).—Year opp to year opp to 11, Wednesday, the 14th June A D 1251.¹

D.—Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

(Between the 20th and the 28th April A D. 1251)

No 11 (Vol. VI p 306).—Year 2 Thursday, the 27th March A D 1253

No 12 (Vol VI. p. 306).—Year 2 Saturday, the 19th April A D 1253

No 13 (Vol VI. p. 306).—Year 3. Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1253

No. 17 (Vol VI. p 307).—Year 7 Sunday, the 7th October A D 1257²

No 14 (Vol VI p 307).—Year 9 Tuesday, the 29th April A D 1259

No 15 (Vol VI p. 307).—Year 9 Sunday, the 15th June A D 1259.

No 16 (Vol VI p 307).—Year 10 Wednesday, the 28th April A D 1260.

No. 18 (Vol. VI p 308).—Year 11 Tuesday, the 19th July A.D 1261³

E.—Vira-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 11th November A D. 1252 and the 13th July A D 1253)

No 32 (Vol VII. p. 11).—Year 7 Sunday, the 13th July A D 1259

No 31 (Vol VII. p 10).—Year 15 Thursday, the 10th November A.D. 1267.

F.—Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I.

(Between the 2nd and the 27th June A D 1268)

No 20 (Vol. VI p 309).—Year 10 Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1278

No. 48 (Vol VIII p 277).—Year 22 Monday, the 27th June A D 1289.

No 64 (Vol IX p 223).—Year 23 Friday, the 1st June A D 1291

No 21 (Vol VI. p 309).—Year 26 Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1293⁴

No 19 (Vol. VI. p 308).—Year 27 Friday, the 10th December A D 1294.

No 49 (Vol VIII p 277).—Year 30 Wednesday, the 31st July A D 1297

No 65 (Vol. IX p 224).—Year opp to 30 Saturday, the 5th July A.D 1298

No. 50 (Vol VIII p 277).—Year 34 Saturday, the 8th July A.D 1301.⁵

No 51 (Vol. VIII. p 278).—Year 29 (for 39) Saturday, the 9th July A D 1306

No. 22 (Vol. VI. p 310).—Year 40 Saturday, the 24th February A D. 1308.

No 47 (Vol VIII. p 276).—Year 40, Śaka 1229. Monday, the 18th March A D 1308.

¹ The month of Mīna is wrongly quoted instead of Mithuna.

² In the date, which is intrinsically wrong, the month of Kanyā is quoted instead of Tulā

³ Thursday appears to have been wrongly quoted instead of Tuesday.

⁴ The 2nd तिथि is wrongly quoted, or misread, instead of the 3rd.

⁵ The 3rd तिथि is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd.

G.—Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II.

(Between the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276.)

- No 25 (Vol VI p. 311) —Year 6 Monday, the 21st July A.D. 1281.
 No 52 (Vol VIII p. 278) —Year 10 Monday, the 23rd July A.D. 1285.
 No 54 (Vol VIII p. 279) —Year 12 Wednesday, the 27th August A.D. 1287.¹
 No 26 (Vol VI p. 311) —Year 12 Friday, the 12th September A.D. 1287.²
 No 53 (Vol. VIII p. 279).—Year 11 (for 12) · Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1287.
 No 23 (Vol. VI p. 310).—Year 13 (for 14) Monday, the 1st August A.D. 1289
 No 24 (Vol VI p. 310) —Year 13 (for 14) Friday, the 5th August A.D. 1289.
 No 27 (Vol. VI p. 312) —Year opp to 14 Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290.
 No. 55 (Vol VIII p. 280) —Year 2 opp to 13 Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290.³
 No. 56 (Vol VIII. p. 280) —Year 9 for 10(?) Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1286(?).⁴

H —Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II.

(Between the 6th and the 29th March A.D. 1314.)

- No 29 (Vol VI p. 313) —Year 4 Saturday, the 23rd July A.D. 1317
 No 30 (Vol VI p. 313) —Year 5 Monday, the 5th March A.D. 1319.⁵
 No 28 (Vol VI p. 312) —Year 8 Saturday, the 14th November A.D. 1321
 No. 66 (Vol IX p. 224).—Year 12 Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1325.⁶

I.—Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 1st December A.D. 1334 and the 1st November A.D. 1335.)

- No 33 (Vol VII p. 11) —Year 6, Śaka 1262 Wednesday, the 1st November A.D. 1340
 No 34 (Vol. VII. p. 11) —Year 8 (for 18) Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1352.

J.—Jatāvarman Parākrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 5th February A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358.)

- No 67 (Vol IX. p. 225).—Year 7 opp to 5 · Sunday, the 4th February A.D. 1369.
 No. 35 (Vol VII. p. 12) —Year 10 opp to 5, Śaka 1293 Friday, the 9th January A.D. 1372.

K —Kōṇeraṇmaikondān Vikrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401)

- No 59 (Vol. VIII p. 282) —Year 4 Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405 (?)⁷
 No 58 (Vol VIII p. 281) —Year 8 Friday, the 27th July A.D. 1408
 No. 57 (Vol VIII p. 281) —Year 15, opp to 2, Śaka 1339 Wednesday, the 12th January A.D. 1418

¹ The 31st solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 30th² The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd³ The [first day of the] month of Kanyā is wrongly quoted instead of [the last day of] Simha.⁴ This date may possibly be one of the 8th year of J. Sundara Pāṇḍya I., corresponding to Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259.⁵ The date is intrinsically wrong. The month of Simha is wrongly quoted instead of Mīna, and the *nakṣatra* Pushya (*Pāṣaṭ'u nāḥ*) instead of Pūrva-Phalgunī (*Pārattu nāḥ*)⁶ The *nakṣatra* Dhanishṭhā (*Aṇṭattū nāḥ*) is wrongly quoted instead of Hasta (*Attattu nāḥ*).⁷ In the original date, which is intrinsically wrong, the first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second, and the 3rd *tithi* instead of the 2nd

L.—Jatīlavarman Parākrama-Pāndya Arikēsaridēva.

(Between the 18th June and the 19th July A D 1422)

No 37 (Vol VII, p 13) —Year opp to 31 Thursday, the 19th July A D 1453¹

No 36 (Vol VII p. 12) —Year 2 opp to 31, Śaka 1377 Monday, the 24th March A D 1455

No 38 (Vol. VII, p 13) —Year 4 opp to 31 Wednesday, the 16th March A.D 1457

No 39 (Vol VII p 13) —Year 8 opp to 31, Śaka 1381 Wednesday, the 17th June A D 1461²

M.—Māṛavarman Vira-Pāndya

(Between the 13th March and the 28th July A D 1443).

No. 60 (Vol VIII p 282) —Year 11 opp to 2 Monday, the 28th July A D. 1455

No 61 (Vol VIII p 283) —Year 14 Sunday, the 16th January A D 1457.

No 62 (Vol. VIII p. 283) —Year 14 Saturday, the 12th March A D 1457

N.—Jatīlavarman Parākrama-Pāndya Kulasēkhara.

(Between the 15th November A.D 1479 and the 14th November A.D. 1480)

No 40 (Vol VII p 14) —Year 20, Śaka 1421 Thursday, the 14th November A D 1499

O.—Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāndya III.

(Between the 2nd June A D 1531 and the 1st June A D 1532)

No 42 (Vol VII. p 15).—Year 22 opp. to 2, Śaka 1477 Saturday, the 1st June A.D 1555

P.—Jatīlavarman Śrīvallabha.

(Between the 29th November A D 1534 and the 28th November A.D. 1535)

No. 41 (Vol VII p. 15) —Year 3, Śaka 1459 Wednesday, the 28th November A.D. 1537

Q.—Jatīlavarman Śrīvallabha Ativīrarāma

(Between the 23rd August A D. 1562 and the 22nd August A D 1563)

No 43 (Vol VII. p 16) —Year 5, Śaka 1489 Friday, the 22nd August 1567

No 31 — TIRUMALAI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALE)

When, more than twenty years ago, I started epigraphical work in the Madras Presidency, I prepared with my own hands an inked estampage of the inscription which is here re-edited. After Mr. Venkayya had joined my office in Bangalore, we spent a considerable time in reading and translating this record — one of the first early Chōla documents we tried to make out in a reliable manner. The Tamil text of it as printed in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p 98, does not contain any misreadings³. But the translation on p. 99 needs revision in the light of the other Chōla inscriptions which were published later on, and a facsimile of this beautifully

¹ Monday is wrongly quoted instead of Thursday

² Śaka 1381 is wrongly quoted instead of 1383, and the 23rd solar day wrongly instead of the 21st

³ Only the date in line 12 should be '13' (instead of '12'), the same correction has to be made in the heading of the Plate facing p 232 below.

engraved and well preserved rock inscription was hitherto missing I therefore republish it now in Roman characters with a fresh translation, and with a collotype of a careful inked estampage which was prepared recently under Rai Bahadur Venkayya's personal supervision

The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jaina figure on the top of the hill of Tirumalai near Pôlûr in the North Arcot district The language is Tamil, and the alphabet is likewise Tamil, interspersed with a few Grantha words and letters (*svasti sri*, l. 1; *shar* of *vishaya*, l. 9, *Mahî*¹, l. 10, *Śrī-Rājendra-Chôladêva* and *ja* of *Jayangonda*, l. 12, *śrî*, *Jina* and *dêva*, l. 13, *vyâpârî*, l. 13 f)

The inscription is dated in the 13th year of the reign of the Chôla king Parakésarivarman alias Rājendra-Chôladêva I. (l. 12), who ascended the throne in A D 1012.¹ Its first eleven lines consist of a passage in Tamil verse which describes the conquests of the king, and the first words of which (*Tiru manni*, etc) are quoted — as pointed out by Mr. Venkayya — in Perundevanâr's commentary on the *Vīrasôllyam* ²

The list of conquests opens with Idaidurai-nâdu (l. 1 f), i.e. the country of Yedatore in the Mysore district and Vanavâsi, i.e. Banavâsi in the North Canara district The next item, the city of Kollippâkkai, must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom. For it was set on fire by Rājādhirāja I. in the course of a war against Sômesvara I and Vikramāditya VI,³ and it is mentioned as Kollipâke in an inscription of Jayasimha II ⁴ Mannai-kataka is identified by Mr. Rice with the city of Manne in the Nelamangala tâluka of the Bangalore district ⁵

Îlam (l. 2) or Îla-mandala (l. 3) is the Tamil designation of the island of Ceylon Rājendra-Chôla I. boasts of having deprived its king of his own crown, the crowns of his queens, and two other trinkets which the Pândya king had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon a crown and the 'necklace of Indra' Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the *Mahāvamsa* (chapter LIII) also refers to the crown of the Pândya, which had been left with the king of Ceylon and was taken from him by the Chôlas,⁶ and that the 'necklace of Indra' is alluded to in several Pândya inscriptions ⁷

The Kêrala (l. 3) is the king of Malabar Sândimattivu (l. 5), i.e. the island of Sântimat (?), is unknown Musangi is perhaps identical with the fort of Uchchangi in the Bellary district.⁸ Jayasimha of Ratta-pâdi (l. 6), who was put to flight at Musangi, is the Western Châlukya king Jayasimha II ⁹

Śakkaragôttam, i.e. Chakrakôtta, is shown by the inscriptions of Kulôttunga I to have belonged to the dominions of the king of Dhârâ ¹⁰ Madura-mandala (l. 7) need not be connected with Madhurâ, the capital of the Pândya king, who has been already accounted for (l. 3), but may be meant for the district of the northern Mathurâ on the Yamunâ The three next geographical names cannot be identified

At Âdinagar (?) Rājendra-Chôla I captured Indraratha of the race of the Moon (l. 8) As suggested by Prof. Kielhorn,¹¹ this prince may be identical with that Indraratha who is mentioned in the Udaypur inscription as an enemy of Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ

¹ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p. 196, above, Vol. VIII p. 262

² Compare *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 197

³ *Ibid* p. 52

⁴ Above, Vol. III p. 231. Compare also Vol. VI pp. 224, 225 and 227 (*Kollipâkkai*)

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III p. 10 of the Introduction

⁶ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 73

⁷ *Ibid* p. 63 f, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 72 and note 78

⁸ *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 94, note 4

⁹ *Ibid* Vol. I p. 96

¹⁰ *Ibid* Vol. III. p. 132

¹¹ *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 3.

Odda-vishaya (l 9) is the province of Orissa, and Kōśala-nādu is probably *Southern Kōśala*¹ Tandabutti, i.e. Daulabhukti, and its ruler Dharmapāla are unknown from other sources. The same is the case with Ranaśūra, who ruled over Tukkanalādam (l 10), i.e. Dakshina-Virāta² or Southern Berar, and with Gōvindahandra,³ the ruler of Vangāla-dēśa, i.e. the Bengal country. Mahipāla, whom the Chola king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Prof. Kihlhorn with the Pāla king Mahipala I.⁴

The list of conquests close with Uttiralādam (l 11), i.e. Uttara-Virāta or Northern Berar and the Gaṅgā, i.e. the river Ganges.

The short passage in Tamil prose with which the inscription ends (ll 12-14) records its actual purpose — a gift of money for a lamp and for offerings to the Jaina temple on the hill by the wife of a merchant of Malliyūr in Karaivali, a subdivision of Perumbanappādi. The temple was called Śrī-Kundavaṭi-Jinālaya (l 13), i.e. the Jina temple of Kundavaṭi. This name suggests that the shrine owed its foundation to Kundavaṭi, the daughter of Parāntaka II, elder sister of Rājārāja I (and consequently the paternal aunt of Rājendra-Chola I) and wife of Vallavaraiyār Vandyadēvar.⁵ The sacred hill (Tirumalai) is stated to have formed part of Vaigavūr, a *pallichchandam*, i.e. 'a village belonging to a Jaina temple,' in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision of Pangala-nādu, a district of Jayangonda-Chōla-mandala. Malliyūr is the modern Gudimallūr near Arcot.⁷ The remaining geographical names mentioned in this paragraph have been discussed in *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 89 and above, Vol VII p 192.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on the later conquests of Rājendra-Chola I which are registered in the Tanjore inscription No 20. Mr Venkayya has shown that my former identification of Kadāram with a place in the Madura district⁸ must be wrong, because the Chola king despatched an expedition to it on ships by sea, and because two of the localities mentioned in connection with this expedition, Nakkavāram and Pappālam, are respectively, the Nicobar Islands and a port in Burma.⁹ Among the remaining items we read in line 9 of the Tanjore inscription *niṛaiśīr-viṣaiyamum*, and in line 11 *kalai-ttakḥōr puṇai talai-ttakḥolamum*. The second of them, Takkōlam, may be identical with Ptolemy's *Tάκωλα ἐμρόριον* which Colonel Gerini places at Takōpa on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula.¹⁰ Instead of the first, which I had translated by 'Vijayam of great fame,' an inscription at Kandiṭyū near Tanjore reads *niṛai-śrīviśaiyamum*, 'the pro-perous Śrīviśaya'.¹¹ This may be the correct reading, for according to the larger Leiden grant (l 80) Śrīviśaya was the name of the country ruled over by the king of Katāha or Kadāram.

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr* Vol I p 97.

² In his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p 87 f, Mr Venkayya has shown that the Tamil term *Ilāda* does not correspond to the Sanskrit *Lāta* (Gujarāt), but to *Virāṭa* (Berar).

³ Page 34 of Dr. Bunnell's *South-Indian Palaeography* (2nd ed.) contains the following note — "The great inscription at Tanjore (11th century) mentions a Śērāmān, but also a king of Karuvai (or Karur) and a Gōvinda chandra (king of Kaṇṇāda)." — *Kannāda* (= Kannada or Karnāṭa?) is nothing but a misreading of the word *Takkanalādam*, which happens to precede the name *Gōvindaśandan* (l 10), and *Karuvai*, here represented as referring to Karuvūr, is probably derived from *Ādinagaravai* (l 8). I am not drawing attention to these mistakes in order to gloat over them, but to prevent their being quoted as reliable facts.

⁴ *List of Southern Inscr* p 120, note 4.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr* Vol II p 68. For three other princesses named Kundavaṭi see *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXIII p 298, note 13, and *South-Ind. Inscr* Vol III p 100.

⁶ Above, Vol VII p 116, note 1.

⁷ See Mr Venkayya's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-1906*, p 36 f, Nos 418, 416 and 419.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr* Vol II p 106.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, p 17. Compare *South-Ind. Inscr* Vol III p 194 f.

¹⁰ *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1904, p 247.

¹¹ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1894-95*, p 4.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śi [*] Tiru manṇi valarav-iru-nila-madandaiyum pōr-chchaya-ppāvaiyuñ=
 jir-ttani-chchelviyu-¹=dan perun-dēviyai=āḡi inb-uṟu ned-udiyal ūḷḷuḷ
 Idaidu-
- 2 rai-nādun=dndar-vana-vēli-ppadar Vanavāśiyuñ=julli-chchūl-madit=Kollippākkaiyu=
 naviṇṇaḡ-aiu-mulan Mannaikkadakkamum poru-gadal Īlatt=araśarda=mudiyum
 āḡa-
- 3 vāi dēviyai=āḡ-ēlin-mudiyu=munn=avar pakkal=Ttennavar vaitta sundara-
 mudiyum Induan=āramun=den-durai Īla-mandala=muluvadam eṟi-badai=
 Kkéralar
- 4 muramaiyū=chūdun-gula-daṇam=āḡiya palar pugai mudiyuñ=Jengadīr-mālaiyuñ=
 jaṅ-a lu-vēl u-ttol-bērun-gāvar=pal-balan-di(di)vuñ=jeruvir=chena-
- 5 vil¹ nubatt-o-u-g il=aiasūgalai katta Paraśurāman mēv-arūñ=Jāndimattivv-aran²
 kandi nuttiya śem-boḡ-Riru-ttagu-mudiyum bayan=goḍu paḷi miga
 Muśangiyil mu-
- 6 dug-itt-olitta Śayaśi(śi)ngan āla-pperum-bugaḷodum pid-iyal Irattabādi ēl-arai
 ilakkamu=nava-nedi-kkula-pperu-malaigalum vikkirama-vīrai Śakkaragōttamu=
- 7 mudira bada-vallai Madura-mandalamum kâ-midai-valaiya=Nâmanaikkônāmum
 vēñ-jul u-vīnai Pañjappalliyum pās-udai-ppala=naṇ-Māṣuni-dēśamum ayaṟvi-
 l-van-gi(gi)rttiy=Ādinagar-avaiyir=Chandīran=ṟol-gulatt=Iradarana⁴ vāaiy=
 amai kkalattu=kkilaiyodum pid[it]tu=ppala-daṇattodu nīrai kula-daṇa-kkurai-
- 8 yuñ pti-aiuñ=jeri-milaiy=⁵Otta-vishaiyamum būsurar śēr nal-Kkōśalai-nādun=
 Danmabālanai vem-munaiy=aiittu vand-uṟai-śōlai=Ttandayu(bu)ttiyum=
 Irana-
- 9 sūranai muran=ura-ttākki=ttikk-anai-gi(gi)rtti=Ttakkanaḷādamun=Gōvindaśandaṇ
 miv=ilind=oda=ttangāda-śāral Vangāla-dēśamun=dōdu-gadaṟ-changugottan⁶
 Mahibalanai
- 11 vēñ-jama[r*]-valīgatt=añjuvitt=aruḷi on-diṟal yāṇaiyum pendir-bandāramu=
 nittala-nedun-gadal-Utti[ra]lādamum veri-manar-ṟirtta-tteri-bunar=Kangaiyu=
 mē-p-
- 12 poru-dandīr=konda kō=Pparagēśaribapmar=āna udaiyār Śrī-Rājendra-
 Chōḷadēvaṟku yāndu lāṇadu [Ja]yangonda-Śōla-mandalattu Pangala-
 nāttu naduvil
- 13 va[g]ai Mugai-nāttu=ppallichechandam Vaigavūr=Ttūmalai Śrī-Kundavai-
 Jīnālayattu dēvaṟku=Pperumbānappādī=Kkaravai Malliyūr irukkum vyā-
 14 piṇ Nannappayan manavātti Śāmundappai vaitta tirunandavilakku onṟinukku=
 kkaśu nubadam [tru]vamudukku vaitta kāśu pattam [!]*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail! Prosperity!

(L 12) In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman alias the lord Śrī-Rājendra-Chōḷadēva, who,—

¹ Read =chinnai

² Read °ttiv-aran

³ Other inscriptions read aḷopp-arum, see South-Ind Inscr Vol II p 93, note 5

⁴ Read =Jairaradanaī That this is the original reading, becomes more than probable in the following manner — (1) The doubtful word may be expected to rhyme on Chandira, the third word before it (2) The Tanjore inscription No 20 reads =Indiradanaī (3) Indraratha is the only correct Sanskrit name I can think of, which would account for both corrupt readings

⁵ The Tanjore inscription No 20 reads kīṭṭ-arūñ=jeri minai

⁶ Read, as in the Tanjore inscription No 20, tōdu-gaḷaṟ-changur oṭtal.

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(L 1) in *(his)* life of high prosperity, while Tiru (Lakshmi), having become constant, was increasing, *(and)* while the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—

(L 11.) seized by *(his)* great, warlike army *(the following)* :—

(L 1) Idaidurai-nādu; Vanavāśi, *(round which)* a fence of continuous forests was spreading,¹ Kollippākkai, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood,² Mannai-kkadakkam, whose strength was unapproachable,³ the crown of the king of Ilam *(on)* the tempestuous ocean, the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that *(king)*; the beautiful crown⁴ and the necklace of Indra, which the king of the South *(= the Pāndya)* had previously deposited with that *(king of Ilam)*, the whole Ilam-mandala *(on)* the transparent sea, the crown praised by many and the garland of the Sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting *(king of)* Kēraḷa rigidly wore; many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound, the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tiru (Lakshmi), which Paraśurāma, having considered the fortifications of Śāndimattivu impregnable, had deposited *(there)*, when, in anger, *(he)* bound the kings twenty-one times in battle, the seven and a half lakshas of Irattabādi, *(which was)* strong by nature, *(and which he took)*, together with immeasurable fame, *(from)* Jayasimha, who, out of fear and full of vengeance, turned his back at Muṣangi and hid himself, the principal great mountains *(which contained)* the nine treasures *(of)* Kuvēra,⁵ Śakkaragōttam, whose warriors were brave, Mādura-mandala, whose forts *(bore)* banners *(which touched)* the clouds, Nāmanaikkōnam, which was surrounded by dense groves, Pañchappalli, whose warriors *(bore)* cruel bows, the good Māṣundi-dēsa, whose fruits were fresh, a large heap of family-treasures, together with many *(other)* treasures, *(which he carried away)* after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the Moon, together with *(his)* family, in a fight which took place in the hall *(at)* Ādinagar, *(a city)* which was famous for unceasing abundance, Odda-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, *(and which he subdued in)* close fights, the good Kōśalai-nādu, where Brāhmanas assembled, Tandabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded, *(and which he acquired)* after having destroyed Dharmapāla *(in)* a hot battle, Takkanalādam, whose fame reached *(all)* directions, *(and which he occupied)* after having forcibly attacked Ranaśūra; Vangāla-dēsa, where the rain-wind never stopped, *(and from which)* Gōvindahandra fled, having descended *(from his)* male elephant,⁶ elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, *(which he seized)* after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahipāla, decked *(as he was)* with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets, Utturalādam, as rich in pearls as the ocean, and the Gangā, whose waters dashed against bathing-places *(tīrtha)* covered with sand,—

(L 12) Chāmundappai, the wife of the merchant Nannappaya, who resided *(at)* Malliyūr *(in)* Karaivai, *(a subdivision)* of Perumbānappādi, deposited twenty kāsus for one perpetual lamp and ten kāsus for offerings to the god of the Śrī-Kundavai-Jinālaya *(on)* the holy mountain (Tirumalai) of Vaigavūr, a pallichchandam in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision *(vagai)* in the middle of Pangaia-nādu, *(a district)* of Jayangonda-Chōla-mandala

¹ It seems most natural to take *padar* as a verb. It may also mean 'a road' or may be the nom. plur. of the Sanskrit *bhaṭa*, 'a warr or'

² This was perhaps done by the besieging Chōla army when setting fire to the city. Among the meanings of *suffi* the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français* notes the following — 'broutilles, menu bois sec pour brûler'

³ Other inscriptions read *nannark-arum-aran*, 'whose fortifications were unapproachable'

⁴ It seems more simple to take the first member of *sundara-mudai* as an adjective, than to translate the compound by 'the crown of Saudara'

⁵ See *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 95, note 1

⁶ Compare *pagad=sl. and=64a*, *ibid* Vol III. p. 34, text line 7 f

No 32—MAMBALLI PLATE OF SRIVALLAVANGODAI, KOLLAM 149.

By T A GOPINATHA RAO, M A., MADRAS

The copper plate on which the subjoined inscription is engraved, belongs to the Māmballi bhandārattil of the Māmballi *matha* and was secured for me for publication by Mr. S Govinda Pillai, High Court Vakīl, Trevandrum. Besides this plate, there are five other odd plates belonging to the same *matha*, which bear fragments of inscriptions of the Kīlappērūr¹ dynasty of the Vēnādu kings. In one of them occurs the name Śrī-Vīra-Dēvadaran-Kēralavarman of Kīlappērūr².

The plate measures $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$ and has a hole on the left margin. It does not appear to have possessed a ring or seal. At the left end of the plate, the owner has engraved, in modern Malayālam characters, the word Māmballi. Excepting this single word and a few Grantha letters interspersed in the document, the inscription is written in the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet. The words *svasti* and *śrī* in line 1, the letter *śrī* occurring in the name Śrīvallavangōdai in lines 7, 18 and 19, *rakshī*^o and *rakshā*^o occurring in the words *rakshichchu* and *rakshūbhōgam* in l 12 are in Grantha characters. The consonant *k* retains the earlier form, without a loop at the bottom, this form differs from the later ones which are scarcely distinguishable from the symbol for *ch*. The letter *pū* (of *pūngū* in l 3), whilst it has the common form in all other instances, looks like the Grantha letter *hra*. The language of the inscription is Tamil, tinged here and there with the colloquialisms of the Malabar Coast e.g. *irundarukiy=ēdattu vaichchu*, (=at the place where they were pleased to be seated), in l 5, *paṭṭūra-gakkolla* for *paṭṭāragarkh=ulla* (=belonging to the *bhaṭṭāraka*) in lines 6 and 12, *ari* for *arisi* (=rice) in l. 9, *Muruṇṇayūr* for *Murungayūr* in l 21, *Śannaran* for *Śangaran* in l 22, *rakshichchu* for *rakshittu* in l 12. The phrase *nāpūlichcheydu* is contracted in the modern Malayālam language into *nāpālichche*.

This is the earliest known record dated in the Kollam era, and belongs to the reign of the Vēnādu king Śrīvallavangōdai³. It is dated in the 149th year of the Kollam era,

¹ [Kīlappērūr is annexed as the house-name of the Vēnād (Travancore) princes in later inscriptions (*Ind Ant* Vol XXV p 190). It is a village about 8 miles to the north-east of Āṅṅal, which is the hereditary domain of H H the Senior Rani of Travancore (Mr Nagamāya's *Travancore Manual*, Vol III p 579). The country round Āṅṅal seems to have been known as Kūpadēśa in ancient times. The late Mr Sundaram Pillai was of opinion that Vēnādu and Kūpadēśa were two distinct principalities and that the latter was at some stage of its history annexed by the rulers of the former. The Vēnādu kings are said to have assumed the family name Kīlappērūr after this annexation.—V Venkayya.]

² [This name occurs without the title *vīra* in a Vaṭṭeluttu inscription from Viranam in the Travancore State. The late Professor Sundaram Pillai has called the king Kēralavarman II and assigned A D 1193 for his date (*Ind Ant* Vol XXIV p 283).—V V.]

³ [In the name Śrīvallavangōdai *kōdai* was perhaps an epithet of the rulers of Vēnādu. The first part of the name, i.e. Śrīvallavaṇ (Śrīvallabha) may be that of the king to whom Vēnādu was feudatory. Such a combination of names is frequently met with in Tamil inscriptions. If the name Śrīvallavangōdai be a similar compound, Śrīvallavaṇ or Śrīvallabha might be the name of a Pāndya king. The Pāndya king, who probably reigned about this time, was Vīra-Pāndya, with whom the Chōla Āditya II is said to have fought in his youth. Vīra Pāndya himself claims to have taken "the head of the Chōla (king)", and a number of his inscriptions have been found at Śuchindram in South Travancore. But we have at present no reason to suppose that he bore the name Śrīvallabha, although the designation was common enough among the Pāndyas. On the other hand, the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* refers to an invasion of Ceylon in the period A D 975-981 by Vallabha, the Chōla king (Mr Wijesinha's *Translation*, Chapter LIV, p 85). It is, however, doubtful if the Chōlas were powerful enough to undertake an expedition against Ceylon at the time of which we are now speaking. And as the chronology of the Singhalese chronicle is not beyond question, we cannot suppose that the ruler of Travancore mentioned in the Māmballi plate was a Chōla feudatory. The history of the Cheras is very little known. Consequently it is uncertain to which dynasty the Śrīvallabha, whose feudatory the Vēnādu ruler might have been in A D 973, belonged.—V V.]

on a Sunday corresponding to the *Aśvati*-nakshatra in the month *Vriśchika* when the planet Jupiter stood in the constellation *Tulā*. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date —“ If the date were correctly recorded, it would correspond, for the year 149 of the Kollam era, to Sunday, the 9th November A.D. 973, which was the 15th day of the month of *Vriśchika*, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of *Margasira* ended 11 h 12 m. while] the *nakshatra* was *Rêvati* for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise, and *Aśvini* (*Aśvati*) for the rest of the day. On the same day Jupiter's mean longitude was $191^{\circ} 44'$, and his true longitude $195^{\circ} 27'$, i.e. in either case Jupiter was in the sign *Tulā* ”

“ The difficulty here is, that the day should have been described as the day of the *nakshatra* *Aśvini*, when this *nakshatra* only commenced 16 h 25 m after mean sunrise, and I have no doubt whatever that either *Aśvini* (*Aśvati*) has been quoted erroneously instead of *Rêvati*, or Sunday instead of Monday. If the week-day were Monday,¹ the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 10th November A.D. 973, the 16th day of *Vriśchika*, when the *nakshatra* was *Aśvini* (*Aśvati*) for 16 h. 25 m after mean sunrise, and when Jupiter of course still was in the sign *Tulā* ”

The inscription informs us that *Umayammai* of *Tirukkalayapuram*, daughter of *Âdichehan*, set up a *bhaffâraka* (image) in the temple at *Ayurûr*. The king *Śrivalavangôdai* made a gift of land to *Umayammai* for the purpose of keeping up the services of the *bhaffâraka* set up in the *Ayurûr* temple, and she, in her turn, made over the subject matter of the gift to the *Tiruchchengunrûr* temple, in order that it might be placed under the management of the *Poduvâls* of that temple. From the produce of the land so given, the *Poduvâls* of the temple of *Tiruchchengunrûr* had to supply to the temple daily 4 *nâlis* of rice for daily offerings and annually 200 *paraïs* (of 9 *nâlis* each) of paddy.² If the word *udai* used in l 18 was really meant to be used in the sense of ‘of or belonging to,’ the inscription would warrant us to draw the conclusion that *Umayammai* was a near relation of *Śrivalavangôdai* — either mother or wife. It would then be more probable to consider her as his wife than as his mother, as the passage *Śrivalavangôdaiy=udai Âdichehan=Umayammai* means *Âdichehan Umayammai belonging to Śrivalavangôdai*. She might perhaps be the daughter of the Chôla king *Âditya II*,³ to whose time this record belongs. If, on the other hand, *udai* be a mistake for *idai* then no sort of relationship need exist between the two.⁴

The inscription employs several peculiar terms which require some explanation each. The word *attipp'ru* (ll 8 and 19) implies ‘acquisition by the pouring of water.’ This mode of acquisition differs from others, such as purchase, etc.⁵ The meaning of the expressions *kilidu* and *idaiy=idu* is not definitely known. *Kil-idu* literally means ‘that which is placed under,’⁶ and *idaiy=idu*, ‘that which is placed in the middle.’ A piece of land placed under the management of a person was perhaps called a *kilidu* with reference to that person. If this person subject to a third party, the person subletting seems to be the *idaiy=idai*, i.e. he is the middle man between the owner of the property and the sub-tenant. It is in this sense that the passages of the inscription, in which these terms occur have been translated. The name *poduvâl* was given to a class of people who were eligible for service in temples. It has now

¹ [According to the Editor's footnote 4 on p 236, the name of the week-day is engraved over an erasure — F. K.]

² [See below, p 238, note 3 — V. V.]

³ [The record may belong either to the reign of *Âditya II* or of his successor *Madharântaka*. If *Umayammai* was the daughter of the Chôla king *Âditya II*, it is difficult to understand why he is described as a native of *Tirukkalayapuram*. In all probability she was a private individual — V. V.]

⁴ [See below, p 238, note 10 — V. V.]

⁵ [See below, p 237, note 12 — V. V.]

⁶ [Compare Hultzsch, *Ind Ant* Vol XX p. 292 — V. V.]

become the name of a sub-caste among the Ambalavāsī section of the Malayālis. Then again, the word *ūrālan* is explained variously as a trustee of an endowed temple, *magistrat de la ville*, or a patron or founder of a temple. I believe it is used here in the first two meanings. The term *adhikāri* occurs in the inscriptions of the Tamil and Malayālam countries, and is used in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a division,'¹ and it is in this sense the term is used in line 23 of the present record. The phrase *mukhālvattam* implies, according to Dr Gundert, a Bhagavatī temple. If this be the sense in which it is employed in our inscription, then the *bhaṭṭāraka* set up by Umayammai might be taken to be Bhagavatī. But its literal meaning, 'the three-fourths of a *vattam* (circuit or group of villages),' and the use of the *bhaṭṭāraka* instead of *bhaṭṭāraki* preclude the possibility of its being a Bhagavatī temple in the present instance. How *mukhālvattam* came to mean a Bhagavatī temple is not known. The meaning of the expressions *Śīrūrṇadai* and *Śīrūrṇadai-ttandam* is not clear. Hence they have been tentatively translated as "the custom obtaining in small towns" and "the fine levied in accordance with the custom obtaining in small towns."

The places mentioned in this inscription are —Kollam, Tirukkalayapuram, Ayirūr, Tiruchchengunrūr, Idaiyāmanam, Murunnaiyūr, Manalmūku, Punalūr and Kudagōṭṭūr. Of these Kollam, Ayirūr and Tiruchchengunrūr are the modern Quilon, Ayirūr and Chengunnūr² (the head-quarters of the tāluca of the same name) in North Travancore. Idaiyāmanam might be identified with Edaman, a station on the Maniyachi-Quilon branch of the South Indian Railway, and Punalūr is another station on the same line. I am not able to identify the rest.

TEXT.³

First Side

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kollan=dōnri nūru-nārpattanbadām=āndu Tul-
- 2 ttal Viyāla=ninra Murchchiga nāyirru [Nāyi=ānda]⁴
- 3 Achchuvadi 1-nnā[.]āl Kollattu=p[pū]ngāvin kōyilul=uya-
- 4 riya kottalul Tiruchchengunrūr=pparudai=ppern-makkal kūtta-
- 5 n=gūdi irundaruli=edattu⁵ vaichchu Tirukkalayapuratt=Ādichchan=
- Umayammai
- 6 Ayururū=piradittai-śeyda pattāragarayum pattāragarkkolla⁶ pūmiyum
- Ādi-
- 7 chohan=Umayammaikku [nī]rōd=atta-kkoduttān Vēṇād=udaiya Śrīvallavangōdai
- [||*] Ādich-
- 8 chan=Umayammai tān=attirpēru kondadu Tiruchchengunrūr=ppattāraga-
- 9 rkku=kkil-īdāy=chchirrūr nadaiy=odu kūda nāṇāli=chchey[da]ri tiruva-
- mudi-
- 10 nukkum [o]nbadi=nāli=pparayāl irunūru paṇai=chche[y]du nel āndu-
- 11 varai kuduppādāga=ppoḷuvāl kaiyyil nīrōd=atta=kkuduttāl [||*] Ayurūr
- mu-
- 12 kkāl-vattamum pattāraakkolla⁷ idaiy-īdum rakshichchu koduttu rakshā-
- pōgan=

¹ [The word *adhikāri* is also used in the sense of 'minister,' *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II. p 92, and above Vol VII p 196.—V V]

² [According to Mr Nagamaya the village is called 'Chengannur' (*Travancore Manual*, Vol III p. 581) and there is a large and famous pagoda dedicated to the goddess Bhagavatī, in which there is celebrated annually a festival lasting for 28 days.—V V]

³ From the original copper plate

⁵ Read *irundaruli=edattu*

⁷ Read *pattāragarkkulla*

⁴ This portion is engraved over an erasure

⁶ Read *pattāragarkkulla*

First Side

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

Second Side

16 18 20 22 24 26

16 18 20 22 24 26

STEN KONOW

SCALE 0.80

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

- 13 gollakkadavīyar poduvālmār [||*] 1-ppariśu śeyda kīl-ittil ūrālarāga 1-
 14 dāy-idārāga pukku vīlakkavum porul kavavavum peṭār [||*] 1 idā[unāli]l-onṟu

Second Side

- 15 śeyyumavaṇ 2jeppēṟu-vagai chchirṟūr-nadaḥ-ttandam irunṟu=kkalañju
 16 pon tanda-ppada-kkadavīyaṇ [||*] avaṅku³ pādu tāngumavanum ippari-
 17 śō tandappaduvidu [||*] 1-ppariśu mōṭ=chollappatta Ayurū mukkā-
 18 l-vattamum pattāragarkk=olla⁴ idāy-iduñ=Śrīvallavangōday=ndaḥ-
 19 Âdichchaṇ=Umayammai attī-ppēṟu kondadu [||*] Śrīvallavangōday=u-
 20 daṇ=urukka=Ṭiruchchengunṟūr=ppattāragarkku kīl-idāga attī=e⁵
 21 datt=ariyuñ=jādukkal Muruṇṇaiyūr=Ṭēvam=Bavittaraṇ nāṇum=aṇi-
 22 vaṇ [||*] Idāyāmanattu Śannaran=Gandaṇ nāṇum=aṇivan [||*] Manalmūkk[ṇ]
 23 Kandan=Dāmōdaran nāṇum=aṇivan [||*] Vēnāttirku adigāiñ=jeygi-
 24 ṇṟa Puṇalūr(1) Iravi Parandavaṇ nāṇum=aṇivan [||*] Kudagōttūr=
 Pparan-
 25 davan=Gandaṇ nāṇum=aṇivan [||*] iravi Ṭiruchchengunṟūr=ppoduvā-
 26 1 Śāt[ta]ñ=Jadaiyan=eḷuttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 7) Hail! Prosperity! In the year one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared, on a Sunday corresponding⁶ to the Achchuvadī (*āsvati-nakṣatra*) in the month of Mīrichchigam (*Vriścika*), when Jupiter stood in Tūlā—while⁷ the great men of the *parudai*⁸ (assembly) of Ṭiruchchengunṟūr were pleased to be assembled⁹ on this day in the high hall of the palace (situated) in the flower garden of Kollam, Śrīvallavangōdai, (the king) of Vēnādu gave, by the pouring of water, to Âdichchaṇ-Umayammai of Ṭirukkālayapuram, the *baṭṭārakar*¹⁰ set up by Âdichchaṇ-Umayammai at Ayurūr, and the lands belonging to the *baṭṭārakar*.

(Ll 8 to 11) Âdichchaṇ-Umayammai gave, as *kīl-idu* to the *baṭṭārakar* of Ṭiruchchengunṟūr, by pouring water in the hands of the *poduvāl*,¹¹ what she acquired by gift,¹² so that (he)

¹ [The reading seems to be *id[ai] nāyil-onṟu*. If *nai* has to be taken as *nd* it would be quite different from the other *nās* which occur in the inscription and resemble the modern Tamil *nā*—V V]

² [The reading seems to be *verēṟu*—V V]

³ Read *avanukku*

⁴ Read *pattāragarkkuḷa*

⁵ Read *attīyay-idattu*

⁶ [The original has *Nāyir=ānda Achchuvadī*, which would mean in Tamil 'the (*nakṣatra*) *Āsvati* (*Āsvini*) which was governed by *Nāyiru* (the Sun)'. If then the week day be Sunday, *Nāyir=ānda* would correspond to the modern *Nāyirāḷcha* and the word *āḷcha* which Dr Gundert derives from the root *ālu* 'to sink' may, in that case, be derived from the root *āḷ* 'to rule'—V V]

⁷ [The expression *idattu vaichchu* of the original seems to be used in the sense of the modern Malayalam *idattil vaichchu* which appears to be almost synonymous with the Tamil *idattil*—V V]

⁸ [The word *parudai* occurs also in the form *paradaḥ* and is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *pariśat*—V V]

⁹ [The original has "were assembled and were pleased to be seated"—V V]

¹⁰ [It was evidently the image of the god that was made over to Âdichchaṇ Umayammai, see below, p 238, note 19—V V]

¹¹ [According to Dr Gundert, *poduvāl* means "a class of half-Brahmans, temple servants" and *agappoduvāl* with *pānundl* officiate as priests and administrators of temple property—V V]

¹² [*Attīppēṟu* is evidently the same as *attīppēṟu* which, according to Dr Gundert, means "complete purchase of a free hold". Mr Nagamāya defines the term as 'the out and out surrender of the jenm's rights by sale (*Travancore Manual*, Vol III, p viii)—V V]

might supply, according to the rate current in small towns,¹ four *nāli* of rice² for (daily) offerings, and two hundred *para*i of paddy at nine *nāli* per *para*i, annually³

(Ll 11 to 13) The *poduvāls* shall protect the *mukkāl-vattam*⁴ of Ayurūr and the *idaiyidu* of the *bhaṭṭāraka*, and take (a fraction of the produce) as remuneration for the protection (afforded).⁵

(Ll 13 to 14). The *ūṛālar* shall not enter as *idaiyidars* in the *kīḷidu* (which is the subject of) this transaction,⁷ and shall neither dismiss (the *kīḷidars*) nor collect the rent

(Ll 14 to 16) He that reduces this to a fourth⁸ shall, consistently with the custom obtaining in small towns, be subject to the general fine of two hundred *kaḷāṇju* of gold.⁹

(Ll 16 to 17) He that abets the former shall also be subject to a fine in the same way.

(Ll 17 to 19) Both the *mukkālvattam* of Ayurūr and the *idaiyidu* belonging to the *bhaṭṭāraka*, mentioned above, are thus the acquisitions in gift of Âdichchan=Umayammai (of, or) related to Śrīvallavangōdai¹⁰

(Ll 19 to 22) (The following are the signatures of) the *sādhus* who were present at the time when Âdichchan=Umayammai, while she was with Śrīvallavangōdai, made this gift of

¹ [I take *chirṛu nadaiyōdu kīḍa* as meaning "together with the shrine at Śīṛṛūr." *Nadai* (*nada*) is used for 'temple' in South Malabar according to Dr Gundert, and there is a temple at Quilon called Ganapatinadai meaning 'shrine or temple of Ganapati.'—V V]

² [I would read in the original *chēvad=ari* (l. 9) and *chēvadu nel* (l. 10) and take *chēvadu nel* as equivalent to *sennei* which occurs in the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguna-Mahārāja (above, p 90) and which according to Winslow means "superior kind of rice, of a yellowish hue—as *keṇḍāi*."—V V.]

³ [As the dative *tiruvamudiyukūlum* is used and as the purpose for which the 200 *para*i of paddy had to be supplied is not stated, it looks as if the paddy was to be converted into rice and used for offerings. In this case, there is something wrong in the calculation here made. At the rate of four *nāli* of rice per day the quantity required for a year or 360 days comes to 1,440 *nāli* of rice or 160 *para* according to the equivalent of the *para* given in line 10. How 160 *para* of rice can be obtained from 200 *para* of paddy it is difficult to understand. According to the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I, 2½ times the quantity of paddy was required to obtain a given measure of rice, and 3 times the quantity according to the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguna-Mahārāja.—V. V.]

⁴ [The word *mukkālvattam* occurs in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman, where Professor Hultzsch has translated it by 'temple' (*Ind Ant Vol XX p 292*). According to Dr Gundert the term denotes in Travancore 'a temple of Konganmār.' An inscription at Tiruvāḷisvaram near Ambāsamudram in the Tanjore district mentions *Tiripuraḍḍa* ('*dahanam*') *panniṇa tēvaganār tirumukkālvattam*, where *tirumukkālvattam* appears to mean 'the holy shrine' of the god Śiva (No 120 of the A. A. Superintendent's collection for 1905).—V V]

⁵ [According to Dr Gundert *rakṣā-bhōgam* is synonymous with *rāja-bhōgam*, which denotes the ruler's share. From certain Tellicherry records (1798-1799) it appears that this share amounted to one-fifth (of the revenue).—V V]

⁶ [The word *aga* here translated 'as' occurs in a similar context in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*Ind Ant Vol XX p 290*, text line 17). It is apparently synonymous with the Tamil *acadu* or *agilum* and the Malayalam *agaṭṭe*.—V V]

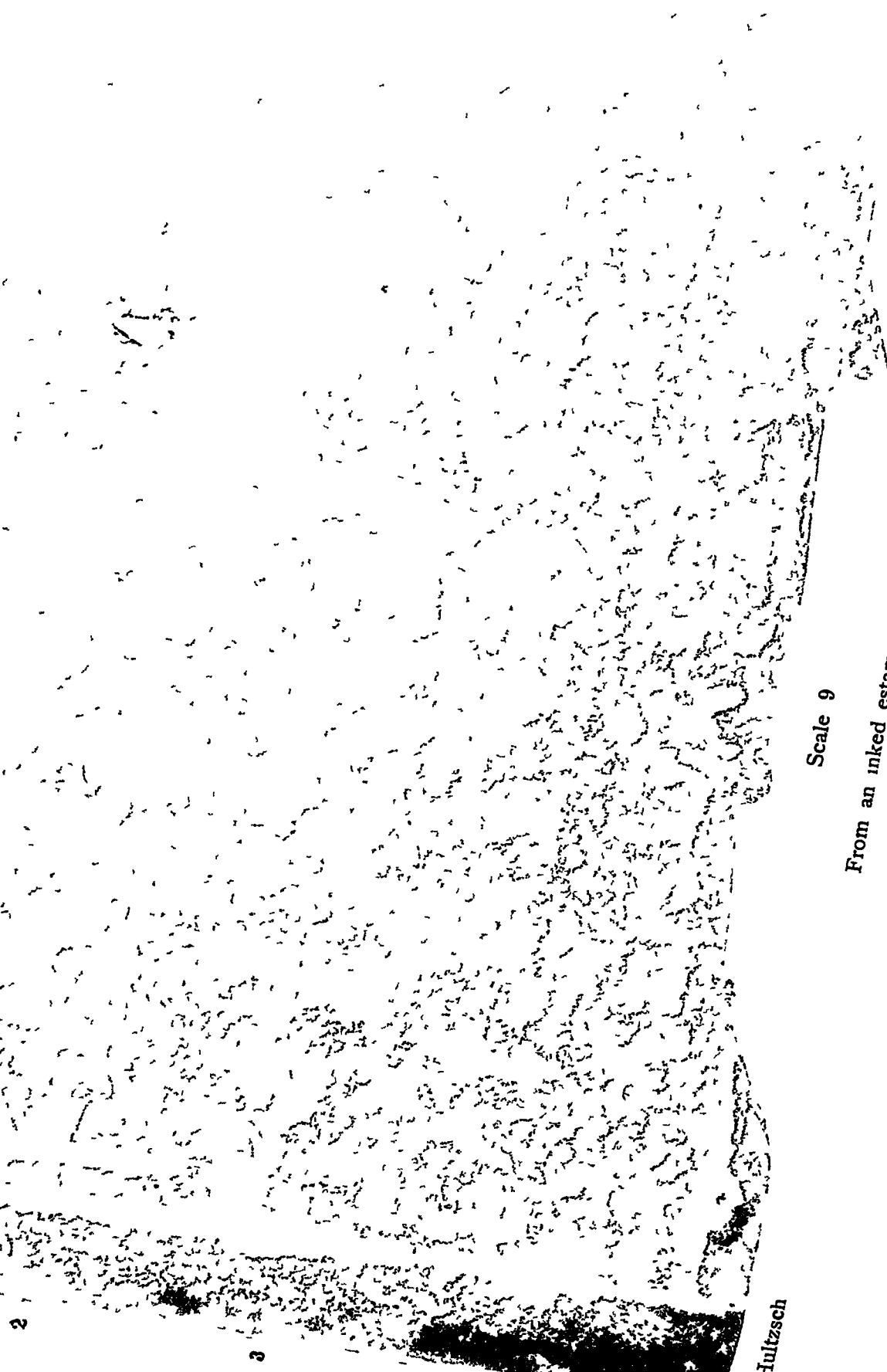
⁷ [*I-ppariṣu* means 'in this manner, thus.' I would translate the passage thus: "Neither the *ūṛālar* nor the *idaiyidar* shall be entitled to interfere and disturb the *kīḷidu* thus settled or to seize (any) property."—V V]

⁸ *I e* he who contributes to the dwindling of this charity

⁹ [I would translate the passage as follows: "He who does any injury to this (contract) shall individually pay a fine of two hundred *kaḷāṇju* (to) the shrine at Śīṛṛūr." See notes 1 and 2 on p 237 and note 1 above.—V V]

¹⁰ [Instead of *Ayurūr=piradittai tēyda paṭṭāragar* of line 6, we have here *Ayurūr mukkālvattam* which to a certain extent confirms the meaning 'shrine' of *mukkālvattam*. Instead of *paṭṭāragarkk=olḷa pām* in line 6, we have here *paṭṭāragarkk=olḷa idaiyidu*, which denotes the interest which the Ayurūr shrine possessed in the land acquired by Âdichchan-Umayammai from Śrīvallavangōdai. Consequently, the sentence repeats the statement made in lines 5 to 7 that Âdichchan-Umayammai had obtained the concession from Śrīvallavangōdai. Accordingly, it seems to me that *Śrīvallavangōdaiy=udai* at the end of l. 18 is a simple clerical mistake for *Śrīvallavangōdaiy=ida*. If any such relationship as would be implied by the use of the word *udai* were intended, it would be more natural to expect it noted when Âdichchan Umayammai is mentioned for the first time. Besides, it would be unusual for the mother or wife of Śrīvallavangōdai to enter into a transaction of this nature with him.—V V]

British Museum inscription of Kanishka.



Scale 9

From an inked estampage

Collotype by Gebr Plettner, Halle-Saale

Hultsch

land as *idaiyidu* to the *bhattārakar* of Tiruchchengunrūr —¹ I, Dévam-²Pavittiran of Murunnaiyūr, also know,³

(L 22) I, Sannaran Kandan of Idaiyāmanam, also know ;

(Ll 22 to 23) I, Kandan Dāmōdaran of Manalmūkkū, also know ,

(Ll 23 to 24) I, Iravi-Parandavan⁴ of Punalūr, the *adhikārin* of Vēnādu, also know ,

(Ll 24 to 25) I, Parandavan-Kandan of Kudagōttūr, also know

(Ll 25 to 26) This is the writing of Śāttan-Śadaiyan, the *poduvāl* of Tiruchchengunrūr

No 33 —THREE EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

By PROFESSOR H. LUDERS, PH D , ROSTOCK

I.—BRITISH MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA.

On the occasion of a visit to the British Museum in the autumn of 1906, I discovered in one of the cases of the Northern Gallery the stone bearing the subjoined inscription, which, as far as I know, has never been published before. At my request impressions were taken, from which I have prepared the transcript. Subsequently Dr Fleet kindly sent me the photograph of the stone reproduced in the accompanying plate.

Nothing seems to be known about the origin of the stone, but the characters, the language and the date of the inscription prove that it comes from Northern India.

The sculpture at the top of the stone represents a man and a woman sitting on a bench. The woman to the left, wearing a loin-cloth and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the ankles and in the lobes of the ear, rests her left elbow on the knee of her left leg which she has placed on the top of the bench, and turns her laughing face to the spectator. The male person also is wearing a necklace, bracelets, ear-drops, and a *dhoti* covering the knees. He is sitting astride, and with the right hand he touches, or points to, a sort of stand placed between the two persons on the bench and bearing what would seem to be a cushion adorned by three small square marks and supporting some bell-shaped object. Right over the head of the man there appears something which at first sight looks almost like a club, but which in my opinion probably is the mutilated head of a cobra. As the stone is broken off immediately above the head of the female person, it is quite possible that her head also was overshadowed by a similar representation of a serpent's head, and it seems to me very probable therefore that the sculpture represents a Nāga and his wife.

The writing is Brāhmī of the earlier Kushana type. The subscript *ya* is expressed by the full sign, and the *sha* shows the old form with the small cross-bar. The language is the usual mixed dialect. The inscription, which is dated in the tenth year of mahārāja dévaputra Kanishka, records the gift of a temple. Details will be discussed below.

¹ [In the original the name Ādichchay-Umaiyyammai is not repeated as it is represented in the translation. It looks as if Śrīvallavangōdai was seated with the members of the assembly of Tiruchchengunrūr in the palace at Kollam (ll 4-5) while making the gift to Ādichchay Umaiyyammai. Accordingly I would translate this sentence as follows:—“(The following are) the *sādhus* who know (the transaction entered into) at the place at which (Ādichchay Umaiyyammai)—while Śrīvallavangōdai was sitting with (the assembly ?) — granted the *kiṭṭidu* (of the land ?) to the lord (bhattāraka) of Tiruchchengunrūr.” The same fact is referred to in lines 8 and 9 — V V.]

² [The name of the man was apparently Dévaṇ Pavittiraṇ — V V.]

³ I.e. the terms of this transaction and bear witness to the same.

⁴ [Parandavan is apparently a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *Paramāpa* — V V.]

TEXT.

- 1 Siddha[m]¹ maharājasya dēva[putiasya]²
 2 Kānīshkasya savatsaiê [10]³
 3 grī 2 dī 9 êtayê purvay[ê]⁴
 4 [u]tarāyam⁵ na[va]rikāyam⁶ [h]î-
 5 [īmya]n=[d]atā[n]⁷ priyatām dēvi⁸ grā[masya]⁹

REMARKS.

1 The *anusvāra* is indistinct because it is crossed by the line forming the base of the sculpture — 2 The reading of the bracketed characters is certain, though the surface of the stone has peeled off at the corner — 3 This figure also has suffered from the peeling off of the surface, but the reading is beyond doubt — 4 The ê is very indistinct, and the correct reading may possibly be *purvaya* or *purvayam* — 5 At first sight one might feel inclined to read *nitarāyam*, but the base-line of the first letter is quite straight, whereas *na* has a distinctly curved base. I feel therefore sure that what appears to be the continuation of the base-line to the left, is merely due to a flaw in the stone — 6 The two convergent side-lines of the *va* are not very distinct, just as in the same letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the letter look almost like *na*. But this line is far too thin to really form part of the letter and must be accidental — 7 The bracketed letters of these two words are more or less damaged, but the reading seems to be sure — 8 The ê-stroke is added to the top of the letter, whereas in *dē* in the first line it is added in the middle — 9 The last two letters are damaged, but only the *ya* can be said to be conjectural.

TRANSLATION.

Success¹ In the year 10 of the *mahārāja devaputra Kānīshka*, in the second (*month of*) summer, on the ninth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above a temple was given in the northern *navamikā* (?). May the goddess of the village be pleased¹

NOTES

The orthography of the inscription is very irregular, double consonants, long vowels and the *anusvāra* being frequently not expressed in writing. A long *ā* appears in the word *hārmya*. According to the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* the same form is found also in the *Taitt. Ār* VI, 6, 2 instead of the ordinary *harmya* occurring in the corresponding verse in *Atharvav* XVIII, 4, 55. In *hārmyan=datam* the final *m* is converted into the nasal before the following mute, which is rare in inscriptions in this dialect. Another instance is found in the concluding words of the Mathurā inscription, above Vol I p 386, No 8 *priyatām=bhagavān=Rishabhasrih*, which at the same time help us to understand the phrase found at the end of the present record *priyatām dēvi grāmasya*.

Of greater interest is the spelling of the king's name, *Kānīshka*, with a long vowel in the first syllable and a lingual *n*. With regard to the latter point, the seven Brāhmī inscriptions that have preserved the name are in perfect agreement¹. In the Kharōshthī inscriptions of Saū Vihār² and Zeda³ the name is read as *Kanīshka*, in that of Manikyāla as *Kaneshka*,⁴ but I am by no means sure whether in the two last mentioned inscriptions the readings *Kanīshka* and

¹ Mathurā inser of S 5, *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 84 ff, No 4, Mathurā inser of S 7, above Vol I p 391, No 19, Mathurā inser of S 9, *Vienna Or Journ* Vol I p 173, No 2, and *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 37, No 6, Mathurā inser, *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 149, No 25, Sarnāth inser of S 3, above Vol VIII p. 176 No 3^a, Sarnāth inser of S 3, above Vol. III p. 179, No 3^a

² *Ind Ant* Vol X p 326

³ *Journ As* Ser IX Vol VII p 8

⁴ *Journ As* Ser VIII Vol XV p 137.

British Museum stone of Kanishka



E Hultsch

From a photograph supplied by Dr Fleet.

Collotype by Gebr Plättner

Kaneshka would not be preferable. On the whole, contemporary records certainly are in favour of the spelling with the lingual *n*, and I would therefore propose to use *Kanishka* as the common form of the name. The spelling with the long vowel in the first syllable as in the present inscription is unusual, but it does not stand quite alone. In the Sarnath inscription, No 3^a, the editor, it is true, reads *Kanishkasya*, but the photo-lithograph¹ distinctly shows *Kānishkasya*.

Turning to the special object of the inscription, we may infer from the concluding words that the temple was dedicated to a goddess, and the representation of the two Nāgas above the inscription makes it not unlikely, I think, that the goddess intended was a Nāgī. That during the Kushana period there existed temples for the worship of serpents in Northern India, is well attested by the two Mathurā inscriptions² which mention the temple (*st[h]āna*) of the *nāgēndra* Dadhukarna and a servant at the temple of the same Dadhukarna (*Dadhukarnadivuhika*).

The most difficult words of the inscription are *utarāyam navamukāyam*. I have thought for some time that they might be part of the date and mean 'on the following (i.e. intercalated) month (lunar day)', but for two reasons this idea must be given up. Firstly, such a statement would be in the wrong place after *etayā pūṇyāyē*, and secondly, as Professor Kielhorn informs me, *uttara* is never used in the sense of *adhika* or *dvitīya*³. The words must therefore be connected with *hīrmyan=datan*, and as a form ending in *-āyam* can hardly be anything else but the locative singular of a stem in *ā*, *utarā navamukāyā* would seem to denote either the locality where the temple was erected or possibly, the goddess to whom it was dedicated. However, these explanations are far from satisfactory. Neither has *navamukā* the appearance of being the name of a locality, nor does *utarā navamukā* in the least sound like the name of a goddess or a Nāgī. I am at present unable to solve this difficulty.

II —MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION, DATED SAMVAT 74.

This inscription is engraved on a stone-slab discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. It was first edited in 1870, together with facsimiles, by Rajendralala Mitra in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX Part I p. 129, No. 15, and by Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V p. 183, No. 4. In 1873 Cunningham published it again with a facsimile in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III p. 32, No. 8, and in 1904 I have treated it myself in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII p. 106, No. 20. I edit it here again for a special reason. When I was in Oxford in 1905, Professor Hoernle kindly made over to me the collection of impressions, rubbings and drawings of inscriptions formed by him when preparing the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which was to contain the 'Indo-Scythic' inscriptions. In this collection there is also the impression which I have used for the present edition. It cannot be said to be first-rate and, as unfortunately most of the impressions of this collection, it has been tampered with in some places by pencilling out parts of letters that in the impression itself are more or less effaced. Nevertheless the impression is of the greatest value as shown by the following note written on the margin, probably by General Cunningham himself: 'The only impression now available —The stone has been lost at Agra.' Under these circumstances it seemed to me desirable to publish the accompanying reproduction of the impression, which in spite of its shortcomings naturally is far superior to the drawings published hitherto. Professor Hoernle's collection contains besides two facsimiles. The one is an eye-copy in red and blue pencil on a slightly reduced scale, made according to a marginal note by Captain Watts, Royal Engineers, the other is a pencil-tracing on transparent paper, perhaps made from the stone itself, but afterwards gone over with China-ink, blue and red pencil, and practically of no value.

¹ [I have some weeks ago examined the original and the *ā* is quite certain —S. K.]

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 390, No. 18, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVIII p. 102, No. 13.

³ Professor Hultsch writes to me that he is nevertheless inclined to connect *utarāyam navamukāyam* with the date, but he would take *uttara* in the sense of *uchyamāna*, *upari-likhita*, 'above-mentioned'.

The inscription is divided by a blank space into two parts. The upper portion, containing eight lines, is complete with the exception of some letters at the end of the first two lines, which have disappeared by the breaking off of the right corner of the stone. Of the lower portion which in Dowson's and Cunningham's facsimiles has been omitted altogether, nothing is left but faint traces of some characters in the first line. The characters are Brāhmī of the Kushana type. The *sha* appears in the older form with the small cross-bar, but the subscript *ya* shows the cursive form. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is dated in the year 74 of a mahārāja rā[jātrāja] dēvaputra whose name began with Vāsu, but owing to its fragmentary state its real purport cannot be made out.

TEXT.

- 1 Mahārajasya¹ r[ā] ...²
- 2 sya dēvaputrasya Vāsu....³
- 3 savatsarō⁴ 70⁵ 4 vaisham[ā]-⁶
- 4 sē prathamē divasē
- 5 tris[ā]⁷ 30 asyam⁸ purvayam⁹
- 6 Talakīy[ā]¹⁰ mahādānda-
- 7 nāyakasya¹¹ Vā-
- 8 lnas[y]a¹² k[shā]t[ā]¹³ Mibi-
- 9 [mahādānda]¹⁴.

REMARKS.

1 The *ā*-stroke is distinctly visible in the impression, although it does not appear in Capt Watts' eye-copy — 2 The *ā*-stroke is uncertain. Restore *rājātrāja*. — 3 The *ā*-stroke is quite distinct, though here again it is omitted in Capt Watts' eye-copy. As regards the restoring of the line, I refer to the remarks below — 4 The *ī*-stroke, omitted in Capt Watts' eye-copy, is quite distinct — 5 Owing to a flaw in the stone, a small portion of the lower left cross-bar of the symbol has disappeared. In the impression somebody has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards, but there is nothing to warrant this restoration. There can be no doubt that the symbol had the shape of a plain St. Andrew's cross, just as in other inscriptions. The lower right cross-bar also has been pencilled over in the impression, but this is of no consequence as it is perfectly distinct. The meaning of the symbol will be discussed below. — 6 The upper portion of the *m* and the *ā* are not quite distinct — 7 The *ī*-stroke is indistinct, and the *śa* has suffered from a hole in the paper — 8 The apparent curving of the tail of the *a* has been caused by pencilling. In Capt Watts' eye-copy the tail is quite straight — 9 Above the *pu* there is a distinct stroke which must be accidental. — 10 There are some strokes behind and below the *ta*, but they are not noticed in Capt Watts' eye-copy and may be accidental. The *ā*-stroke is not very distinct, and the reading *Talakīyam* would be possible — 11 Capt Watts expressly states that there are no traces of letters before the *nā* of line 7 and the *li* of line 8. The *nā* has been pencilled over so as to look almost like *sā*, but there can be no doubt that it is *nā*, and as such it appears also in Capt Watts' eye-copy — 12 The *ya* is damaged, but certain. — 13 The *lsh* of the first and the *r* of the second syllable are damaged, but certain. The *ā* of *lshā* is very faint and not given in Capt Watts' eye-copy. The last syllable may also be *trā* as in Capt Watts' eye-copy — 14 Of this word only faint traces are visible in the impression, and the reading rests almost entirely on Capt. Watts' eye-copy. Instead of *da* Capt Watts gives *dā*.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 74 of the mahārāja rājātrāja dēvaputra Vāsu ..., in the first month of the rainy season, on the thirtieth day, 30,—on that (date specified as) above, in the field (?) of the great general Vālina at Talakīya (or Talakī?) Mibi, ...

Mathura inscription of Samvat 74,

NOTES

The orthography shows the usual features. The lengthening of the vowel in *dānda* appears again in the same word in the Sst-Mahet inscription, above Vol VIII, p 181, and we may further compare such forms as *āmtévāsisa* and *āmtévāsiniyē* in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 198 f, Nos 1 and 4.

As regards the date, the first symbol of the date of the year requires a fuller consideration, as it has been differently interpreted. As already stated above, it has the shape of a St Andrew's cross. Cunningham¹ originally read it as 40, and he was followed by Dowson, who in editing the Mathurā inscriptions everywhere adopted Cunningham's readings of the dates.² In 1891 Bühler expressed his belief that the sign really represented 70,³ and this opinion was endorsed in the following year by Cunningham in his paper on the coins of the Kushanas in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser III Vol XII p 50, note 6.

I accordingly read the symbol as 70 when I published the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, and I am still convinced that Bühler was right, but in order to settle this question definitely, it will be necessary to examine the other Northern Brāhmi inscriptions where the same sign occurs. They are the following seven, all of which come from Mathurā or its neighbourhood —

(1) Mathurā inscription of the time of *svāmīn mahāśhatrapa Śodāsa*, *Ep Ind* Vol. II p 199, No 2, and Plate. In the *Vienna Or Journ* Vol V p. 177, Bühler read the symbol as 40, adding 70 in brackets. In the *Ep Ind*, loc cit, Bühler again gave 40 in the text, but added in a note that the symbol might possibly be 70. And lastly in *Ep Ind* Vol IV. p 55, note 2, he stated that he would now remove the alternative reading 42, which he had thought admissible at first.

(2) Kāman inscription, *Ep Ind* Vol. II. p 212, No 42, and Plate. Here Bühler rendered the sign by 70 in the text, but added in a footnote that it might also be read as 40.

(3) Mathurā inscription, *Journ Beng As Soc* Vol XXXIX Part I p 130, No 17, and Plate; *Journ Roy. As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 183, No 5, and Plate, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol. III. p 33, No 11, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind Ant* Vol. XXXIII. p 102.

(4) Mathurā inscription, *Journ Beng As Soc* Vol XXXIX Part I. p 127, No 1, and Plate, *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 182, No 1, and Plate, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III p 33, No 12, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have adopted this reading in *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII. p 101, No 11.

(5) Mathurā inscription, *Journ Beng As Soc* Vol XXXIX Part I p 127, No 2, and Plate, *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 183, No 2, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep* Vol III. p 34, No. 13, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII, p 102, No. 13.

(6) Mathurā inscription, *Journ Beng As Soc* Vol XXXIX. Part I. p 130, No 18, and Plate. The facsimile is very poor. In the *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 101, No 12, I have read the sign as 40, but I have pointed out also that the inscription is possibly identical with that referred to under No 3.

(7) Mathurā inscription, *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 184, No 7, and Plate, *Arch Surv. Rep* Vol III. p 34, No 14, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40.

¹ The absurd opinions of Rajendralala Mitra may be passed over in silence.

² Compare Cunningham's remarks, *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 194.

³ *Ep. Ind* Vol. I p 373, note 7.

It thus appears that the symbol has hitherto been treated sometimes as 40 and sometimes as 70, but it will be readily conceded, I think, that it is impossible to assign two different values to the same sign in inscriptions of the same locality and the same period. But before we can decide which of the two interpretations is the correct one, we shall have to examine also the other symbols supposed to represent either 40 or 70 in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Northern India. The following inscriptions, which for convenience sake I number in continuation of the list given above, must be taken into consideration —

(8) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huviksha, *Ep Ind.* Vol I p 387, No 9, and Plate. The symbol resembles the ligature *pta* and was read by Bühler as 40.

(9) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind.* Vol I p 387, No 10, and Plate. The general appearance of the symbol is the same as in No 8, but its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph. Bühler read the sign as 40.

(10) Mathurā inscription, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III p 33, No 10, and Plate, *Ep Ind.* Vol I p 396, No 30, and Plate. The symbol generally has the same form as that in No 8, but its lower part is a little more cursive. Cunningham and Bühler read it as 40.

(11) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huvishka, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol. III p 34, No 15, and Plate. The symbol is the same as in No 8. Cunningham read it as 40, and I have followed him in my treatment of the record in the *Ind Ant.* Vol XXXIII p 103, No 14.

(12) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind.* Vol II p 204, No 20, and Plate, p 321, and Plate. The upper part of the symbol is the same as in Nos 8—11, but its lower part is a distinct loop. Bühler read the sign as 70.

(13) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind.* Vol I p 387, No. 11, and Plate. As Bühler expressly states in a footnote that the symbol is a plain *pta*, it may have been so in the impression before him. In the photo-lithograph, however, it does not bear the slightest resemblance to that sign, but looks exactly like the letter *bra*. Bühler read the symbol as 40.

(14) Sāuchi inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātirāja dēvputra* Shāhi Vāsashka, *Ep. Ind.* Vol II p 369 f, and Plate. The symbol found here has quite a peculiar shape. Provided that the vertical standing behind it does not belong to it, but is part of the following sign for 8, it resembles the usual sign for 20. As such it was read also at first by Bühler, but at Cunningham's suggestion he afterwards took it to be 70. The reading of the sign was then discussed at length by Dr Fleet in a paper in the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1903, p 326 ff, and he came to the conclusion that it was 20. But later on, when Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, p 238, had suggested that the symbol might be read as 60, Dr Fleet admitted the possibility of this interpretation, see *Journ Roy As Soc.* 1905, p 357¹.

Leaving aside for the present the symbols found in the last three inscriptions, it appears that there are two symbols, the St Andrew's cross and the *pta*, one of which must represent 70 and the other 40. Now in the inscription which forms the subject of this paper the St Andrew's cross cannot represent 40, as in that case the inscription would be dated in the year 44 in the reign of a king whose name begins with Vāsu, whereas we know that from 33–60 Huvishka was the reigning monarch in this part of the country. Here, therefore, the St Andrew's cross must represent 70, and we must accordingly assign the same value to the symbol also in the inscriptions enumerated above under Nos. 1–7. We thus get the dates S. 72 for No 1, S. 74 for

¹ Another sign that originally was read 40 by Bühler, is found in the Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātirāja dēvputra* Huvashka, *Ep Ind.* Vol I p 386, No 8, and Plate. Later on Bühler declared that on further consideration he read the symbol as 60, and as such it has been treated since then everywhere, see *Ep Ind.* Vol II p 204, note 61.

No 2, and S 77 for Nos 3-7 The inscriptions themselves contain nothing to contradict this result No 4, it is true, mentions the *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Huvishka*, but not in connection with the date, the inscription simply recording a gift to the *vihāra* of that king As to the date S 72 for the *mahākshatrapa Śolāsa*, I refer to the remarks of Dr Fleet in the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1907, p 1024 ff

If the St Andrew's cross represents 70, the sign resembling *pta* must be 40 The inscription No. 8, therefore, would be dated in S 44, No 9 in S 45, No 10 in S 47, and No 11 in S 48, which is in accordance with the statements of Nos 8 and 11 that their dates fall into the reign of Huvishka or Huvishka

The symbol occurring in No 12 undoubtedly differs from either of the two symbols found in Nos 1-11, but whereas it bears no resemblance whatever to the cross-shaped sign, it is easily intelligible as a cursive development of the *pta* sign¹ In my opinion therefore this sign also must be taken as 40, and the inscription as being dated in S 49, not S 79 There is another point in favour of this interpretation The inscription records a gift made at the request of the venerable *Vṛddhahastī* (*Vṛddhahastin*), a preacher in the *Koṭṭiya* (*Kottiya*) *gana*, the *Vaṇṇa* (*Vaṇi*) *sāṇṇi* There is another Mathurā inscription dated in S 60,² recording a gift made at the request of the *ganin* the venerable *Khatuna*, a pupil of this same *Vṛddhahastin* If *Vṛddhahastin* in S 60 had a pupil who had acquired the dignity of *ganin*, he must have been a man advanced in years at that time, and although, of course, it is not impossible that he was still alive in S 79, it would certainly seem more natural to find him as a spiritual adviser in S. 49 and his pupil in the same capacity eleven years later on, in S 60

Little can be said about the symbol occurring in No 13 The form appearing in the photograph is quite peculiar and unlike any other symbol in the inscriptions from Mathurā or elsewhere, but in accordance with Bühler's statement, it may be provisionally taken as 40

As regards the symbol in No 14, I agree with Dr Fleet that there is no reason whatever why it should be 70, as even the sign in No 12, which Bühler cited in support of this interpretation, is to be read not 70, but 40 On the other hand, I feel sure that it is not 20 I have lately received through Dr Konow impressions of an inscription running round the base of a pillar preserved in the Mathurā Museum The inscription, which is in Brāhmī characters of the Kushana type, is partly worn, but the date is quite distinct Now the sign for the tens in the date of the year is the same as that in the *Sāichū* inscription, showing again the vertical, which is thus proved to be an integrant part of it and not to belong to the following sign And although unfortunately the text of the inscription contains nothing that would enable us to form a positive opinion on the value of the symbol, we may safely assert that it cannot be 20, as we find this number expressed by the usual sign in the date of the day Lastly also the proposal to treat the symbol as 60 cannot be said to be convincing, the sign that has hitherto been read as 60 in the inscriptions of the Kushana period³ certainly being entirely different I do not want to offer a new hypothesis In my opinion we shall have to wait for fresh materials before we can hope to arrive at a satisfactory result in this question In how far the restoring of the king's name in our inscription of S 74 is influenced by this uncertainty, will be shown below.

I know that the results arrived at above are partly not in harmony with those deduced from the coins of the Western Kshatrapas The numeral signs occurring in the legends of those coins are given in table IX, col V, of Bühler's *Indische Paläographie* from Professor Rapson's table in

¹ Perhaps the symbol found in No 9 forms the intermediate stage between the *pta* and the looped sign As I have stated above, its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo lithograph, but it does not seem to me impossible that here also it consists not of the usual fork, but of a loop, though a much smaller one than in No 12

² *Ep Ind* Vol I p 386, No 8, and Plate

³ *Ep Ind* Vol I p 386, No 8, and Plate, Vol II p. 204, No 19, and Plate, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol. XX. p 37, and Plate V, fig 6

the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1890, Plate to p 629. Here the St Andrew's cross has been entered as 40, and a sign much resembling the *pta* and another looped sign almost exactly like that of No 12 as 70. I do not wish to throw any doubts on the correctness of these readings, but I contend that for such questions inscriptions must be treated separately according to time and locality.

Rajendralala Mitra, Dowson and Cunningham agreed in restoring the name of the king as *Vāsushkasya*. When I edited the inscription from the facsimiles published by my predecessors I drew attention to the circumstance that the available space is hardly sufficient for the three *śāśanas devasya*, and I proposed to restore the name as *Vāsushkasya*, as this name of the king seemed to be attested by two other inscriptions of S 76 and S 78,¹ whereas the first undoubted record of Vāsudēva's reign was dated in S 80. What I said about the difficulty of supplying three syllables is confirmed by the impression now before me, although owing to the frequent irregularity of the writing in these inscriptions it is impossible to speak on this point with absolute certainty. But the evidence for the existence of a king Vāsushka in S 76 and S 78 is not so strong as it seemed to be formerly. As I have tried to show above, the date of the Sāñchi inscription mentioning a king Vāsushka² is quite uncertain, and the Mathurā inscription mentioned by Führer as being dated in S 76 and recording repairs in the reign of Vāsushka has not yet been published. As Dr Konow informs me, it cannot even be found now, Führer's trenches having been filled up again a long time ago and the exact spot where the inscription was found being no more known. Under these circumstances a decision is of course impossible for the present. If Führer's statement after all should prove correct, I should unhesitatingly restore *Vāsu* to *Vāsushkasya*, otherwise the reading *Vāsudēvasya* will have to be accepted.

The rest of the inscription calls for few remarks. Talakiya or Talaki seems to be the name of a locality, but I am unable to identify it. The title *mahādandanāyaka* is frequent in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and later times. In the Kushana inscriptions it has not yet been found before, but the subordinate title of *dandanāyaka* occurs in the Manikyāla inscription,³ where the correct reading in l 2 is, not *Laladoḍa-nayago*, but *Lala-dadanayago*.

III.—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚONḌĀSA.

This inscription was first published, together with a facsimile, in 1870 by Professor Dowson in the *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V. p 188, No 29. In 1873 it was published again with a facsimile by Cunningham in the *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III. p 30, No 1. And in 1904 I have tried to edit the text from those two facsimiles in the *Ind Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p 149, No 24. For the present edition of the record I have made use of an impression found in Professor Hoernle's collection described above.

Cunningham states that the stone bearing the inscription was found in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. According to Dowson, it has been cut through and the first part of it has been carried off. On the other hand, the facsimiles distinctly showed that something was missing at the right end, and thus I was led to suppose that the stone was damaged on both sides. This, however, is not the case. Nothing is missing at the beginning of the writing on the left, and on the right also only one letter has been cut off at the end of the first two lines. With this exception the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

¹ Mathurā inscription of S 76, mentioned by Führer, *Progress Report* for 1895-96; Sāñchi inscription of S 78, edited by Bühler, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 369 f.

² This is the reading suggested by Dr Fleet, *Journ Roy As Soc* 1903, p 326, but he is himself inclined to look upon this form as a mere variant of Vāsushka, if the existence of such a name should be proved; see *Journ. Roy As Soc* 1905, p 357 f.

³ *Journ As Ser.* IX. Vol VII. p 8 f.

The characters are of the so-called archaic type of the Mathurā inscriptions, see especially the letters *da*, *sa* and *sha*, and the subscript *ya*. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is not dated. It records various gifts of a Brahman of the Śēgrava (*Śaigraṇa*) *gōtra*, the treasurer of *svāmīn mahākshatrapa* Śōmdāsa. For details I refer to the remarks below.

TEXT.

1 Svāmsya mahākshatrapasya Śōmdāsasya¹ gamjavarēna brāhmanēna Śēgrava-sagōtrēna [p]²

2 rani imāshām yamada-pushkaranīnam pāśchimā pushkarani ndapānō / āramō³ stambhō i

3 [śilā]pattō⁴ cha-

REMARKS.

1 As to the reading of this name see the remarks below —2 Little is left of the *pa*, but the reading is certain. Restore *pushka*-. —3 The outlines of the letters *ni ndapānō āramō* are more or less touched up with pencil, but the reading is perfectly certain.—4 The reading *śilā* is certain, although the letters are entirely spoiled by being gone over with pencil.

TRANSLATION.

By the treasurer of the lord, the *mahākshatrapa* Śōmdāsa, a Brāhman of the Śēgrava (*Śaigraṇa*) *gōtra*, a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and this stone-slab (*was caused to be made*).

NOTES

As regards the language, the most interesting form is *imāshām*. Apparently in the dialect of Mathurā the genitives plur. of the pronoun were, as in Pāli, *imēsaṃ* and *imāsaṃ*, and the author of the inscription translated the latter form into *imāshām* as he was wont to render *imāsaṃ* by *imāshām*. The nominative sing. masc. of the same pronoun is found at the end of line 2, but unfortunately nothing is left of it but the initial *i*. The word *pushkarani* shows in the third syllable the vocalisation of the Pāli *poṭṭharani*. *Yamada* corresponds to Skt *yamala* or *yamala*, as the word would be written in Southern manuscripts. The construction of the inscription is rather peculiar, the verb or participle on which the instrumentals *brāhmanēna*, etc., depend, being omitted.

The first point to command attention is the name of the *mahākshatrapa*, which is generally supposed to be Śōdāsa. In the present inscription there is a distinct sign above the *so*. It must have been found also in the impressions used by Dowson and Cunningham, as the former reads *Śōmdāsasya* (for *Śōmdāsasya*) and the latter *Saudāsasya* (for *Śauḍāsasya*), although the facsimiles show no trace whatever of *anusvāra* or *au*. The sign cannot be the stroke denoting *au*, as it does not touch the upper line of the *so*, but is separated from it by a distinct blank space. It can only be an *anusvāra* of the same bulky shape as that in *gamjavarēna* and in *pushkaranīnam*.

The form Śōmdāsa has not yet been recognised anywhere else. In the second Brāhmi inscription at Mathurā mentioning this *mahākshatrapa*¹ Bühler read *Śoḍāsasa*, but the photograph by no means excludes the reading *Śōmdāsasa*. Right above the *so* there is a white spot scarcely less distinct than that above the *ma* of *hēmamtamāsa* which Bühler read as *anusvāra*. In the Mathurā lion-capital inscription² Mr Thomas reads the name as *Suḍasa* and *Sudisa*, and with regard to coins, Professor Rapson has stated in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 289, note 3, that whenever the name is legible, the first *akshara* seems to be *so*, and that the alternative forms *Su*^o and *Sau*^o, given by Bhagvanlal and Cunningham respectively, cannot be

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol II p 199, No 2

² *Above*, Vol IX pp 143, 144.

certainly read on any of the specimens of the British Museum. But even if a re-examination should prove the readings *Śodāsa* and *Suddāsa* to be correct, this would not invalidate the reading of the present inscription. Everybody familiar with the records of this period knows how often an *anuscāra* is omitted in writing, and that on that account the reading *Somāśa*, even if found once only, carries more weight than the reading *Śodāsa* occurring ten times. In my opinion therefore *Śondāsa* must be accepted as the general form of the name.

Scarcely less interesting is the designation of the donor. Dowson and Cunningham read *gaṇavarāna*, and Bühler, *Vienna Or Journ* Vol V p 177, proposed to alter the unintelligible syllables *gaṇa* into *rajā*, 'during the reign'. The new reading *gaṇavarāna* shows that *gaṇavarāna*, 'treasurer,' which hitherto was known only from the *Rājataranīni* V, 177 and Kshēmaṇdra's *Lō'aprahāsa*, was an official title in India already in much earlier times. As recognised by Benfey,¹ *gaṇavarāna* is the Persian *ganjwar*, and the use of this title is a new proof of the strong Parthian influence that made itself felt in Northern India from the time of Aśoka to the beginning of the Gupta empire.²

The donor calls himself by his *gōtra* name *Śāgrava*, which in correct Sanskrit would be *Śaṅgrava*. According to the *Gaṇapīṭha* the *Śaṅgrava gōtra* is referred to by Pāṇini in II, 4, 67 and IV, 1, 104. I have also no doubt that Professor Kern is right in identifying *Śaṅgrava* with Pāli *Siggava*,³ the name of the patriarch who conferred the *upasampadā* ordination on the great Tissa Moggalliputta.⁴

NO 34—PATHARI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PARABALA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 917

By the late Professor F. KIELHORN, CIE, GÜTTINGEN⁵

Pathārī in Long 78° 15' and Lat 23° 56', is the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Bhopāl Agency of Central India.⁶ Its antiquities were first described, in 1848, by Captain J. D. Cunningham, in the *Journal As Soc Bengal*, Vol XVII, Part I, p 305 ff. After stating that the locality of which he is treating includes two good-sized reservoirs or lakes, and that the present town of Pathārī and the smaller lake are distinguished by a single pillar and a solitary temple, Captain Cunningham on page 310 proceeds thus—'Near to the western edge of the smaller lake stands the wand or pillar, now called of Bheem Sen. It is composed of a single block about 36 feet in height and 2½ thick. The shaft is square in section for a height of 8 feet, and it then becomes circular. . . . On one side of the square portion of the shaft there is a long inscription, much obliterated, and of which I failed to make even a tolerable impression.'

The pillar and its inscription were again noticed in 1880, by General Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Archæol Survey of India*, Vol X, p 70, thus—'Inside the town, on the top of the slope, there is a tall monolith with a ball-shaped capital. The shaft is circular, rising from a base 8 feet

¹ See the *St Petersburg Dictionary* s. v.

² In the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1903, p 239 ff, Prof ssor Rapson has described a coin that shows a general similarity to those of *Śondāsa*. With the exception of the first three *aksharas* the inscription is not quite certain. Professor Rapson reads *brāhmanā[na go(?)da ra(?)tā(?) na]*. Would it be too bold to conjecture that the *brāhmana* mentioned here may have some connection with the *brāhmana* Śaṅgrava, the *gaṇavarāna* of *Śondāsa*, and that the reading must be altered accordingly?

³ *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië*, Vol II p 266

⁴ See *Dīpaṇ* V, 57, 69, etc

⁵ [The proofs of this and all subsequent papers by the late Professor Kielhorn have been read by me.—S. K.]

⁶ Constable's *Hand Atlas of India* Plate 27 D u.

3 inches high and 2 feet 9 inches square On the northern face there is a long inscription of 38 lines of small letters. It opens with an invocation to Lakshmî-Nârâyana,¹ but the greater part of the record is so much worn as to be quite illegible Many of the letters here and there are in good order, and from their shapes I would assign the monument to somewhere about A D 600 Close by this pillar there is a small temple, with Vishnu sitting on Garud over the door-way.'

In October 1894 I received from Professor Hultzsch two impressions of the inscription, prepared by Mr H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, and an excellent photograph² of it, taken by the same gentleman, was given to me two or three years afterwards by Dr Fleet From these materials I have already published a short account of the contents of the inscription and the tentative text of nine verses of it, in the *Nachrichten der K Ges der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* for 1901, Part I, p 519 ff A repeated examination of the same materials now enables me to place before the reader, with some confidence, by far the greater part of this record, which, though troublesome to read, is not so illegible as it may have seemed to be on the original stone

The inscription contains 38 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2 feet broad by 2 feet 7 inches high It has certainly suffered greatly from exposure to the weather, especially in the middle and at the end of the lines all the way down, and for nearly the whole length of the last seven lines But fortunately³ all proper names of importance may be read with absolute certainty, at any rate all those that occur in lines 1—31, and the same remark applies to the date of the inscription at the end of line 31 The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in the topmost lines, but less in the lower part down to line 31, while it is somewhat larger again in lines 32—38 The inscription was written and engraved with great care and skill The characters belong to the northern alphabet such as, speaking generally, we find it *e g* in the Gwalior inscription of the reign of Bhôjadêva of the [Vikrama] year 933, published with a facsimile in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 159 f With our present knowledge of Indian epigraphy, we should assign them at once to about the 9th century A D They include the rare sign for *gh*, which has not come out well either in the impressions or in the photograph, in the word *ghatit* towards the end of line 15 The language of the inscription is Sanskrit The text is remarkably correct, and in respect of orthography the only points worth noticing here are that the sign for *v* is used for both *v* and *b*, and that the words *amsa* and *dhvamsa* are written *ansi* and *dhvansa*, in lines 2 and 8

The inscription consists of two parts. The first (and chief) part comprises lines 1—31, the second lines 32—38 This second part appears to be really a separate inscription, added by way of a postscript, which may record the installation of an image of Vishnu, but the exact purpose of which, owing to the damaged condition of lines 32—38, I have not been able to ascertain. What I may state with confidence is that, after the words *ôm namah* at the commencement of line 32, there are five verses, two in the Sragdharâ metre, one in the Vasantatilakâ metre, one in the Upajâtî metre, and the fifth perhaps in the same metre So far as I can judge, the first and probably the second of these five verses contain some historical information, and it would therefore seem desirable to have a cast taken of this part of the inscription, which would enable one to decipher more of the text than I have succeeded in making out from the impressions and the photograph *

¹ The first verse of the inscription commences with the words *Lakshmî-nâramdhrapîna*, which were apparently misread as *Lakshmî-Nârdyana*-

² The accompanying facsimile has been prepared under the superintendence of Prof. Hultzsch from Mr Cousens' photograph A facsimile of the impressions would have been quite useless

³ Exposed as the pillar has been to all the effects of the Indian climate for more than a thousand years it seems wonderful that of these small letters, which were not deeply engraved, many should have been preserved so well as we find them to be

I am sanguine enough to hope that it will indeed some day be possible to make out the names which are hidden now in the second part of our inscription It will then perhaps also be found that this part likewise ends with a date in the 9th century of the Vikrama era, of which in my opinion there are traces in the second half of line 38

The first part (lines 1—31) also commences with *ōm namaḥ* and ends with a date which will be given below. Between the two there are 32 verses, the text of more than two-thirds of which may be given with perfect certainty, while there is no doubt about the general meaning of any of the rest. The verses form a *praśasti*, the main object of which is to record (in verses 25 and 26) that the king Parabala of some Rāshtrakūṭa family founded a temple of Śaūri (Hari, Viṣṇu), before which he erected the Garuda-crested pillar on which the inscription is engraved. The *praśasti* opens with four verses which invoke the protection of, and glorify, the god Viṣṇu, under the names of Murāri, Kṛṣṇa and Hari. It then (in verses 5—7) relates that formerly there was a king Jējja, under whom 'this Rāshtrakūṭa *vamśa*' was flourishing, and whose (unnamed) elder brother, after defeating thousands of Karnāṭa soldiers with their arrays of elephants, obtained the Lāṭa kingdom. Jējja's son was Karkarāja (v. 11), who put to flight¹ the king Nāgavalōka and invaded his home (vv. 14 and 15). And Karkarāja's son was Parabala, represented as ruling the land when the inscription was composed (v. 18). The rest records that the pillar was actually set up by the king's chief minister, whose name is not clear in the impressions, and that the *praśasti* was composed by Harsha (v. 29) and engraved by the *sūtradhāra* Sāhila (v. 31), while the last verse 32 contains the usual prayer that the king's pious work and his fame may endure for ever. — The date at the end of line 31 is *samvat 917 Chaitra-sudi 6 Śukrā, i.e.* "Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 917". In this date the numeral figures for the year are particularly clear, and cannot be read in any other way. The figure for 9 is the same as *e.g.* in line 6 of the Dēḡgadh pillar inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva of the [Vikrama] year 919 (*Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X, Plate xxxiii 2), and in line 22 of the Gurmha plate of Jayādityadēva II of the [Vikrama] year 927 (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LXX Part I Plate i). The date must of course be referred to the Vikrama era. It is one of the earliest dates of that era which admit of exact verification and corresponds regularly, for the expired *Kārttikādī* Vikrama year 917, to Friday, the 21st March A.D. 861, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra ended 16 h 44 m after mean sunrise.

The *praśasti* will, I think, be admitted to contain some rather pretty verses². Its author, so far as I can judge, was well acquainted, amongst other poetical works, with Māgha's *Śiṣupālavadha*, and in the composition of at least one verse he undoubtedly drew his inspiration from that poem³. I refer to verse 16, which may be compared with Śiṣ XIX 52. The former is —

Śakāhṛita-sarvāṅgā nānūbharanabhūṣitāḥ |
drīṣyantē ripavō yasya nānūbharanabhūṣitāḥ ||

"With their limbs all cut to pieces (and thus)⁴ decorated with manifold ornaments (*ābharana*), his enemies are seen to abide on various battle-fields (*rana-bhū*)."

And Māgha's verse is —

Śastravranamaya-śrīmad-alaṃkaranabhūṣitāḥ |
dadṛśē śnyō Rāvanavad-alaṃkaranabhūṣitāḥ ||

"Decorated with glorious ornaments (*alaṃkarana*) which consisted in the wounds inflicted by weapons, another looked like Rāvana, though abiding on a battle-field (*rana-bhū*) that was not connected with Lankā"⁵

¹ The original apparently mentions the place where Nāgavalōka was put to flight, but the name of it cannot be read with confidence. See verse 14 and the translation of it below.

² Compare *e.g.* verses 13, 15, 20 and 30.

³ The *praśasti* somewhat pointedly ends with the word *śrīmatt*, which, in the case of an author who had studied the *śṛyāṅka mahākāvya* does not seem to me to be without significance.

⁴ Compare the following note.

⁵ Mallinātha explains *sarvāṅginavranabhūṣita* *śnyō Rāvana śnyō Rāvana Lankāsambandha-rīrahit* *vyatirīka ity-arthaḥ | upamā vyatirīkayamakāṇḍam samkaraḥ |*

Here we not merely have, at the end of each half verse, the synonymous words *abharana-bhūṣita* and *alamkaranabhūṣita*, either of them similarly used in a double meaning, but we also find a form of the same verb (*drīṣyanté* and *dadṛśé*) in exactly the same position in both verses. At the same time the manner in which the verse of the *Śiṣupālavadha* commences, clearly shows how we ought to interpret the first half of Harsha's verse the ornaments with which the enemies were decorated consisted in the wounds inflicted on them when their limbs were cut to pieces. I am aware that what I have pointed out here is not of any great value now, because we have lately learnt from another inscription that Māgha lived long before the middle of the 9th century A.D.

Among the contents of the *prafastī* there are three points of particular interest. The first obviously is, that the inscription is one — the only one hitherto discovered — of a Rāshtrakūṭa king Parabala, for whom it furnishes a date in A.D. 861. The second point is, that Parabala's father Karkarāja defeated, and invaded the territory of, a king Nāgāvalōka. And to these may be added the statement that an unnamed elder brother of Karkarāja's father Jējja, after defeating certain Karnātas, took possession of the Lāṭa kingdom.

As regards the first point, we knew indeed from the very earliest Sanskrit inscription brought to the notice of European scholars — the Mungir plate of Dharmapāla¹ translated by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1781 — that the Pāla king Dharmapāla married 'Rannādēvī, a daughter of the glorious Parabala, the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭa family,' but as the name Parabala could not be traced in any subsequent inscription, scholars conjectured that it was a *biruda* of one of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhēd, perhaps of Gōvīndarāja III or Amoghavarsha I, according to the notions which they had formed regarding the time of Dharmapāla. Now there cannot remain any reasonable doubt that the Rāshtrakūṭa Parabala of our Pathari inscription is identical with the Parabala of the Mungir plate, a daughter of whom was married by Dharmapāla. But it does not follow that Dharmapāla's reign must therefore be taken to have commenced so late as the middle of the 9th century. Many Indian kings have had unusually long reigns, and at present we know nothing about the length of Parabala's reign, while all that we know for certain in this respect regarding Dharmapāla is that he reigned for at least 32 years. The zeal and activity displayed by the officials of the Archaeological Survey in the search for epigraphical documents encourage us to hope that before long we shall be in possession of materials that will definitely fix both the exact time of Dharmapāla's reign and the chronology of events generally which took place in Northern India during the 8th and 9th centuries.

The king Nāgāvalōka² who was defeated by Parabala's father Karkarāja seems to have been a ruler of some importance. I have no doubt that he is identical with that Nāgāvalōka who is mentioned in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription of Vīgraharāja,³ in terms which would imply that he was the overlord, and who certainly was a contemporary, of the Chāhamāna Gūvaka I of Śākambhari, whom in my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have roughly placed at the commencement of the 9th century. There has lately been discovered a copper-plate inscription of a Chāhamāna *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, which records a grant that was made at Bhṛṅgukachchha in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvalōka, and which apparently is dated in the [Vikrama] year 813 (corresponding to about A.D. 756).⁴ I owe a photograph of it to the kindness of Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, but would wait for impressions before expressing an opinion regarding its genuineness and value.

¹ See *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 123, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 253.

² I need hardly point out that this name looks like the well-known *birudas* ending in *avalōka* of certain Rāshtrakūṭa kings (*Khadgāvalōka*, *Vikramāvalōka*, etc.)

³ See above Vol. II. p. 121, line 12 of the text, where the actual reading of the original is *śrīman-Nāgāvalōka-pravarānripa*.

⁴ If the grant is genuine, the donation recorded in it was probably made on the 28th October A.D. 756.

Nor can I say anything definite at present regarding the conquest of the Lāṭa kingdom by the elder brother of Parabala's grandfather Jējja. The known names of chiefs connected with Lāṭa from about the middle of the 8th century and the available dates will be found above, Vol VIII App II. p. 4. It will be seen there that we have no date, and know little about Lāṭa, between A D 757 and A.D 812, which is just the period in which, judging from the date of the present inscription, we should have to place Jējja and his elder brother.

In the text which follows I have indicated by marks of interrogation all passages about which I am myself doubtful, and have left blanks where I could have put in only a purely conjectural reading. Others may be able to supply what is wanting or to find the correct readings where I have failed to do so. I know that I have shunned no trouble and may perhaps be permitted to say —

Harshēna nūnam rachitā praśastir=
vidhēr=vaśād=aśma-talē vinā |
prakāśit=ēyam pramadāch=chhramēna
satām mudam samtatam-ātanōtu ||

TEXT.¹

- 1 Om² namah || ³Lakṣmī-nīramdhrapīna[sta]nakalaśa-la[sa]t-pallavā Vritra-śatrōs=
ttrailōkyasvāmya-dīkshāvidhī-varaguravō=[r]i-
- 2 shtanāśa-prachandāh | dōrddandāh Kōśikēśagraha-ruchiraru[t-ā]ghushta-
h[1]msrānsadēśā⁴ Daityēbha-sbhūlakumbha[stha]-
- 3 ladalana-d[r]īdhāh pāmtu vas=tē Murārēh ||[1*] ⁵Vā(bā)lārka[chchhav]i-
chakrav[āka]vimala-vyāl[ā]hat-āvāśtitaḥ⁶ karnn[ā]lamvi(mbi)ta-kumdalō⁷
jaladhara-
- 4 chchhēdāvadāta-chohhavih | satkūrttasvarakūta-nirggata iva snigdhēndranilōpala-
stambhah⁸ skandhaga-padmarāgayungalāh Kṛishnō=stu
- 5 vah śrēyasē ||[2*] ⁹Tribhuvanabhavana-stambhō nabhastalāmbhōdhi-sētur=agha-
dahansh | vra(bra)hmāmdamamda(dā)lāmva(bu)jadanda-ruchir=jayati¹⁰ Ha-
- 6 ri-charaṇah ||[3*] ¹¹Ahimakarachakra-kavalayavilasatkamal-ālayah sa-dāna[vakā]yah |
jalanidhir=iva Harir=avatāt=purāna-purushō=pi yah sadā nava-kā-
- 7 yah¹² ||[4*] ¹³Rāj=āsīd=varachakkralāmbhita-karō lakṣmī-sanāthah purā driptāri-
prava(ba)ladvishat-pramathanaś=ch=ā[dhā]ra-bhūtō bhuvah | vā(bā)hūdasta-
mahidharō [nara]-
- 8 ka-hā turgadvipadhvansakṛit=¹⁴Kamaśrāti-samō=py=akṛishnatannbhrih=chhri-Jējja
āryyah stu[tā]h ||[5*] ¹⁵[Ra]mya-prasūtir=achchhidras=tungah
prithur=akamtakah | śrī-Rāshtra[kū]-
- 9 ṣa-vamśō=yam samṛiddhō yattra bhūbhṛti ||[6*] ¹⁶Jitvā [vikata]karighatā-
pra[bhūta]ra-Karnnāśabhaśasahasrā[pi] | [prithu ?] L[ā]t-ākhyam rāshṭram
lavdham(bdham) yasy=āgrajēn=ājau ||[7*] ¹⁷[Vana]-

¹ From impressions and a photograph supplied by Mr. Cousens

² Metro Śragdhara

⁴ Read °srānsadēśā

⁶ Compare Śārngvēśha-phanikañchuka-, above Vol II p 4, v 22

⁷ Originally -kumdalō seems to have been engraved.

⁸ Compare Śisupālavadhā III. 11.

¹⁰ Originally -ruchēr= was engraved.—Compare above Vol I p 40, verse 2: vra(bra)hmāmdamamda-
lamahōtpalandā-līlām vi(bi)bhāt

¹¹ Metro Āryāgiti

¹² Compare Śisupālavadhā xiv. 70: navam budhā yam purāna-purusham prachakṣat

¹³ Metro Śārdūlavikṛidita.

¹⁴ Read °dhavamsakṛit=

¹⁵ Metro: Āryā.

¹⁷ Metro. Mālini.

² Denoted by a symbol

⁵ Metro: Śārdūlavikṛidita.

⁶ Metro Āryā

¹⁶ Metro. Ślōka (Anuśtubh).

- 10 mahisham-asahyam vājūṁ lōla-nēttā madagalita-kapōlā dantīnah sumham=
ugram | [jvalitapīvana?] -kirnā vauri-vīrah Kṛtāntam rana-sīrasī yam=ēkam
mēnirō naika-[rūpam ||] [8*]
- 11 ¹Ekō=p-itas=tatah kurvann-arātā-[ku]lam=ākulam | chāruchāmikar-ōpē[tō n]ila-
rūpam vi(bi)bha[rta] yah ||[9*] ²[Prāpt-ōchchhrayā?] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
prakampī[n]-mukt-ālī[bh]ih svamahima-pratipādanāya | [dēśī?]nta[rāny=u]-
- 12 pagatī vikalā disāsu yasya dhvajī iva sadā rīpa[vō] bhramanti ||[10*]
Tasy-ātma-jō rīpuva(ba)l-[ā]nta ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ h³ śrī-Karkkarāja itī
samyatī lavdha(bdhā)-hittih | P[ārth-āgran?]i-
- 13 r-iva va(ba)bhūva⁴ nīrasta-sālyō duhsāsana-iva(ba)la-sāsana-bhīmasā[na]h ||
[11*] ⁵Vī[kshipta?] -[vai?]rī- . . . ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ nā | ya[t-ka-rēna
ranātbhōdhi-mathanō⁶ Mandarāyitam ||[12*] ⁷Vīdhvasta[vai]-
- 14 rīva[nitī]-nayana-pranālī-samsakta-kajjāyutāsrujala-pra[vāha]h | sēshichyamānam=api
chandramarīchi-[hārī sphitam] va(ba)bhūva [nann] yasya yasō=tachittam ||[13*]
⁸Durvārārīti-maitadvī[rada]-
- 15 ghanaghatitōpasamghatta-chandō samgrāmō [hrishta-yō]dhē [tura]gakhurarajās-
chhannā-dikchakkrā[ālō] [valga?]t-pāldhvaj[ālau] kshatarudhī[rasa]ritprājya-
sīmantachakrī chakrō Nāgāvalōkam [ha]tī ~⁹
- 16 lav[a]nī¹⁰ yab parāvritti-mūrttim ||[14*] ¹¹Durvāravairivaravārana-
kumbha[mukta]-muktāphalaprā[kara]-nirmmaladantamālā | Nāgāvalōkanripa-
[vīśma]ni viprakirṇō yasy=ōddhatam prahasat=iva kripāna-p[āli] ||[15*]
- 17 ¹²Śakalikṛtī-sarvāṅgā nānībharanabhūshitāh | drīsyantē rīpavō yasya
nīnābharanabhūshitāh [16*] ¹³Yasy=ōtpalachchhavi[mu]shā s[v]ajal-ōnnatēna¹⁴
khaḍgēna tumgatara-bhū[mibhri]-
- 18 [tām śi]rassu | dhīrānīpāta-jantair-asrījām¹⁵ pravāhair-yuddhē
mahāpralaya[kāla?]ghana-[pratīti]h ||[17*] ¹⁷Ahimakara iv=ādya tyakta-
dōshānushamgō himakara iva jā[ta]h
- 19 śuddha-mūrttiḥ kalāvān | parava(ba)ladalan-ōgrō=nugra-chakshuh pratāpī
Parava(ba)la itī puttras=tasya [śāst]=īha bhū[mim] ||[18*]
¹⁸[Tyaktivā?]māyām=adamībhāñ=cha sakta-kārttasvarāh sadā | bhūm[jatō] śrī-¹⁹

¹ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

² Metre of verses 10 and 11 Vasantatilakā.

³ The original possibly has *lāntaka lca mūrtiḥ*

⁴ Originally *śīdhāva* or *śōbhāva* was engraved

⁵ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) — I am unable to restore the first half of this verse with any confidence, but the meaning probably is that the king's hand in battle took away fortune from his adversary. Compare *Gupta Inscr* p 203, l 7.

⁶ Originally *ranāmbhōdhi-* was engraved

⁷ Metre Vasantatilakā. — Compare *Śisupālavadhā* XV 90

⁸ Metre Bragdhārā

⁹ The *akshara* which is missing here I am unable to restore with confidence

¹⁰ Of these three *aksharas* the first and the last seem to be certain, and the second is either *va* or *va*

¹¹ Metre Vasantatilakā.

¹² Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) See above, p 250

¹³ Metre Vasantatilakā

¹⁴ The water of the sword-blade (*asdhārā-jala*, *khaḍgadhārā-payas*, *khaḍgadhārdmāhas*) is often spoken of by poets; compare *eg* *Ekadvā*, pp 64 and 168, and above Vol II, p 307, v 21

¹⁵ The plural of *asrī* is similarly used in *Śisupālavadhā* xvii, 55 (*asrīḥ*)

¹⁶ I have little doubt that this is the correct reading; in the original a medial *s* was originally engraved before the *akshara* which I read as *pra*, but it has clearly been struck out.

¹⁷ Metre Mālinī.

¹⁸ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

¹⁹ This word, being repeated at the commencement of the next line, is superfluous here. *Śrīphala* is used in the double sense of 'the fruit of his prosperity' and 'Śrīva fruit.'

- 20 śrīphalānya=asya suhrīdō vidvishō=py=alam ||[19*] ¹Makarakōtutulā[hṛita]-
sumdarījana-vilō[ṭita]lōchana-mā[la]yā | [sva]-śuchibhū[śhaṇa]-va[rāhman]
linay=ā[ma]rapurēndra-samō bhuvi yō=bha[vat ||] [20*]
- 21 ²Prabhājanō vauri-mahiruhāṇām samāśrī(śrī)tānām dhanadō [janā]nām
[d]in-ā[ta]rāṇām [sa]kṛipō nṛpānā[m=ā]kō[pi] yō=bhūch=charitaur-anēkaḥ ||
[21*] ³Vishayēbhyaḥ paritṛāyā [va]graha[danda]-li-
- 22 layā | indriyān=iva [yē]n=āśu jātāny=ari-va(ba)lāny=api ||[22*] ⁴Sura-gurur=
iva samya[g=mamtr]iss[kt-ā?]vadhā[na]ḥ sura-patir=iva hēlādārit-ārātigōtrah |
sura-gaja iva n[tyam] sām[dra-dā]-
- 23 n[ā] pravṛittāḥ sura-gurir=iva bhūbhṛinmamdal-ōtkṛishta bhūtaḥ ||[23*]
⁵Jyārāvākṛishta dṛidhakārmuka-mamdalāgra-bhinnēbhakumbhabhava-lōhita-
kīrnahārā | pāludhvajān=bhujalatāsita-[vā]namālā [ya]-
- 24 sy=ājūgāya rana-mūrdhāni rāja-lakshmīḥ ||[24*] ⁶Achikarad=dāvakulām sa
śaurār=īdam Hī[mō]rvvīdharaśrī[mga]-t[ulyam |] [śubhrā?]gra[vinyasta?]-
sita[dhvajāl]i vi(bi)bhartti yasy=āmarasindhu-sōbhām ||[25*] Stambh[as=tu
yā?]-
- 25 [dṛig?] = Garudadhvajā[dran?]' p[urā] viśālō Garudadhvajō=yam | Harēḥ
puras-tādṛi[śa] ā[va] tēna stambhah samuttambhita ēsha rājā ||[26*]
⁸Vishnōḥ kim charaṇas=trivikrama-kṛtēḥ stambh-ākṛitōr=vvā vapuh
Sthānōr=bhū-viva[rā]-
- 26 t=phapīndra-rīpunā Śēshō=thavā prōddhritah | ittham bhūri vi[chāra]yadbhir=
amaraur-ālōkya n[śch]i yatō stambhah śuddhaśilāmayah
Parava(ba)la[kshmā]pāla-kirttipradah ||[27*] ⁹Tasy=āmātyō va(ba)bhūva
[Ksh?]i ~ ~ ~
- 27 ita yah sarvadharm-ādḥikārī hēmābhah satyavādī Parava(ba)la-nripatēr=
mmū[rddha]-vandyah pra[dhāna?]ḥ | [tēn=ō]ttumg-ā[śmavā(bā)h?]ur¹⁰=
Mmadhumathana-purō Vanatēy-ōpalakshyah stambhah samstambhit-ārēr=
[upaha?]-
- 28 [sita?]-yugah stambha uttambhitō=yam ||[28*] ¹¹Prakṛishta-varaṇah ~ ~ ~
[yam?]śē svabhāva[samp]ādita-[sambhramō] yah | Ha[rsh]āna [padyai]
rachitā prasastar=mmuktāphalālī-śriyam=ātanōta ||[29*] ¹²Pravi[nā]
- 29 [gam]bhira vividhapadavinyāsa-chaturā dṛidhōdāra-gramth=[āviva(bu)dhaja]na-
darjūāna[hṛidayā] | [prasastir=mmādhurya]prabhṛitigunāsam[dō]ha-ruchirā
suratr=īv=ābhātā sphatikavimalastambha-[lkhitā] ||[30*]
- 30 ¹³Utkīnnā sūtradhārēṇa Sāhilēna sphut-āksharā | chitrāṅga[vāgvya?]gra-varaṇā
[Sarasvat?] = iva [bhā]satē ||[31*] ¹⁴[Yāvat]= ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ jītō
Lakshmīḥ sthū=ōrasthalō dēhārdhō Girī[śasya]

¹ Metre Drutavilambita² Metre Upajāti.³ Metre Ślōka (Anu-ubh) — Instead of *vishayēbhyaḥ* I should have expected the accusative *vishayān*, but this would not have suited the metre⁴ Metre Māhāt. — I am somewhat doubtful about the correctness of the first Pāda, and I miss a relative pronoun in the verse.⁵ Metre Vasantatilakā⁶ Metre of verses 25 and 26. Upajāti.⁷ Originally *dhvajādāri* was engraved, but the sign for : has been struck out or altered to as I am not sure about the exact meaning of the first half of the verse.⁸ Metre Śārdūlavikṛidita⁹ Metre Sragdhara¹⁰ Compare *Śisupālavadhā* III 78, *uttunga-taraṅgabāhu*¹¹ Metre Upajāti¹² Metre Śikharipi¹³ Metre Ślōka (Anu-ubh). I am doubtful about the second half of this verse.¹⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛidita

31 H[ama]gimjâ Śēsh-ōttamāmgē kshūh | chamchachchandramarīchi-[bhāsurajalā ?]
 yāvad=dī[vi] swarddhunī [tāvat=kīrttir=aua]śva[r=āstu] [nripatēi=
 bhūmyās=ta ?]lê śrīmatī ||[32*] Samvat¹ 917 Chaitra-śudī 6 Śu[kr]ē ||
 32 Om² namah ||³

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION ⁴

(Verse 5) There was formerly a king whose hands were marked with auspicious discs, who was endowed with fortune, and who, harassing haughty foes and powerful adversaries, was the support of the earth, who with his arm overthrew princes, who warded off hell and destroyed huge elephants,⁵ and who, although thus like Kamsa's enemy (Krishna) [whose hand bears a choice disc, who is united with Lakshmi, who harassed haughty foes and powerful adversaries, and supported the earth, who lifted up with his arms the mountain (Gôvardhana), slew (the demon) Naraka, and destroyed (Kamsa's) huge elephant], did not bear Krishna's body,⁶—the glorious Jējja, praised by the noble

(V 6) While he was king this glorious Rāshtrakūta family was prosperous, a family in which there is pleasing progeny, which is without blemish, noble, large, and free from trouble being like the bamboo, which has pleasing shoots, is free from flaws, high, broad, and without thorns]

(V 7) His elder brother, having defeated in battle thousands of Karnāta soldiers whose might was increased by arrays of enormous elephants, obtained the broad Lāta kingdom

(V 11) Jējja's son⁷ was the glorious Karkarāja, who, . (causing) the destruction of the forces of adversaries, acquired fame in battle, who removed trouble [and was therefore] like (Yudhishtira) the foremost of Prithā's sons [who annihilated Śalya], and whose armies were terrible in chastising the forces of enemies difficult to be chastised [so that he was like Bhīmasēna⁸ subduing the strength of his enemy Duhsāsana]

(V 14) In a battle which was terrific by the collision with the multitude of the close arrays of the furious elephants of the irresistible enemy, where warriors rejoiced and the circuit of the regions was hidden by the dust from the hoofs of horses, where rows of *pāḍidhvaja*⁹ banners were fluttering and the crowd of feudatories was inundated with streams of blood issuing from wounds, he at . . . ¹⁰ caused Nāgāvalōka quickly to turn back

(V. 15) The blade of his sword, with rows of spotless teeth formed on it by the mass of pearls that were shed by the frontal globes of the choice elephants¹¹ of the irresistible adversary, exultingly laughs as it were in the devastated home of king Nāgāvalōka

¹ Read *samvat*

² Denoted by a symbol

³ On the second part of the inscription, lines 32-38, see above, p 249

⁴ I consider it sufficient to translate here those verses of the original text only which refer to historical events. The other verses will interest Sanskrit scholars only, to whom they will present no more difficulties than any ordinary classical text. A brief summary of the contents of the inscription has been given above

⁵ In the case of the king the words *tunga-dvīpa* might possibly have to be translated by "the elephants of (king) Tunga," where the name Tunga would perhaps have reference to one of the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkhēd who had *virūdas* ending in *tunga* (Sahasatunga, Śubhatunga, Jagattunga, etc)

⁶ For the figure *virōdha* or *virōdhādōdha*, 'seeming contradiction,' used here by the poet, see above Vol VI p 246, note 13

⁷ The original has 'his (i.e. Jējja's) son'

⁸ The word *bhīmasēna* is similarly used in a double sense, e.g. in the *Vāsavadattā*, p 122, l 5

⁹ For this word which occurs also in verse 24, see e.g. above, Vol VI p 170 and Vol VII p 227

¹⁰ Here the original probably has the name of a place containing four syllables and ending with *lavana* or *lavana*

¹¹ Compare in *Journ Bo As Soc* Vol XVI p 107, l. 5 *nistrimtaghātavidalat-karikumbha-mukta-muklāphalaprakara-*, also e.g. *Śisupālavadhā* V 12

(V 18) Now his son Parabala rules here the land, he who has discarded addiction to sin and is therefore like the sun which has severed its connection with the night, who is born of pure body and is versed in all arts, and is therefore like the moon when she has risen with a bright form and with all her digits, who, terrible in cutting up the forces of adversaries, is gentle-looking, and full of prowess

(V 24) At the head of battle the fortune of royalty—her garland of pearls covered with the blood streaming from the temples of elephants that were split by the round-pointed shafts of her strong bow drawn with a twang of the string, and with rows of arrows resting on her creeper-like arms—conquered for him *pāṇḍhava* banners

(V 25) He caused to be built this temple of Śaṃi,¹ resembling the peak of the mountain of snow, the white flag on the bright top of which bears the lustre of the river of the gods

(V 26) And like the pillar which was formerly (erected?) on the mountain of Garudadhvaṃja(?),² exactly so was this large Garuda-bannered pillar caused to be erected by that king before (the temple of) Hari¹

(V 27) Repeatedly deliberating whether this is Vishnu's foot making three strides, or the body of Sthānu³ shaped like a post, or (the serpent) Śeṣha pulled out of a hole in the ground by the enemy of the serpent-king,⁴ the gods on viewing it find out that it is a pillar of pure stone proclaiming the fame of king Parabala

(V 28) His prime minister was [Kṣh?]⁵, administrator of all laws, bright like gold and true of speech, to be saluted with (bowing of) the head by king Parabala He set up before (the temple of) the destroyer⁶ of Madhu this Garuda-marked pillar, which with its stone arm raised aloft defies all ages—a pillar of him who has paralyzed his foes⁶

(Lane 31) The year 917, Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra

No 35 — ANMAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF PROLA;

The Chalukya-Vikrama year Forty-Two

By H KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A

On a hillock to the south of Hanumkondā⁷ (Anmakonda) near Warangal in the Nizam's State, stands the small temple of Padmākṣhī which, unlike other buildings attributable to the Kākatiya period,⁸ is devoid of any architectural pretensions. The rock close to which the temple stands, bears on a portion of its dressed surface, sculptures of

¹ I.e. Vishnu

² I am not sure about the meaning of these words, the text of which is doubtful in the original *Garudadhvaṃja*; might be equivalent to *Kṛṣṇanagiri*

³ I.e. Śiva

⁴ These words clearly indicate that there was a figure of Garuda on the top of the pillar

⁵ I.e. Vishnu

⁶ In my opinion, this might refer either to the king or to the god Vishnu

⁷ This is the form given in Mr Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. II the Nizam's Territories*, p. 46

⁸ The thousand-pillared temple in the middle of the village of Anmakonda was built by Prōla's son Rudra in or about A.D. 1162-63 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 9 f.) and contains some excellently sculptured door-posts. The four gateways which now stand in the open air at Warangal might have belonged to the palace of the Kākatiya kings at that place (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1901-2*, p. 4). Mr Cousens, however, thinks that the gateways must have belonged to a great temple in the centre of Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. II the*

some Jaina images seated in a row. In front of the temple is an inscribed quadrangular pillar of black granite bearing in relief within a countersunk square, at the top of each of its four faces, the figure of a squatting Jaina ascetic with his arms folded over his lap crosswise. On the east face of the pillar this figure is flanked by a cow and calf on one side and a dagger and shield (?) on the other. The north face of the pillar bears representations of the sun and moon on the right and left sides, respectively, of the squatting Jaina figure. From these sculptures and from the inscription on the pillar, which is published below, it appears that the Padmākshī temple was originally dedicated to the Jaina goddess Kadālālāya and that the pillar was set up there by the lady who built the *basadi* (Jaina temple). At present the Brāhmanas of Anmakonda, who have somehow got possession of the temple, worship the goddess in it under the name Padmākshī, which they believe to be synonymous with Durgā.² It is not clear how or when the ownership of the temple passed from the Jainas to the Brāhmanas.

Anmakonda, or, as it is called in the subjoined inscription, Anmakundā (l 16) or Ammakunde (l 75), was originally the capital of the Kākatiya kings and was situated in the Andhra country.³ The neighbouring town of Warangal (Ōrumgallu in Telugu or Ēkaśilānagara in Sanskrit) became the seat of government about the end of Ganapati's reign and continued as such until the collapse of the Kākatiya family.⁴ Anmakonda and Warangal are now stations

Nizam's Territories, p 47). The temples near the Rāmappā Lake in the Warangal district are (*ibid* p 49) of the same type as the great temple at Hanumkondā, but more profusely sculptured. The principal temple of this group appears to have been built in A D 1213-14 by Rudra of Recharla, who was a dependant of the Kākatiya king Ganapati. The village Uparpalle in the Yelgandal district, is also reported to contain some ruined temples attributable to the Kākatiya period (*ibid* p 74). The *vimāna* of the Tripurantakēśvara temple at Tripurantakam in the Kurnool district was constructed in A D 1254-55 under the orders of the Kākatiya king Ganapati (Epigraphical collection for 1905, No. 169). The Padmākshī temple at Anmakonda is the earliest known structural monument of the Kākatiya period and this may account for its being plain and devoid of the display of art which is quite characteristic of the later structures of the dynasty.

¹ Jaina remains are mostly to be seen in the western portion of the Nizam's Dominions, which borders on the Bombay Presidency. Anmakonda is almost on the eastern border, see the map accompanying Mr Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H H the Nizam's Territories*.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, paragraph 7. The goddess Padmākshī to whom the temple is dedicated must be one of the twenty-four *Śāsana-devīs* of the Jaina mythology. Ambā or Ambikā, the *Śāsana-devī* of the 22nd Tirthankara Neminātha, is supposed to be a form of Durgā. Padmavati was the *Śāsana-devī* of Parśvanātha (Dr Burgess' *Archaeol Surv of Western India*, Vol V p 45 f and p 46, note 2). It might, therefore, be supposed that the goddess consecrated by Mallama in the *basadi* at Anmakonda was either Ambikā or Padmavati—called, in Kanarese, Kadālālāya, the meaning of which I have not been able to trace.

³ Above, Vol III, p 82, and footnote 4.

⁴ The Ganapēśvaram inscription of the time of Ganapati states (v 9) that Rudra, son of Prōla, destroyed many towns and founded quarters named after these towns in the city of Ōrumgallu and peopled them with their respective inhabitants, while in the devastated towns he built celebrated temples of Rudrēśvara and settled fresh inhabitants. If there be any truth in this statement, it may be inferred that Warangal, which was already in existence as an important city (see l. 95 of the subjoined inscription also), was greatly improved by Rudra. Recharla Rudra, a general of Ganapati (see above, p 256, note 8) is said to have put to flight king Nagati and founded the temple of Rudrēśvara at the city of Ōrugallu (Warangal)—perhaps after his own name Ōrumgallu or Ōrugallu, which was thus improved by the Kākatiya king Rudra, appears to have occupied only a subordinate position in the time of Prōla, Rudra and Ganapati, while Anmakonda was the capital. No 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905-06 which belongs to the time of Rudra and is dated in Śaka Samvat 1107, Viśvāvasu (= A D 1185-86) states that the *mahāmandalēśvara* Kākatiya Rudradēva-Mahārāja was "the lord of Anumakonda, the best of towns." Nos 195 and 223 of the same collection belong to Ganapati and are both dated in Śaka-Samvat 1174, Paridhāvin (= A D 1252-53). The former refers to Ganapati as "the lord of Anumakonda, the best of towns." In Śaka-Samvat 1175 Ganapati still called himself the lord of Anumakonda (Mr Butterworth's *Nellore Inscriptions*, O 28). But No. 231 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905, dated in Śaka Samvat 1176, Anandā, distinctly states that Ganapati was ruling with Ōrugallu as his capital. Whether his successor Rudramadēva (or, as she is called in inscriptions, Rudradēva-Mahārāja) reigned from the newly established capital Warangal or not, it is difficult to say. Her successor Pratāparudra ruled over almost the whole of the Telugu country and portions even of the Tamil country from his throne at Ōrumgallu. He is generally known as Ōrumginti Pratāparudrādeva, i.e. Pratāparudradēva of Ōrumgallu.

on the Hyderabad-Bezvada section of the Nizam's State Railway and seem to have been included about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. in the district of Sabbī-sāyira 'the Sabbī one thousand,' which formed part of the Western Chālukya empire, and to have been conferred by Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI on his feudatory the Kākatiya chief Tribhuvanamalla-Bēta¹ Sabbī-sāyira is not mentioned in other published records and, consequently, its extent cannot be defined until more lithic records from that part of the Nizam's Dominions are published.²

The subjoined inscription³ engraved on the four faces of the pillar above referred to, is written in bold and clear Kanarese characters of the twelfth century A.D. The written surface measures roughly in breadth 1' 3½" on the east and west faces and 1' 2½" on the north and south faces, while in height it is 3' 6", 3' 5½", 3' 7", and 3' 3½" respectively, on the east, north, west and south faces. The sculptures which the four faces of the pillar bear have been noted already. Verse 1, which contains the invocation, and the imprecatory verses (11 and 12) are in the Sanskrit language. Lines 89 to 91 contain an incomplete Sanskrit verse which is evidently meant to be a quotation. The rest of the inscription is in Kanarese prose (ll 6 to 24, 70 to 88, 91 to 99, and 111 and 112) and poetry (verses 2 to 10). The writing calls for very few remarks. The *anusvāra* is sometimes, as in ancient records, written at the top of the right side of the letter (ll 1, 3, and 4), and sometimes, as at present, written on the right side of the letter (ll 86, 98, 100 and 102). The *virāma* occurs once in l 62 where it is marked by a wavy vertical line added to the top of the letter. The *ī*-sign, which is almost similar in form to the *virāma*, is also attached to the top of the letter, but is horizontal. In ll 40 and 55, however, the *e* of *de* in the word *perggade* and *ē* of *yē* in the word *hridayācvari*, are marked differently by a curved line attached to the left bottom corner of the letter and drawn horizontally to its right. In other cases this sign along with the *ī*-sign first described, marks the *ai*-sign. An attempt is made to distinguish the long *ī* from the short *i* but it is not throughout kept up. Among consonants it may be noted, that the length of the horizontal stroke in the middle, which in the case of *pa* ought to be shorter than in that of *sha*, is in some instances lengthened so far as to make *pa* look almost like *sha*. The forms *kramā*⁴ for *kramā*⁵ in l 20 and *yējña*⁶ for *yajña*⁶ in l 103 are due to the peculiarities of Kanarese pronunciation.

The record begins with an invocation addressed to the feet of Jinēndra (v. 1) and refers in ll 6 to 24 to the reign of the *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramēśvara* and *paramabhaṣṭārāla*, the [Western] Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalladēva [Vikramāditya VI] and his feudatory the *mahāmandalēśvara* Kākati Bēta (l 19), who had acquired the five great sounds (*pañchamahāśabda*) and who was 'the lord of Anmakundā (l 16), the best of towns'. The hereditary minister of Kākati Bētarasa (l 30) was the *dandādhipātī* Vaija (v. 2). Verse 3 states that Vaija brought his master the *maṇḍalika* Kākati Bēta (ll 32 and 37) to the feet of the Chālukya (l 33) emperor⁴ (*chakrin*) (*viz* Vikramāditya VI) and made him rule the district of

¹ See verse 3 below

² *Sebbi* or *Chiebbi* thirty, a small district over which the Western Ganga king Pañchaladēva was ruling in A.D. 971, and which took its name from the village of Chabai or Chhabbi in the Hubli taluka of the Dharwar district (Dr Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 307) seems to be different from the Sabbī-sāyira district which was ruled by the Kākatiya chief Bēta.

³ No 106 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902. Mr Cousens refers to this as No. 4 of the inscriptions at Hanumkondā and Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*, p. 48).

⁴ In footnote 7 on p. 91 of Vol. VI above, Professor Luders questions the propriety of the title *chakrin* (*chakravartin*) as applied to Vikramāditya VI, in an inscription at Śravana-Belgola, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1031. He presumes that the title *chakrin* is based on the analogy of the epithets *sarvajñachakravartin*, *pratāpachakravartin* and *Chālukyachakravartin* assumed respectively by three of Vikramāditya's successors, *viz* Sōmēśvara III, Jagadēkamalla II and Taila III. The title *Chālukya chakrin* applied to Vikramāditya VI in the subjoined inscription leaves no doubt that this imperial *śirūda* originated with him;

Sabbi-sâyira (l 34 f) as a feudatory of that monarch. According to verses 4 and 5 Vaija's son by Yâkamabbe (l 38 f) was the *pergade* Bêta, who became the minister of Kâkati Prôla (l 43). The only act of this Bêta which the inscription records, is that he constructed ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his native village (v 5). The wife of this minister Bêta—the son of Yâkamâmbikâ (l 53 f)—was Mailama (vv 6, 7 and 8). Lines 70 to 87 state that she built the Kadalâlâya-basadi on the top of the hill (v 9) and that—in the Châlukya-Vikrama (l 76) year forty-two, which corresponded to the cyclic year Hêmalambi, on the occasion of the Uttarâyana-samkrânti, which fell on Monday, the 15th day of the dark half of Paushya, while the king Kâkatiya Polalarasa (l 73), son of the *mandalika* Tribhuvanamalla (l 72) was ruling at Ammakunde (l 75),—she gave for the benefit of that temple six *mattar* (l 86) of land below the tank built and named after herself, by her husband Bêtana-*pergade* (l 81).¹ The pillar that bears the inscription was also set up by Mailama on the same occasion (l 87). Lines 88 to 99 register a gift of ten *mattar* (l 98 f) of land to the same temple by the *mahâmandalêśvara* Mêlarasa of Ugravâdi (ll 92 to 94), a member of the family of Mâdha[va]varman (l 91) ' (who possessed a fabulous army) of eight thousand elephants, ten crores of horses and numberless foot-soldiers ' The land which Mêlarasa granted was situated below the Kûchikere tank, which belonged to Orumgallu (l 95). This town was under the control of Mêlarasa at the time of the grant. Lines 111 to 112 record the assignment of a *pûga* (*hâga*) coin to the temple sweeper Bôya-Padda, to be paid, apparently from the proceeds of either of the two grants mentioned above.

The late Professor Kielhorn kindly contributed the following remarks on the date of the inscription—"Ch V 42= Ś 1039 exp.= Hêmalamba. The date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 24th December A D 1117. On this day the Uttarâyana-samkrânti took place 14 h. 55 m after mean sunrise, during the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausha, which commenced 0 h 38 m after mean sunrise, and ended 0 h 13 m before mean sunrise of the following day."

Seven inscriptions of the Kâkatiya dynasty have been published so far.² The earliest of these belongs to the time of Rudra,³ five to that of Ganapati,⁴ and one to that of Pratâparudra. The first of these and the Kâñchi inscription of Ganapati⁵ supplement one another in supplying the full name of the first historical person of the Kâkatiya dynasty, viz. Tribhuvanamalla Bêtma. The Chêbrôlu record of Ganapati⁶ and the subjoined inscription give, instead of Bêtma, the form Bêta. The former of these two records and the unpublished Pâkhâl inscription of about the time of Ganapati⁷ mention a certain Durjaya in the Kâkatiya ancestry—the one, as the father of Bêta and the other as the father of Prôla. The Pâkhâl inscription further states that

chakrin is also used in the sense of 'provincial chief,' above, Vol IV, p 96

¹ This tank is, perhaps, to be identified with the one at the foot of the hillock on which the Padmâkshi temple is situated.

² Nos 534 to 539 and No 1066 of Appendix to Vol VII above

³ This is his Anmakonda inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1084, published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI pp 9 ff. An unpublished record at Tripurântakam in the Kurnool district (No 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) gives for him the date Śaka-Samvat 1107. The initial date of the next king Ganapati being now fixed at Śaka-Samvat 1121 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 43) it follows that Rudra must have ruled from at least Śaka 1084 to 1121. However, the events recorded in the Anmakonda inscription of Rudra presume a much earlier date for his accession than Śaka 1084.

⁴ These range in date between Śaka 1135 and Śaka 1172. The earliest inscription of Ganapati found at Tripurântakam is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1131 which was probably his 10th year. He must have been ruling the country round Bezvâda already in Śaka 1123, see below, p 262, note 2.

⁵ *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 197 ff

⁶ Above, Vol V p 142 ff

⁷ No 82 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902-03. This is not dated, but records the construction of the (Pâkhâl) tank by Jagadâla-Mummadî, son of Bayyana-Nâyaka, a minister of the Kâkatiya king Ganapati. One is tempted to connect Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces, with the chief Jagadâla-Mummadî. The tradition that the kings of Bastar trace their descent from the Kâkatiya king Pratâparudra (above, p 164 f) lends further support to the chief's connection with Jagdalpur.

Karikāla-Chōla of the solar race was one of the predecessors of Durjaya. The Kāñchi epigraph quoted above, which also traces the Kākatīyas, as the Chēbrōla and the Pāhāl inscriptions do, to the Sun, Manu, Ikshvāku, and other mythical kings of the Raghu family, does not give the names of either Karikāla-Chōla or of Durjaya. The appearance of these two names in the Kākatīya genealogy is at present difficult to explain satisfactorily. But two facts which may be of some use in this connection have to be registered before passing on to the historical portion of the genealogy. As regards the mention of the mythical king Karikāla-Chōla as an ancestor of the Kākatīyas, attention may be drawn to the fact that the Telugu-Chōlas who invariably claim connection with this mythical Chōla king, became feudatories of the Kākatīyas in the time of Ganapati¹. With regard to Durjaya, the name occurs among the ancestors of two of the contemporary local families of the Telugu country². The first historical ancestor of the Kākatīya family was Tribhuvanamalla-Bēta. He appears to have been a powerful chief who held sway over some portions of the Andhra country before he became a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas and the governor of the Sabbi one thousand district. The surname Tribhuvanamalla which occurs here as well as in the Kāñchi and Anmakonda inscriptions, was probably borrowed from his overlord Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI.

Bēta's son and successor was Prōla, Prōlerāja, Prōdarāja or Polalarasa, whose surname Jagatikēśarin is known to us from the Kāñchi inscription of his grandson Ganapati. The importance of the subjoined epigraph consists in its being the earliest Kākatīya record and the only one of Prōla found so far. Like his father Bēta, Prōla appears to have continued as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI.³ The Anmakonda inscription of his son⁴ Rudra and the Ganapēśvaram record of his grandson Ganapati, mention in detail the military exploits of Prōla. These have been fully discussed by Dr Fleet and Professor Hultzsch⁵. One of the opponents of Prōla was Tailapadōva called "the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas" in the Anmakonda inscription. Dr Fleet has identified him with the Western Chālukya king Taila III (A.D. 1150-51 to 1162-63). This implies a pretty long reign for Prōla from at least the Chālukya-Vikrama year 42 (= A.D. 1117), the date of the present record, to at least A.D. 1150-51, the first year of Taila III, unless we suppose that Prōla fought with Taila while the latter was yet a prince⁶. That Rudra, son of Prōla, successfully averted a usurpation of the Chālukya throne after the death of Taila III, by a certain Bhīma

¹ See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900, p. 18, Genealogical Table of the Chōlas of the Telugu country, remarks under Ōpiliśiddhi II and paragraph 53.

² The Kondapadmatī chief Buddharāja and the *mahāmandalētrara* Nambara—two petty chieftains of the Telugu country on the southern side of the Krishna river—bore the surname 'the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family' (above, Vol VI p. 268 and footnote 6, and p. 269). We know from Telugu records that a family of chiefs known by the name Chāgi was contemporaneous with the Kondapadmatīs. Nos. 253 and 271 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897 give two or three names in the ancestry of this family and call it the Durjaya-kula born from the feet of Vishnu. No. 255 of the same collection, which is dated in Saka Samvat 1145 and which belongs to the time of Chāgi Ganapaya-Mahārāja who was probably a member of this Chāgi Durjaya kula, quotes a verse at the beginning in praise of the king which is almost identical with verse 7 of the Yamamadala inscription describing the Kākatīya king Ganapati (above, Vol III p. 97 f., text ll. 31 to 34). Unfortunately the inscription is seriously damaged, otherwise, it might, perhaps, have been possible to prove that the local chiefs of the Chāgi Durjaya-kula were borrowing from the royal Kākatīya family of Warangal not only names, but sometimes even the description of the members of its family.

³ This may be inferred from the use of the Chālukya-Vikrama era in the date portion of the subjoined record.

⁴ The Pāhāl inscription referred to above, states that Rudra was born in the family of Prōla, which is quite against the testimony of other Kākatīya inscriptions.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol XI p. 10 and above, Vol III p. 83.

⁶ The second alternative seems to be the more probable one, for Prōla is actually stated to have captured Taila in battle and to have re-elected him out of 'loyalty and love' (*bhakti-ānuraagāt*). This may imply the existence of a sovereign on the Chālukya throne different from Taila. Chālukya *chudamani* seems to have been a title of Western Chālukya princes who, before succeeding to the throne, generally served as governors of provinces.

whose capital was at Vardhamānanagari,¹ shows the extent of the power wielded by this feudatory family in the last days of the Chālukyas. Prōla's other enemies referred to in the Annamakonda inscription were Jagaddēva, Gōvinda (or Gōvindadandēśa, as he is called in the Ganapēśvaram inscription), Gunda and Udaya or Chōdōdaya. Jagaddēva has been identified with Tribhuvanamalla Jagaddēva, the Śāntara chief of Pattī-Pombuchchapura, who was a feudatory, first of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. and then of his grandson Jagadēkamalla II. He must have "stood encompassing the city of Anumakonda" on behalf of the Chālukya emperor in order to avenge himself upon Prōla, who, it may be supposed, was trying to throw off his allegiance to the Chālukyas. It was, probably, as the first step in this direction, that Prōla inflicted the defeat on prince Taila III as stated above. Indeed, Prōla appears to have extended his military operations into the modern Kistna district as well. For, the next opponent of his was Gunda, the lord of the city of Mantana or Mantrakūta which is probably identical with the village of Mantana² in the Nuzvid Zamindāri of the Godavari district. Gōvinda or Govindadandēśa, I would identify with the Gōvindarāja of the Ablūr inscriptions,³ who was the nephew of Anantapāla, the general of Vikramāditya VI.—and with the *dandanāyaka* Gōvindarasa, who in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, corresponding to A.D. 1126-27 was ruling the Kondapalli three hundred district according to an unpublished inscription at Tripurāntakam.⁴ Here we are told that this *dandanāyaka* Gōvindarasa "burnt Bengipura (Vēngi?)" and conquered Gonka.⁵ This Gonka is apparently identical with the Velanāndu chief Gonka II, father of Rājendra-Chōda.⁶ Udaya or Chōdōdaya, whom Prōla first defeated and then reinstated in his dominions, is according to Professor Hultzsch perhaps "to be connected with Kulōttunga-Chōda-Gonka

Vira Nolamba Pallava Permānadi Jayasīnghadēva, younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI, had such a biruda. Perhaps Taila's defeat by Prōla took place while the former was yet a prince, somewhere in the latter part of the reign of Jagadēkamalla II.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 11. Vardhamānanagari is said to have been burnt by Rudra after marching 'a few steps' from his capital Annamakonda. Dr. Fleet suggests, accordingly, that it should be looked for somewhere in the Nizam's dominions not far from Annamakonda. There are two places with either of which Vardhamānanagari may be identified. One is Vardhanapet, about 20 miles south-west of Annamakonda and the other is Waddamarru, about 50 miles south-west of Annamakonda in the direction of Kalyāna. A later chief of Vardhamānanagari is mentioned in an inscription engraved on the fort wall at Raichur, as a feudatory of Pratāparudra. The record is dated in A.D. 1294 which is the earliest date for Pratāparudra derived from inscriptions (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 44). I quote this from a brief note on the inscription made by the Officer in charge of Archaeological Researches in Mysore in his Annual Report for the year ending 30th June 1907, paragraph 56.

² There is a place called Mantana in the Yelgandal district of the Nizam's State which is about 50 miles north of Annamakonda.

³ Above, Vol. V p. 213 ff.

⁴ No. 253 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, paragraph 40.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV p. 35. On p. 38 of the same volume, Professor Hultzsch refers to the biruda *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha* of Gonka II and states that he was a tributary to one of the two branches of the Chālukya dynasty. I think that, in spite of the fact that the Velanāndu chiefs became the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas subsequent to the death of Kulōttunga Chōda I (*ibid* p. 37), the title borne by Gonka II was a formal hereditary title and did refer only to the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. No. 227 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district records a gift by Velanānti Gonka in Śaka-Samvat 1028 (= A.D. 1106-07). This Gonka is identical with Gonka I in the Genealogical Table of the Velanāndu chiefs. The inscription states that he bore the title *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha*, but does not mention the overlord to whom he was subordinate. No. 151 of 1897, however, which is dated in Śaka-Samvat 998, the cyclic year Nala, corresponding to the [7]th year of Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja [Kulōttunga Chōda I] registers a grant by Velanānti Gonkara (i.e. Gonka I), the commander of all forces (*samasta-sēnādhipati*) of the king. This shows that the title *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha* assumed by Gonka I when he had become more or less independent in the Telugu country, meant that he was a supporter of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom. We also learn from No. 151 of 1897 that Gonka I was the son of Gundāmbikā. He was a *trisatōttara-sahasrāvanti nātha* 'the lord of the one thousand and three hundred country' (No. 277 of 1905), while his grandson Gonka II was a *trisatōttara-shasahasrāvanti-nātha* 'the lord of the six thousand and three hundred country' (No. 274 of 1893).

of Velanāndu¹ Thus Prôla who, in his early career, was a Châlukya feudatory, appears to have gradually grown powerful and to have thrown off the imperial yoke in the latter part of the reign of the Western Châlukya king Jagadêkamalla II, preparing, thereby, the way for Rudra's extensive conquests, which according to the Anmakonda inscription, reached in the east to the shore of the salt sea and in the south as far as Śrīśaila²

The other facts mentioned in the subjoined inscription do not call for any remarks Mēlarasa of Ugravādi who belonged to the family of Mādhavavarman, is not known from other inscriptions. A feudatory family of the time of the Vijayanagara king Krishṇarāya, whose members claim to have been lords of Bezvāda and were ruling a portion of the Udaya-giri-rājya, traces its origin to a certain Mādhavavarman of the Solar race and the Vasishtha-gôtra³ It is doubtful if this Mādhavavarman could be connected with the mythical Madhavavarman referred to in the subjoined inscription as an ancestor of Mēlarasa of Ugravadi

TEXT.⁴

East Face

- 1 Śrīmaḥ Jinēndra-pada-padman=a-
- 2 śēsha-bhavyān=avyāt=trilōka-nri-
- 3 patīndra-munīndra-vamdyam | nṛ-
- 4 śēsha-dōsha-parikhamdana-chamda-kā-
- 5 ndam ratna-traya-prabhavam=udgha-

¹ Above, Vol III p 83 If this surmise of Professor Hultzsch is granted, Chôdôlaya may be identified with the Velanāndu chief Kulottunga-Chôda-Gonka III (No 17 of the Genealogical Table of the Velanāndu chiefs on p 35 of above, Vol IV) whose inscriptions range between A D 1138 and A D 1157 And the word *Chôdôdaya*, which literally means '(one who is) born of Chôda' may very aptly be applied to Kulottunga-Chôda-Gonka III, whose father Velanānti-Bājendra-Chôda is called Chôda of Velanāndu in one of his inscriptions at Pālakōl, dated in A D 1136 (No 524 of the Epigraphical collection for 1893) and is referred to as king Chôdi in an inscription at Nidubrôlu, dated in A D 1132 (No 163 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897, text line 27 f.), and probably also in the Ganapésvaram inscription as king Chôdi, the overlord of the Ayya chief Nārāyana I who was the grandfather of Jāyana, the general of Ganapati This identification of Chôdôdaya with Gonka III whose latest date as stated above, is A D 1157, if correct, would render probable the statement made in the Anmakonda inscription that Chôdôdaya died out of fear of Prôla's successor Rudra, who burnt his city

² This is no boast so far as the southern boundary of Rudra's dominions is concerned The existence of an inscription of his time at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) clearly shows that the actual southern boundary of his kingdom extended even beyond Śrīśaila Rudra appears to have strengthened his position in the Telugu country by a political intermarriage in the race of Kandūrôlaya-Chôda (above, Vol III, p 88) Ganapati did likewise by taking to wives Nārāmbā and Pērāmbā, the two sisters of his general Jāyana (ibid. p 84) A Tripurāntakam inscription (No 204 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) states that Ganapati's sister Mēlāmbikā married Vakkadimalla Rudra, the second son of Buddha 'lord of Nātavāṭi-vishaya' The same relationship is established by an inscription at Bezvāda which is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1123 (above, Vol VI p 159, text line 8) where Nātavādi Rudra (not his father Buddha as Professor Hultzsch takes it) is called the *marandī* 'brother-in-law' of Ganapati Ganapati's daughter Ganapāmbā was given in marriage to the Kōṭa chief Bēta of Amarāvati (above, Vol III p 94) The Kōṭa chief Keta II, whose mother Sabbamā was the sister of the Velanāndu chief Gonka III (above, Vol. VI p 148), had five queens who were selected from the several petty families which at that time appear to have divided among themselves the country south of the Kṛṣṇā river Two unpublished inscriptions from Amarāvati in the Guntur district (Nos 261 and 262 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897) give the names of these five queens as Viṣṇamā of the family of the chiefs of Ongimārga (perhaps identical with Ongēkumārga over which Nambaya of the Durjaya family was ruling, see above, Vol VI p 224); Sabbamā of the family ruling the country "to the west of the hill," i.e. the Kondapadmaṭis, Parvatī of the family of the chiefs of Kōna-Kapṇavādi, Vāgamā of the family of the chiefs of Kākati and Komaramā, another princess of the Kondapadmaṭi family It is doubtful if the Kākati family here mentioned has to be connected with the Kākatis of Warangal or if it has to be distinguished as a purely local family which adopted the name Kākati in consequence of its relationship with the Kākatis either directly or indirectly.

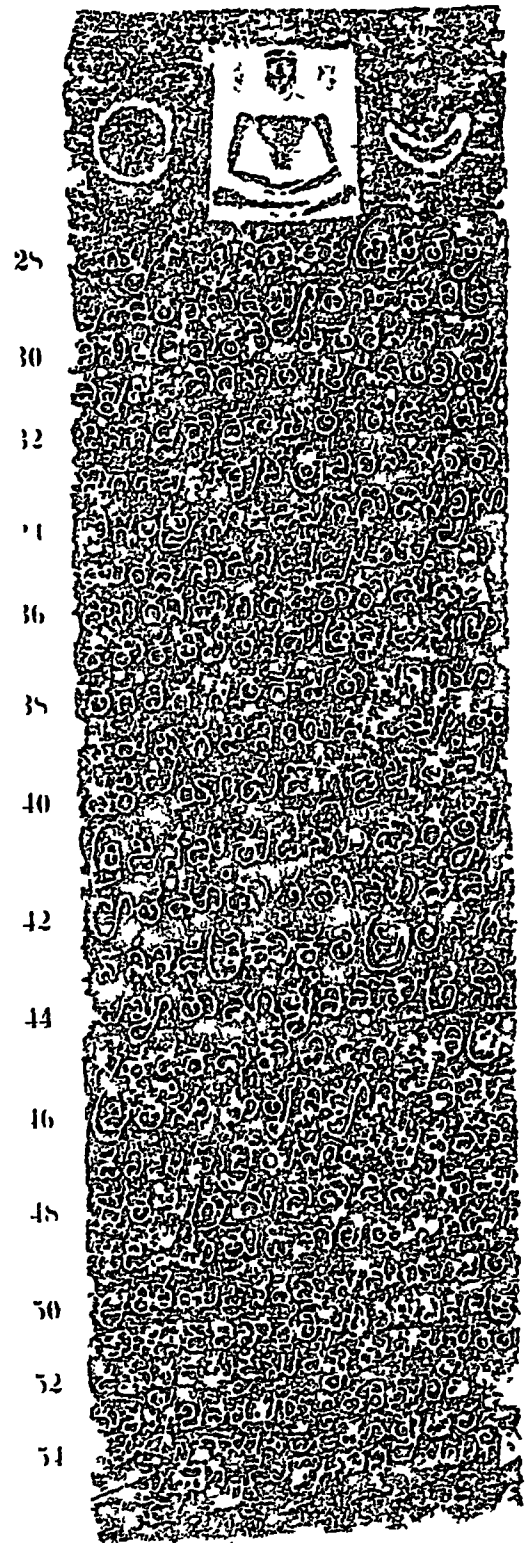
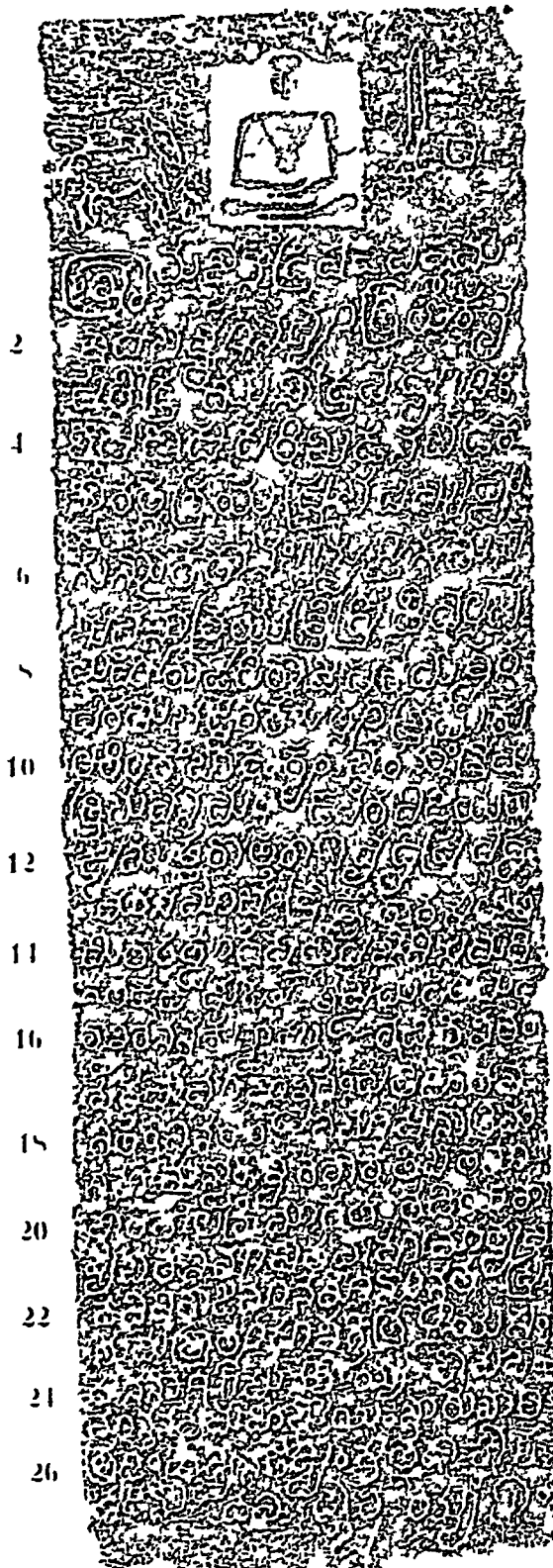
³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 73.*

⁴ From two ink-impressions prepared by me in 1902

Anmakonda inscription of Prola — Chalukya Vikrama 42

East face

North face



Sten Konow

Scale 15

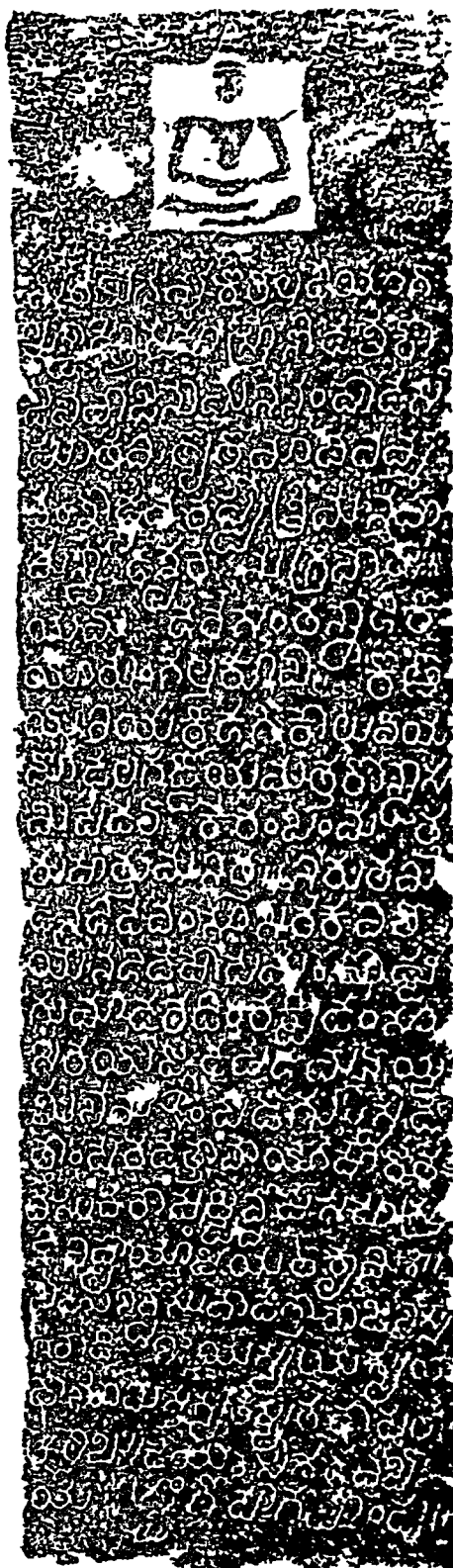
Collotype by Gehr Plettner

West face



South face.

88
.
90
92
194
196
198
100
102
104
106
108
110
112



- 6 gun-aikatānam || [1*] Svasti samasta-
 7 bhuvanāśraya śrī-prī(ṇī)thvivallabha
 8 mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara
 9 paramabhattāraka Satyāśraya-ku-
 10 la-talakam Chālukya-ābharanam śrīma-
 11 t-[T]ribhuvanamalladēvara vijaya-rā-
 12 jyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravarddha-
 13 mānam=ā-chamdr-ārka tāram salutta-
 14 m=ire ||[*] Tat-pādapadm-ōpajīvi samadhi-
 15 gatapamchamahāśabda mahāmam[da]-
 16 lēśvaran=Anmakundā-puravar-ēśvaram
 17 parama-Māhēśvaram pati-hita-cha-
 18 ritam vīna[ya]-vibhūṣhanam śrīma-
 19 n-mahāmandalēśvara[m] Kākati-Bēta-[bhā]-
 20 pāla-kula-kṛi(kṛa)māgatam tādīya-rā-
 21 jya-bhara-nirūpita-mahāmātya-pā-
 22 davi-virājamāna mān-ōnnata pra-
 23 bhu-mamtr-ō[t]sāha-śakti-traya-sam-
 24 pamnan-ā[grī] || Ghana-śauryy-ātōpa[dī]m
 25 māntanāda mahameyam chāru chāri-
 26 tradim[d=ō]lpina telpim sat-kalā-kaśā-
 27 ladi[n=ō]david=āścharyya-[san]m-

North Face

- 28 daryyadimd=a[rtthi]nikāya-prārthit-ārttha-
 29 [pra]da-vitarana-[vi]khyātan=ādam dharitri-
 30 [vi]nutam śrī-Kākati-Bētarasana saohi-
 31 vam Vaija-damdādhinātha || [2*] Aganita-śauryya-
 32 dim negadda(īda) Kākati-Bēta-narēmdranam jagam
 33 poṃgale¹ Chalukya-chakri-charanam sale kā-
 34 nīsi tat-prasādādim bagegole Sabbī-sā-
 35 yīraman=āhisi[d=u]dgha-yaśō-
 36 dhināthanam pogaladar=āro mamda[ī]-
 37 ka-Kākati-Bētaṇa mamtri Vaijana || [3*] Ā-
 38 tamgam vikasita-kamjāt-ānane Yā-
 39 kamabbegam janyāsīdam khyātam
 40 dhareyolu perggade Bētam mam-
 41 tri-jana-makuta-chūdāratna || [4*]
 42 Ātam Mām[dh]āta-Rām-ōpama-
 43 n=ensida śrī-Kākati-Prōla-bhū-
 44 pa-khyāt-āmātyam vivēk-āgrani²
 45 sakala-kalā-kōvidam sach-charitra-
 46 prītam sāhitya-vidyā-m[dhi] bu-
 47 da(dha)-vibudh-ōrvviruham satya-dharmm-ō-
 48 pētam sva-grāmadōl-mādīdan=ati-ma-
 49 dādim hattu dēvalayamga³ || [5*]
 50 Atisāya-Jama-dharmma-samay-ōchita-
 51 Śāsanadēvi Bhārati-sati śasi(śi)-bimba-va[ktra]-

¹ Read *pogale*.² In the translation I have taken this word to be synonymous with *vivēky-agraṇi*.³ About the *u* here and || 55, 68, and 69, which Dr Fleet thinks to be a form of the *virāma*, see above,

- 52 daśana chochhade śuddha-suvarṇa(nna)-kumbha-sannata:-
 53 nuvarṇa(rṇa)-pīvara-[pa]yōdharī Maṇḍa[ma Yī]-
 54 [ka]māmbikā-su[ta]-tad-amātya-[Bē]ta-[hī]-
 55 day-śvarī nīśchala-Lakṣmī bhāvisalū[||][1*]

West Face

- 56 Padadūmd-ā-lulit-ālakam barega[m=am]g-o-
 57 pāṅgamam paṇcha-ratnadīn=amg-ōchitam-āgc
 58 nirmisī sura-stri-bh[ā]gya-saubhagya-
 59 samma[da]-saum[da]ryyaman=āydu tīvi
 60 padadam Kamjāta-samjātan=i su[dati]-
 61 ratnaman=emdu Maṇḍamanan=ār=ār=bbanūsa-
 62 1=llōkadol || [7*] Nuta-rūpavati kala[va]-
 63 ti rat-Rati Śrī-sati Ghatāntakī-sati Va-
 64 nī-satiy=emd=amātya-Bētana satiyam
 65 kshitiy=ellam=eyde nūtiyut=irkku[m ||] [8*]
 66 Mūdādūmd=ene negalāda [Ra]m-āspade Ma-
 67 lama bhaktiyāmdē mādisī tanag=abhyuda-
 68 yakaram=āgīralū bettada [me]gana
 69 Kadalaśya-basadiyan=eseyalū[||][9*]
 70 Adarkke mītya-pūjegam dhūpa-dipa-[nī]vēdya-
 71 kkam pūjāṅg=āhā[ra]¹-vastrādīgalgam
 72 śrīmat-[T]rībhuvaṇamalla-maṇḍalika-bhū[pā]-
 73 la-putran-appa Kākatīya-Polalarasana rā-
 74 jyam=utta[r]-ōttar-ā[bhī]vri(vri)ddhi-piavarddhamānam-ā-
 75 g=Ammakumdeyal-a-chamdi-ārka[ka]-tāram sa-
 76 luttum=iri śrīmach- Chāḷukya-Vikrama-va[r]sha-
 77 da nālvatt-erade(da)neya Hēmalambī-[sam]-
 78 vatsara Paushya-bahula 15 Sōmavā-
 79 rad-amdīn=Uttarāyana-samkrānti-nimī-
 80 ttam dhara-pūrvvakam-āgī tan[na] vallabhan-appa
 81 Betana-perggade tanna pesaīmdam maḍi-
 82 sīda keṛey-ēriya kelagan=eradum
 83 hās-are-ga[l*]ngala nadu(dū)vana gardhde(rdde)[ya]
 84 mattar=eradum mattam=ā-kereya pa-
 85 du(dū)vana nela doneya temkal=ereya
 86 mattar=nnalukum karambam ma[tta]r-ālu(ru)-
 87 mam kottu nūrsīdal=i-śā[sa]na-gambha ||

South Face.

- 88 Mattam=i dharmmakke tellatīy-āge[||][*]
 89 1[shṭau] danti-sahasānī daśa-kō-
 90 ti cha vājūnām=[l*] anantam pāda-sam-
 91 ghātam=ity=ētē Mādha[va*]varmma-
 92 vams-ōdbhavar-appa śrīman-mahā-
 93 mandalēśvaran=Ugravā[di]-
 94 ya Mēlarasam tann=a[hī]ke-

¹ In the original the syllables *gāhāra* look like *gōhamta*

- 95 y=Orumgalla Kūchikere-
 96 y=ériya kelag[e] káluveya
 97 modala garddeya mattar=ond-ā sa-
 98 mipadale karambam matta-
 99 ru hattuman=itta || Nirutam=1-
 100 dan=alidavam sāsira-kavi[le]-
 101 yan=ah[da] pāpamam [po]rddu-
 102 gum=ādaradim rakshi[si*]dam sā-
 103 ɣira-ye(ya)jñada palaman=eydi
 104 śubha[ma]m padegu[m*] || [10*] Sva-da-
 105 ttam para-dattām vā yō haiēti
 106 vasumdharam [i*] shashti=vvvarsha-sahasr[ā]-
 107 ni viśthayām jñatē kṛimih || [11*]
 108 Bahubhi=vvvasudhā dattā rājabhū=Sa-
 109 gar-ādibhih [i*] yasya yasya ya-
 110 dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [12*]
 111 Allī basadiya kasam ge(ga)leṇa Bō-
 112 ya-[Pa]ddamge pāga vomdu ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) May the lotus-foot of the blessed Jinendra, which (like the lotus) is worthy of being praised by the lords of kings and the lords of ascetics (*residing*) in the three worlds, whose powerful doctrine completely destroys (all) sins (just as the powerful stem of the lotus completely cures the patient of his *dōsha*¹), which is the origin of the *ratna-traya*² (as the lotus is the birth-place of gems³) (*and*) which has its attention fixed on excellent virtues (*guna*) only (as the stock of the lotus is made up entirely of delicate fibre), protect all Bhavyas⁴

(Line 6 f) Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladēva,—the asylum of the whole world, the glorious *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭārāṇa*, the front ornament of the Satyāśraya family, the jewel of the Chālukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase (to last) as long as the moon, sun, and stars

(L 14 f) A dependent on his lotus-feet (was) the prosperous *mahāmandalēśvara*, the chief Kākatī Bētarasa who had acquired the five great sounds, (who was) a *mahāmandalēśvara*, the lord of Anmakundā—the best of towns, a great devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva), (one) whose actions were (directed) for the good of (his) master (and) whose ornament was modesty.⁵

(L 20 f.) Resplendent in (his) position as the hereditary prime minister (*mahāmātya*) entrusted with the administration of the kingdom of that king (= Bēta), great of self-respect (and) possessing the triple qualifications of pre-eminence, counsel and energy,

(V 2) the *dandādhanātha* Vaija, minister of the glorious king Kākatī Bēta, worshipped by (all the people of) the world for (his) liberality which bestowed desired objects on crowds

¹ *Dōsha* is a medical term and means, according to Dr Kittel, 'black or red spots on the tongue foreboding death' It may be that according to Indian medical science, the lotus-stem is a powerful agent in removing this *dōsha*

² See above, Vol VIII p 134, note 3

³ These are the lotus seeds which as sacred beads are worn round the neck and are called *tāvara-mani* (lotus-gems) in Kanarese

⁴ I.e. the Jaina community, see Mr Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II, p 59, paragraph 6

⁵ The original appears to have *vinaya-vibhūṣana* in which case the phrase may be translated "the jewel among the well-behaved," but as *vinaya-vibhūṣana* is the form which generally occurs in inscriptions, I prefer to read *ya* instead of *yi*

of supplicants, for (his) surpassing beauty which amazed (those who saw him), for his high proficiency in the sciences, for (his) refined goodness, for (his) charming behaviour, for the greatness of (his) pride¹ (and) for the display of (his) dauntless heroism,—became famous

(V 3) Who does not extol the minister of the *maṇḍalika* Kākati Bēta, Vaija, that master of prodigious fame, who by (his) immeasurable prowess made, amidst the applauses of the world, the renowned king Kākati Bēta to successfully visit the feet of the Chalukya emperor (*chakrin*), (and) to rule by the favour of that (emperor) the Sabbi (one) thousand (district) (in such a way) as to attract the attention (of the world)

(V 4) To him and to (his wife) the blooming lotus-faced Yākamabbe was born *pergade* Bēta who, famous (as he was) in the world, was a head-jewel in the diadems of the minister-class

(V 5) He (Bēta), the exalted minister of the prosperous king Kākati-Prōla, who was counted as equal to Māndhātā and Rāma, the foremost among the wise, proficient in all sciences, an admirer of good behaviour, a mine of literary lore, a celestial tree to learned men possessing truth and virtue, built, with great delight, ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his own village

(V 6) The wife of the minister Bēta, the son of [Yā]kamāmbikā, (was) Mailama, whose face was (as pleasant as) the moon (and) whose lips were (red like) the *bimba* (fruit), the colour of whose body was praised as being fair (and her) full breasts as being golden pots, (who was) the (veritable) lady Bhārati, a Śāsanadēvi (*par excellence*) acceptable to the doctrines of the Jaina religion (and) decidedly, (the goddess) Lakshmi (but) without (the latter's) fickleness

(V 7) Who, who in this world does not extol Mailama saying "The lotus-born (Brahman) having produced, out of the five gems (such) as best suited the portion of the body (under creation), the (several) limbs with (their) adjuncts from the feet right up to those tremulous curls, (and) having filled (them) with happiness, grace, joy (and) beauty (which he) culled from among the celestial nymphs,—(he) loved (to see) this gem of womankind (—his own creation)."

(V. 8) The whole world would praise deservedly the wife of the minister Bēta saying "She possesses praiseworthy beauty, she is full of lustre, (she) is a Ratī in dalliance, (she) is the lady Śrī (i.e. Lakshmi), (she) is the lady Ghatāntakī,² (she) is the lady Vānī (i.e. Sarasvatī)"

(V. 9.) The thus-praised abode of Ramā (i.e. Lakshmi)—Mailama—having caused to be built with delight and devotion the resplendent Kadalāyā-basadi (temple) on the top of the hill in order that it may bring prosperity to her—

(L 70) for the daily worship, incense, lights (and) oblations (in the temple) (and) for food, clothing, etc., of the temple priest,—

(L 72) while the reign of Kākatiya Polalarasa, son of the glorious king, the *Maṇḍalika* Tribhuvanamalla, was continuously prosperous and successful, at Ammakunde, (to last) as long as the moon, sun and stars—in the forty-second year of the prosperous Chālukya-Vikrama years, corresponding to the Hēmaṇambi-samvatsara; on account of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti

¹ The word *māntana* is not found in Dr Kittel's *Kannada English Dictionary*. Perhaps it is a poetical form for *mānatana*

² The Jaina saint Akalanka is said in the Mallishēna epitaph (above, Vol III p 200) to have overcome, along with the Buddhas, the Buddhist goddess Tārā who had secretly descended into a pot as dwelling place. According to the *Rāyavajī-katke* (Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol II p 45) Akalanka was helped in his disputation against the Buddhas by the Jaina goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī and eventually kicked over the pot with his left foot and smashed it. In the present inscription Mailama is apparently compared to the goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī who helped Akalanka to smash the pot in which the goddess Tārā had taken her abode

(which happened) on Monday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Paushya (of that year)—

(L. 80) gave to that (temple), with libations of water, two *mattar* of wet land (lying) between two flat slabs below the *band* of the tank built in her name by her husband Bêtanapergade, and four *mattar* of black-soil land (lying) south of the pond (*done*) on the west side of the same tank and six *mattar* of uncultivated land,¹ (and) set up this inscribed pillar

(L. 88 f) And as a (subsidiary) gift to this charity the prosperous *mahāmandalésvara* Mēlarasa of Ugravādī, who was born in the family of Mādha[vav]arma, (whose army consisted) of "eight thousand elephants, eight crores of horses and endless crowds of foot (soldiers) etc," gave one *mattar* of wet-land at the head of the canal below the *band* of Kūchikere (tank) which belonged to Orumgallu (included) within his rule, (and) ten *mattar* of miscellaneous land close to the same (land)

(V 10) He that destroys this (charity) shall always incur the sin of having killed thousand tawny cows, (and) he that carefully protects it, shall ever enjoy (that) happiness (which is) acquired as the fruit of a thousand sacrifices (*yajña*)

[Ll 104 to 110 contain two of the usual imprecatory verses]

(L 111 f) One *pāga*² (is assigned) to Boya-Padda who removes the sweepings in that temple

NO 36.—BALAGHAT PLATES OF PRITHIVISHENA II

By THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, CIE, GÖTTINGEN

These plates were sent in May 1893 by the Deputy Commissioner of Bālāghāt, a district in the Nāgpur Division of the Central Provinces, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to which they now belong. In the letter which accompanied them, it was stated that they had been found in the district, 'some time ago, hanging to a tree in the jungle'. They were entrusted to me by Dr Hoernle in 1905, with the request that I should edit the inscription which is engraved on them. Other work has prevented my doing so before now.

The plates are five in number, each between $6\frac{3}{8}$ " and $6\frac{1}{8}$ " long by between $3\frac{1}{8}$ " and 4" high, two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates I, II and III) the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only. Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate. This ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and between 3" and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands. On the ring described there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. Undoubtedly this disc was meant to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it.³

The plates clearly were intended to record a grant of the Vākātaka king Prithivishēna II., but they actually give only the genealogy of the king and break off at the point where his order

¹ I have taken *karambam* to be synonymous with Tamil *karambu*, which, according to Dr Winslow, means 'hard and sterile ground.'

² This small coin, more popularly pronounced *hāga*, is equal to 'one-fourth of a *hana*'

³ Compare the descriptions of the three sets of plates of Pravarasēna II. in *Gupta Inscr.* pp 235 and 243 and above, Vol III, p 258

commences The four inscribed sides contain 35 lines¹ of well-engraved writing The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{4}$ ' and $\frac{3}{8}$ " The characters belong to the 'box-headed' variety of the southern class of alphabets and are similar to, but less angular than, those of the Dudia plates of the Vakataka Pravarasēna II, published with a facsimile above, Vol III p 260 They include the subscript sign of the rare *jh*, in *Ajñhita*², l 31, the sign of the *jihvāmūliya*, in *sūnph=Kuntalā*³, l 30, and forms of the final *t*, in *samrāt*, l 4, and of the final *t* (which does not show in the facsimile), in *vachanūt*, l 35⁴ The conjunct *nn* is everywhere written by a sign which is really the sign for *nn* (in *sanmucita*, l 6, *utpannasya*, l 23, and elsewhere), *visarga* is denoted by two hook-shaped lines (e g in *sūnōh*, ll 11 and 20), the signs for *d* and *ḍ* are well distinguished e g in *-vāsahūd=*, l 1, and *shodāśy-*, l 2, and there are two forms of the letter *v*, e g. in *-vāsahūd=*, l 1, and *vachanūt*, l 35 — The language is somewhat ungrammatical Sanskrit, and the text is all in prose In line 10 a passage of no less than 27 *aksharas* has through carelessness been omitted by the writer As regards orthography, the rules of *sandhi* are constantly neglected (as in the three cognate grants), the (long) *ā* is several times written where the vowel should be short, and (the short) *i* is throughout employed for both *i* and *ī*, the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *-paurinah*, l 16, and *-śriyah*, l 27, and instead of *ri* in *śri-*, ll 17 and 25. Besides, the dental and lingual nasals are confounded in *lāiunya-*, l 12, *manō-*, l 13, and *-ānusirinah*, l 20, the word *aṁsa* is written as *ansa* in line 6, and *vamsa* as *vanśa* in lines 8, 24, 27 and 33, *sh* is doubled after *r* in *varshsha-*, l 14, and *dh* before *y* in *-addhyahsha*, l 35 With *°patir-abhya°* for *°paty-abhya°* in line 28, where the *r* of *°patir-* looks like a *sandhi*-consonant, we may compare *-bbalam-aśvarya-* for *-bbalaśvarya-* in line 15 of the Dudia plates, above, Vol III, p 261, where *m* is used in a similar way⁵

With two exceptions, the text down to the word *Pravarasēnasya* in line 26 is practically identical with that of the three published grants⁶ of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II, like those grants, it gives the genealogy of this king, commencing with Pravarasēna I, and enumerating after him his son's son Rudrasēna I, his son Prithivishēna I, his son Rudrasēna II, and his son (from Piabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta) Pravarasēna II Of the exceptions referred to, one is that our inscription commences with *Vēmbāra-vāsahūd=*, 'from (his) residence Vēmbāra,' in the place of which the Chammak and Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II have *Pravarapurāt*, 'from Pravarapura' Our grant therefore was to have been issued from Vēmbāra, a place which I have not been able to identify The other point of difference is that, while the grants of Pravarasēna II commence with *drishṭam*, or *drishṭam svasti*, or *drishṭam siddham*, this inscription contains no such expression, but at the beginning of line 1, before the word *Vēmbāra-*, leaves an empty space just where one would have expected something like *drishṭam* The omission and the vacant space, in my opinion, are rather significant Contrary to what I have said in my remarks on the Dudia plates, above, Vol III p. 259, I am convinced now that *drishṭam* (and the Prākṛit *ditham* of the Mayidavōlu and Hīrahadagalli plates⁷) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen,' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' of official letters or Government orders⁸ Such a remark

¹ In preparing the accompanying facsimile, the last line on the first side of the second plate unfortunately was at first overlooked, it is really line 18, and the lines marked in the facsimile as lines 18—34 are really lines 19—35.

² There is a final *m* in line 27 (line 26 of the facsimile), but it seems to be out of place where it stands

³ Other passages where *m* looks distinctly like a *sandhi*-consonant are *tēna manēha-* for *tīnēka-* in *Ind Ant* Vol XIX, p 309, line 10, and *practāyātaryā manyathā* for *practāyātavyā anyathā* in *Gupta Inscr.* p 257, line 13

⁴ See above, p 267, note 2

⁵ Nos 617 and 618 of my *Southern List*

⁶ Compare the remarks of the late Prof Bühler, above Vol I, pp 9 and 10, and of Prof Hultzsch above, Vol VI, p 88 Sir W. H. Sleeman, speaking of certain kings of Oude, in his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, Vol I, p 179, says that to their orders a seal was affixed in their presence bearing the inscription *mohāliṣa shud*, 'it has been seen' Like *drishṭam*, *jūḍ'am* is used in the body of an inscription in *Journ As Soc Bengal*, Vol LXIX, Part I, p 92, l 21 (*jūḍ'am=mahāmantri-śrī-Māhākēna*).

could of course have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished, and it is missing here because our giant was not completed. The engraver apparently acted just as a writer or copyist of the giant would have done.

After Pravarasēna II our inscription in lines 26-35 mentions his son, the *Mahārāja* Narēndrasēna, and after him his son — born from the queen (*mahīl* vi) Ajjhita-bhattārikā,¹ a daughter of the lord of Kuntala — the *Mahārāja* Prithivishēna [II], a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (Vishnu). Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence' in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune, his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess. Prithivishēna II is described as 'being a receptacle of splendour and forbearance, who raised (his) sunken family'. The name *Prithivishēna*, in line 35 is followed by *atthant*, 'at his command', but of the king's order only the words 'all superintendents' are given by these plates.

In the Vātākā stone inscription published in *Archaeol Survey of W India*, Vol IV p 124 ff, the verses 10 and 11, which would have given the names of the successors of Pravarasēna II, are unfortunately much mutilated. The name of Pravarasēna's son and successor, 'who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years of age, ruled well, has quite disappeared, and the son of that unknown king according to the published text was Dēvasena. As has been stated above, according to our giant Pravarasēna's son Narēndrasēna took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother), married a daughter of the king of Kuntala, and was succeeded by his son Prithivishēna II. The stone inscription in verse 8 records the defeat of a lord of Kuntala by apparently Prithivishēna I, and in verse 18 speaks of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūta, Lata, Andhra . . . [as having been subjected by one of the later Vātākās]. According to the present inscription Narēndrasēna had his commands honoured (or obeyed) by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava. The first and last of these three countries are well known. The situation of Mēkala (according to the Topographical List of the Brihatsamhitā in *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p 185, a mountain or a people) is indicated by the fact that the river Narmadā is called *Mēkala-kanyā*, 'the daughter of Mēkala, and that that river springs from the hill Amarakantak (in Long 81° 48' and Lat 22° 40') in the ancient Chīdī country.³

Here and in the cognate plates the Vātākā kings have the title *mahārāja* followed by the word *śrī* prefixed to their names, and before the title there stands in each case the genitive *Vāhātākānām*, e.g. *Vāhātākānām mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya*. Such passages have been hitherto translated as if the genitive *Vāhātākānām* were governed by the title *mahārāja* 'the illustrious Pravarasēna, the great king of the Vātākās,' or 'the *Mahārāja* of the Vātākās, the illustrious Pravarasēna'. The matter is not of great importance, but it may be as well to state that from the grammarian's point of view such a construction would be objectionable. In my opinion, the genitive must be taken to qualify, not the title *mahārāja*, but the whole phrase *mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēna*, and more especially the word *Pravarasēna*, the chief component of the phrase, so that the meaning would be 'the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Pravarasēna of the Vātākās,' i.e. 'of the family of the Vātākās'.⁴ I have already had occasion to point out that we similarly have the genitive *Matrakānām* in the Valabhī plates, where there is no title by which this genitive could be governed, *Vishnukundinām* above, Vol IV p 195, l. 2, and

¹ The name *Ajjhita* we also find in the Kāritālā plates of the Mahārāja Jayavātha, *Gupta Inscr.* p 118.

² The reading of the original text is not absolutely certain here.

³ Compare *Archaeol Survey of India*, Vol XVII, Plate I, and the verse cited by Dr Bhandarkar above.

Vol IV, p 280.

⁴ The same remark applies to the genitive *Bhārasēnām* in line 10 of the inscription.

Kadambānām in *Ind Ant.* Vol VI p 26, l. 5 and Vol. VII. p. 35, l. 4, and above, Vol. VI p. 14, l. 4, and p. 18, l. 5.

The inscription, not having been finished, contains no date of any kind, but it may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the 8th century A.D.

TEXT.¹

First Plate

- 1 . . . ²Vēmbāra-vāsakād=agnishtëm-āptōryyām-ōkthya-
- 2 shōdaśy-atirātra-vājapēya-brihaspatisava-sādyā-
- 3 skra-chaturaśvamēdha-yājñah³ Viśnuvridhha-sagōtra-
- 4 sya samrāt⁴ Vākātākānām=mahārāja-śrī-⁵Pravarasē-
- 5 nasya ⁶sūnōs=sūnōh atyanta-Svāmi-Mahā-
- 6 bhairava-bhaktasya⁷ ansa-⁸bhāra-sannivēsita-⁹Śiva-
- 7 lūg-ōdvahana-Śiva-superitushta-samutpādita-
- 8 rājavansānām¹⁰=parākram-ādhigata-Bhāgiratthy-āmala-¹¹
- 9 jala-¹²mūrdhnaśbhushuktānān=daśāśvamēdh-āva-

Second Plate , First Side.

- 10 bhṛtha-snātānām-Bhārasivānām=¹³mahārāja-śrī-¹⁴Rudrasē-
- 11 nasya sūnōh atyanta-māhēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-
- 12 kārunya(nya)-śauryya-vikrama-naya-vinaya-māhā-
- 13 tmya-dhūmatva pātragatabhaktitva-dharmmāvijayitva-¹⁵man[ō]-¹⁶
- 14 nairmmāly-ādir-¹⁷guna-samuditasya varshsha-śata-
- 15 m=abhivarddhamāna-kōśa-danda-sādhana-santāna-putra-
- 16 pautri(tri)ṇah Yudhishtura-vrittēr=¹⁸Vvākātākānām=mahā-
- 17 rāja-śrī(śrī)-Prithivishēnasya sūnō[h*] bhagavata-
- 18 ś=Chakrapānē[h*] prasād-ōpārjita-śrī-¹⁹

Second Plate , Second Side.

- 19 samudayasya Vākātākānām=mahārāja-śrī-²⁰Rudra-
- 20 sēnasya sūnōh ²¹pūrvvarāj-ānuvṛitta-mā[x*]gg-ānu(nu)sā-

¹ From the original plates

² At the commencement of this line there is an empty space sufficient for about three *aksharas*. One would have expected here the word *drishyam*, with which the three grants of Pravarasēna II begin

³ This sign of *visarga* is clearly visible in the original. Here and in other places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed

⁴ The plates of Pravarasēna II. have *samrād* (?), *sashraf*, and *samrātah*. Read *samrājah* (or *samrājō*)

⁵ Read -*śrī*-.
⁶ The *akshara* *sū* is clear in the original

⁷ Here is a mark in the original which looks like the upper half of a *visarga*

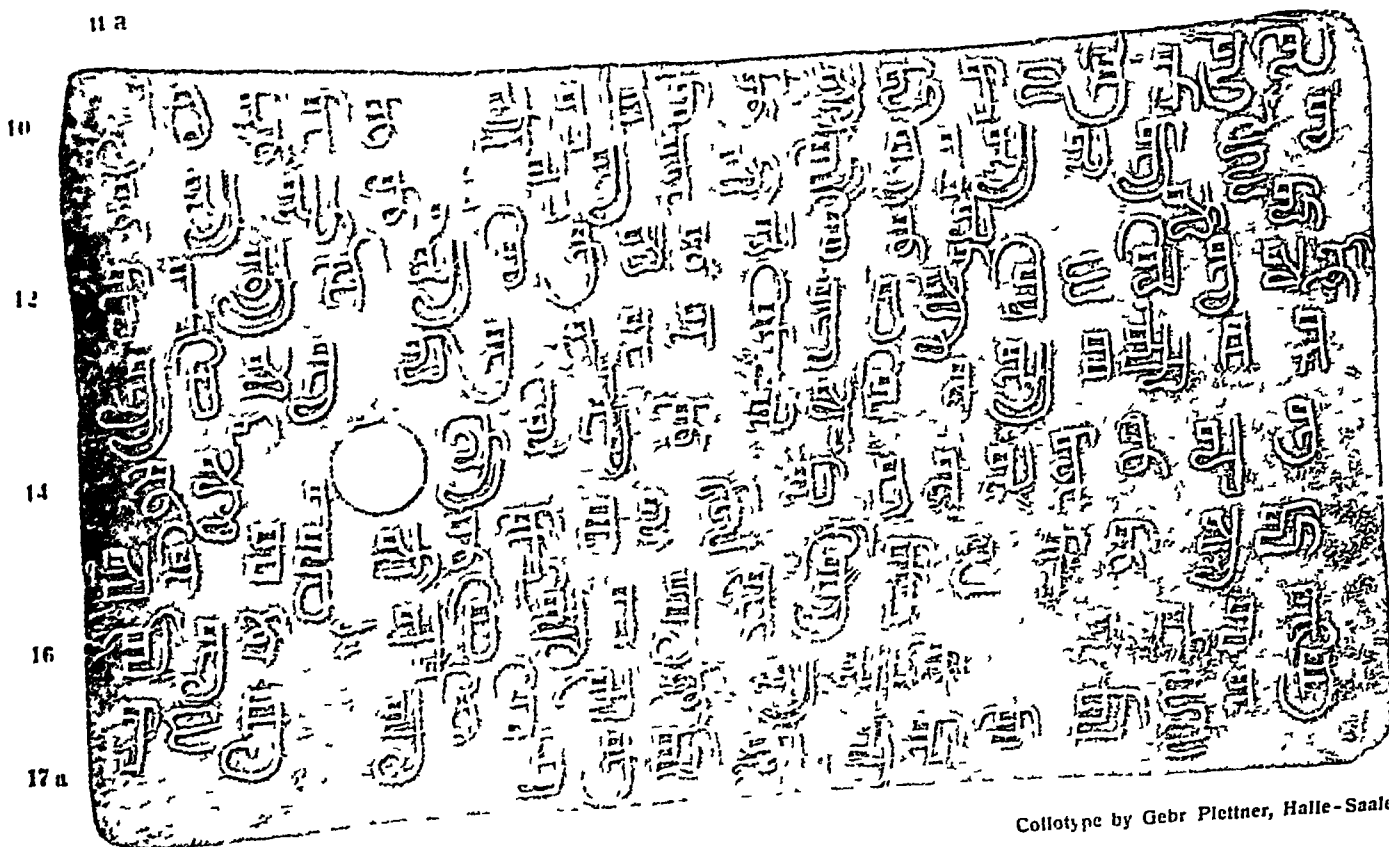
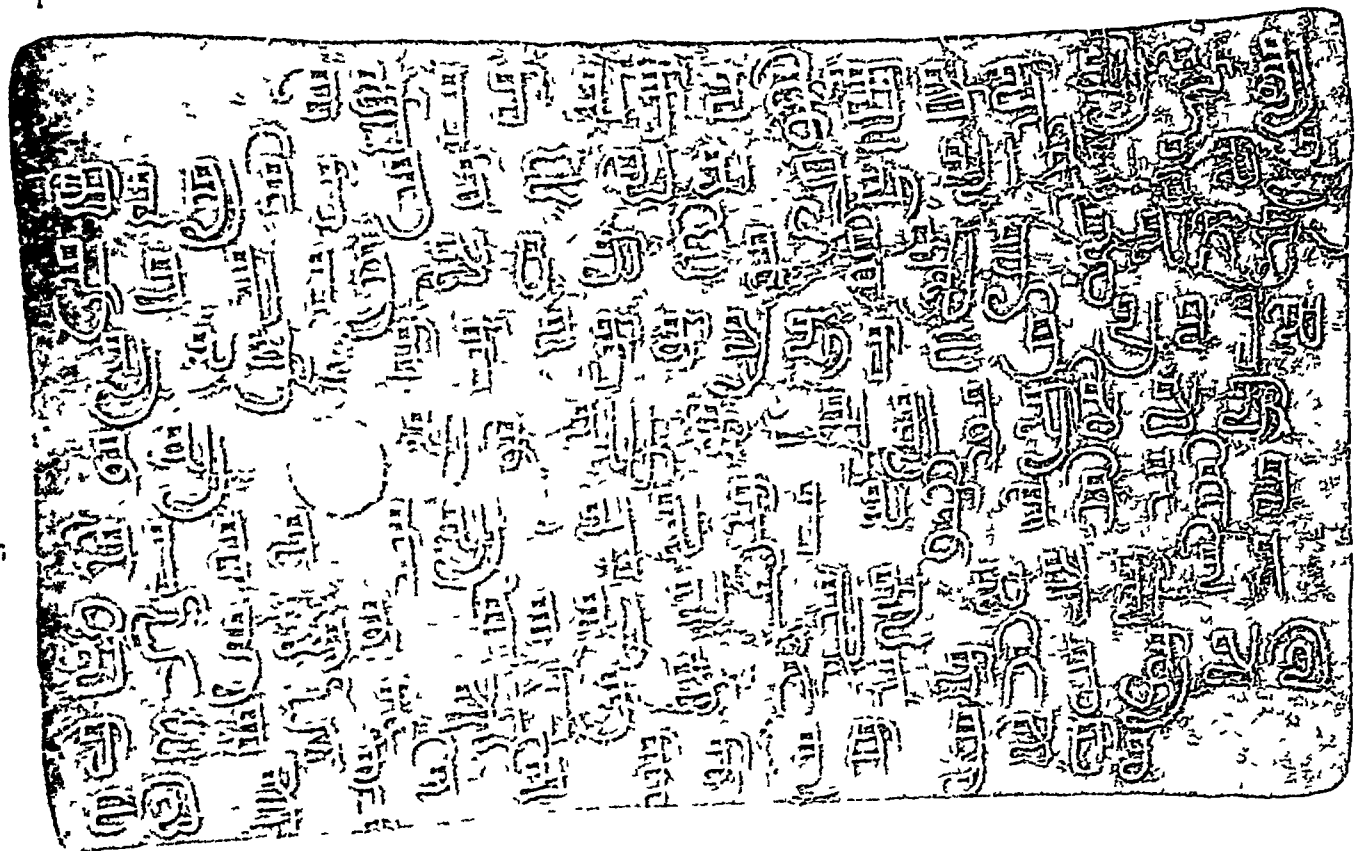
⁸ Read *ansa*-.
⁹ In this word and everywhere below the conjunct *nn* is denoted by a sign which is really the sign for *nn*.

¹⁰ Read *°vansānām*-.
¹¹ Read -*Bhāgiratthy amala*-.
¹² Read -*mūrdhādāh*°; compare *Gupta Inscr* p 237, l. 6.

¹³ Here the words *mahārāja-śrī-Bhāvasāga-daushīrasya Gautamiputrasya putrasya Vākātākānām* of the cognate plates have erroneously been omitted

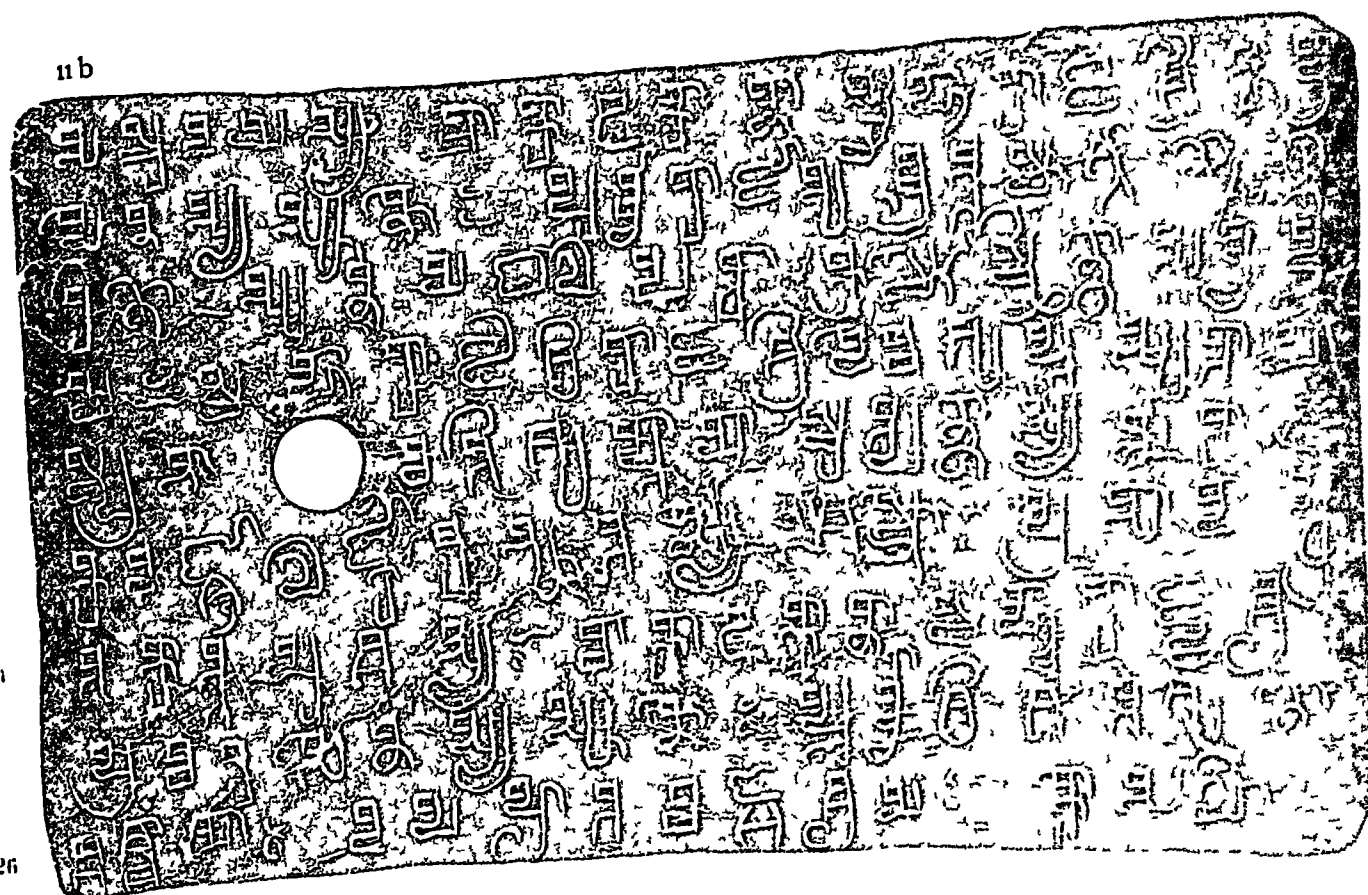
¹⁴ Read -*śrī*-.
¹⁵ Read -*dhūmatva-pātragatabhaktitva-dharmmāvijayitva*-.
¹⁶ Read *nairmmāly-ādi*-.
¹⁷ One would have expected *pradād=upd*° —Read -*śrī*-.
¹⁸ Of the three grants of Pravarasēna II., only the Siwani grant has the passage from here to *°dviśāh*, see *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 246, lines 14 and 15.

¹⁹ Read -*manō*-.
²⁰ Originally *vai*° was engraved.
²¹ Read -*śrī*-.
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⁴⁰⁰ Read -*śrī*-.
⁴⁰¹ Read -*śrī*-.
⁴⁰² Read -*śrī*-.
⁴⁰³ Read -*śrī*-.
⁴⁰⁴ Read -*śrī*-.
⁴⁰⁵ Read -*śrī*-.
⁴⁰⁶ Read -*śrī*-.
⁴⁰⁷ Read -*śrī*-.
⁴⁰⁸ Read -*śrī*-.
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⁴¹⁶ Read -*śrī*-.
⁴¹⁷ Read -*śrī*-.
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⁴²³ Read -*śrī*-.
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⁴⁵⁰ Read -*śrī*-.
⁴⁵¹ Read -*śrī*-.
⁴⁵² Read -<

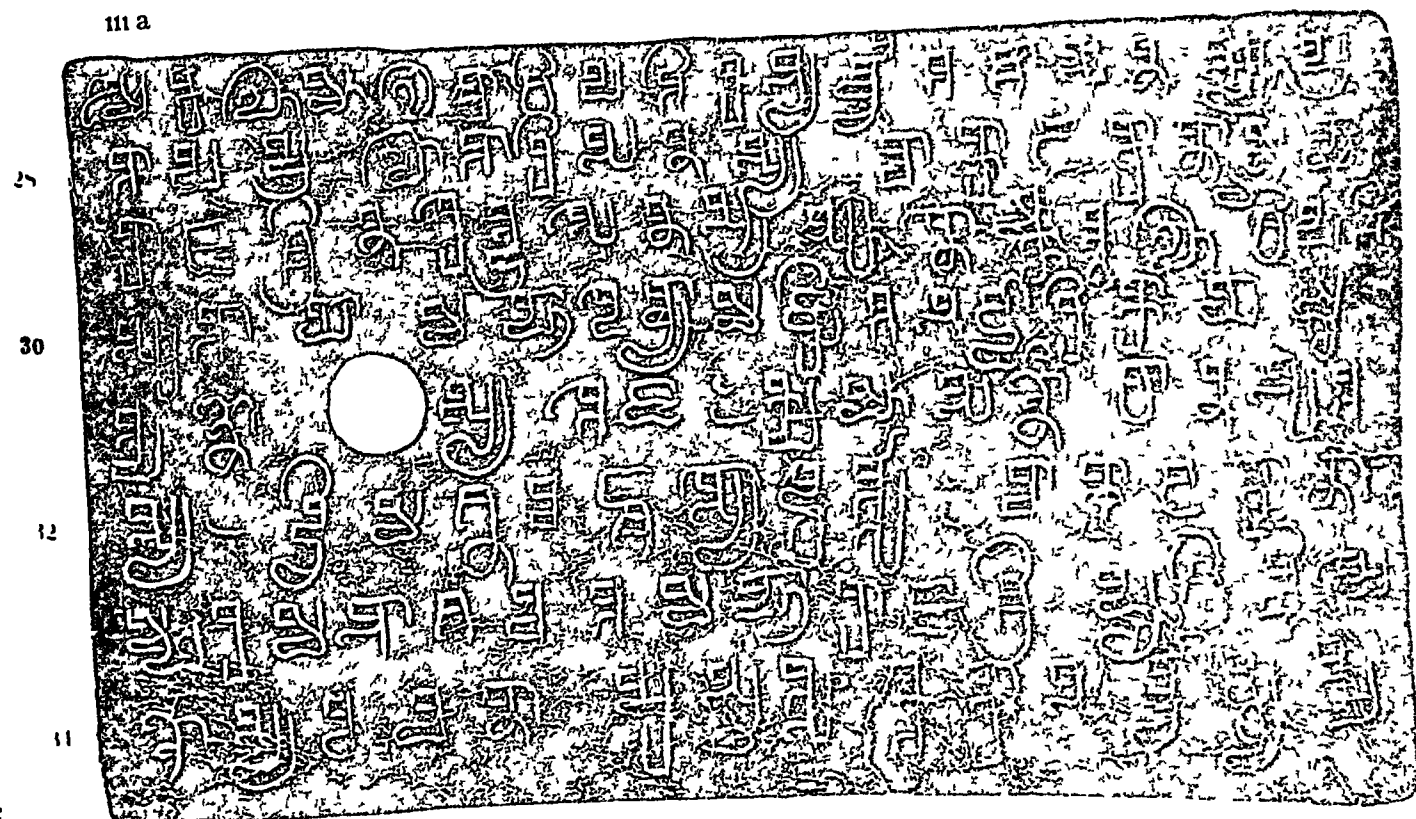


Collotype by Gebr Plettner, Halle-Saale

11b



11a



- 21 rīpaḥ sunaya-bala-parāḥkram-ōmchhinna-¹sarvadvī-
 22 śhaḥ mahārājādhirāja-śrī-²Dēvagupta-sutāyā-
 23 m=Prabhāvatiguptāyām=utpannasya Vākāṣṭa-
 24 ³kavaṇṣ-āṅkārābhūtasya Śambhōḥ prasādād-dhira(dhī)-
 25 ⁴ta-kārttayugasya ⁵Vākāṣṭakāṇā[m*]-mahārājja(ja)-śrī(śrī)-
 26 Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ pūrvādhigata-guṇa-
 27 ⁶vi]śvā[sā ?]d=apahṛita-vanśaśrīyaḥ⁷ Kōśalā-⁸

Third Plate.

- 28 Mēkalā⁹-Mālav-ādhipatīr-abhyarohchata-¹⁰śāsanasya pra-
 29 tāpa-pralātārisanasya¹¹ Vākāṣṭakāṇām=mahā-
 30 rāja-śrī-¹²Narēndrasēnasya sūnōḥ-Kuntalādhipati-
 31 sutāyā[m*]-mahādēvyām=Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikāyām=u-
 32 tpannasya tējah-kṣamā-sannidhānabhūta-¹³
 33 sya¹⁴ dvimagna-vanśasy¹⁵=ōddharttuh Vākāṣṭakāṇā-
 34 m=paramabhāgavata-mahārāja-śrī¹⁶-Prithivīś-
 35 nasya vachanāt¹⁷ asmatsantakā¹⁸ sarvv-āddhyakṣa-

No 37 —ORISSA PLATES OF VIDYADHARABHANJADEVA.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, O I E., GOTTINGEN

There is no information as to where or when these plates were first obtained. In 1887 they belonged to Mr C. T. Metcalfe, Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and the inscription which is engraved on them was published in that year, with a facsimile, by the late Dr. Rājēndralāl Mitra, in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LVI Part I, p. 154 ff. In November 1895 the plates were presented by the Commissioner of Orissa, through Mr C. L. Griesbach, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and they have now been entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle, with the request to re-edit the inscription.

There are three substantial copper-plates, the edges of which are slightly raised, and of which each measures between $6\frac{1}{16}$ " and $6\frac{1}{8}$ " long by between $3\frac{3}{8}$ " and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " high. They slide on a copper ring, which passes through a hole, which is about $\frac{5}{8}$ " distant from the middle of

¹ Read -ōchchhinna-² Read -śrī-.³ Read -kavaṇṣ-.⁴ Instead of this *ta-* the Chammak and Siwanī grants of Pravarasēna II have *ti-*, which seems to me preferable.⁵ Here some *akṣhara* (perhaps the initial *ś*) was engraved, but has been erased.⁶ The reading is doubtful. The first *akṣhara* of the line is *vi*, the superscript *ṣ* of which, though faint, is distinctly visible in the original, and the second appears to be *śud*. The third *akṣhara* looks more like *ga* than *śd*, and is followed by a sign which looks like a form of final *m*, and has probably been struck out. The *śa* and what follows is clear.⁷ Read -vanśaśrīyaḥ⁸ Read Kōśalā-⁹ Perhaps *Mākalā* has actually been engraved; read *Mēkalā*.¹⁰ Read *paty-abhyarohchita-*¹¹ Read -pranādhīrādśanasya (f).¹² Read -śrī-.¹³ Read *śāṣṭa-*¹⁴ Here again there is a mark which looks like part of the *śisarga*.¹⁵ Read *m(f)magna-vanśasya-*.¹⁶ Read -śrī-.¹⁷ This final *ś*, the sign for which is very small, is really visible in the original plate. ¹⁸ In *Gupta Ins.*, p. 271.l. 17, the text has *vachanāt* [1*]¹⁸ Read *śantakāṣ*, and compare above, Vol. III, p. 261, l. 18.

the proper right margin of each plate. The ring, which had already been cut when the plates came into my hands, is between $\frac{3}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and about 3" in diameter, and on to it is soldered a roughly circular metal seal, between $1\frac{1}{8}$ " and $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal contains in relief on a countersunk surface, in the upper half, a couching lion facing to the proper right, and in the lower half the legend

*śrī-Vidyādhara-
bhañjadēvasya*

in northern characters which are between $\frac{3}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ " high.

Before the plates were used for the grant now engraved on them, they had already served for another grant, the four last lines of which, though faint, are almost completely legible on the first side of the first plate, and of the writing of which more or less distinct traces remain also on the other sides of the plates. The characters of this earlier grant belong to what I have elsewhere¹ called the Gañjām variety of the northern alphabet, and the lines with which it ended, compared with the end of the Gumsūr grant² of Nētrībhañja, published in *Journ. As Soc Beng* Vol. VI p 669 f and Plate xxxii., would seem to show that the grant was issued by a chief of the same family. The four lines (on the first side of the first plate), so far as I am able to read them, are—

- L. 1. Svayam=śāśhtō rājñā dūtako=tra [Mār]tamdah || Likhitamñ=cha³
sāndhivi-
2. grahika-Arkka[dāvēna]⁴ || Lāñchhitam [rā]jñī-śrī-Mānikya-mahādē-
3. vyā || Utkirṇam ch=āksha[sā]li-Kumāra[dattēna] || ⁵ samvat . . .
4. di⁶ . . . ||

The grant now recorded on these plates is engraved on the second side of the first plate and on both sides of the two others. The engraving is deep and well done, and in a perfect state of preservation. In three places (in lines 10, 22 and 35) there is some doubt about the actual wording of the text, either because the engraver altered what he had originally engraved, or because portions of the letters of the earlier grant spoken of above are mixed up with the new writing; the rest may be read without any difficulty. The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters belong to that variety of the northern alphabet which we find, *eg* on the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman, treated of above, Vol. VII. p. 101 f. Of the consonant signs the most characteristic are those for *h'* (*eg* in *Hurasya Śēśhāhēr*, l. 4), *t* and *tt* (*eg* in *prakaṭa*, l. 9, and *-vighaṭṭitā*, l. 6), and *n* (*eg* in *-vāna-prāna*, l. 1), of which the last, in combination with palatals, also serves for the palatal nasal (*eg* in *Bhañjāmala*⁷, l. 14, =uktañ=cha, l. 27, and *lāñchhitam*, l. 35). Among other conjuncts attention may be drawn to the signs for *lsh*, *gg*, *ggh*,

¹ See above, Vol. VII, p. 101.

² The published text, which was furnished to Mr Prinsep by Kamalākānta Vidyālamkāra, is quite untrustworthy. According to Mr Prinsep's lithograph of Lieutenant Kittoe's copy, the passage with which we are concerned here, so far as I can make it out, would be *svayam=śāśhtō rājñā dūtako=tra bhañja-śrī-Stambhādēvaḥ līkhitañ=cha śāśhtōvgrahikā Kā[kka]kēna utkirṇa[m] ch=ākhaśāli-Durggadēvaḥ || lāñchhitam . . .*

³ Read *likhitañ=cha*.

⁴ Read *grahik-Arkka*^o

⁵ Read *śamvat*, the three *akṣaras* by which this word is followed are illegible.

⁶ This *di* is followed by a sign which possibly is a letter-numeral for 10; and before the sign of punctuation there is another sign which looks like the symbol for *ōm*. The two signs show fairly well in the accompanying facsimile. I may add that there are letter-numerals also in the last line of the Bāmanghāt grant of Rājabhañja, published with a facsimile in *Journ. As Soc. Beng* Vol. XL Part I p 165 f, and in lines 35 and 36 of one of the Gañjām grants of Daṇḍimahādēvi, above, Vol. VI p 139 and Plate.

⁷ The same sign for *ā* (which is not given by our palaeographic Tables) we find in the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman, in the Gumsūr plates of Nētrībhañja, and on the second side of the plate of Daṇḍimahādēvi, above, Vol. VI p. 138. It was also used in the grant originally engraved on these plates. A similar form of *ā* we find in several varieties of the southern alphabet.

dbh and *mbh* (e.g. in *-vikshōbha-dakṣaṁ*, l. 1, *°vargga*, l. 10, *-Digbhañjadēvasya*, l. 12, =*udbhā-* at the end of line 4, and *-Stambhadēva-*, l. 36) There is a special sign for final *t*, in *-ānyat*, l. 18, *nyat*, at the commencement of line 19, *yāvat*, l. 21, and *°rādhāt* for *°rādhāt*, l. 22 Of initial vowels the text contains only *a* (for *ā*), *u* and *ē*, in *achandrā*, l. 21, *wa*, ll 5 and 6, *iti*, l. 33, *Upamany[u]-*, l. 23, *urthirna*, l. 38, and *ētaḍ*, l. 19 As regards medial vowels, *ā* is sometimes denoted by a short superscript stroke or by a small hook on the right of the consonant-sign, as in *lābhāñja*° at the commencement of line 13, and in *Bhañjāmala*°, l. 14, and there are two signs¹ of the subscript *u*, one of which may be seen e.g. in *jayatu*, l. 1, and *bhuvana*°, l. 2, and the other in *-sura*°, l. 7, *-rīpu*°, l. 10, *Vañjulvakā-*, l. 8, and *-vavahubhir-*, l. 27, etc., the former of the two signs is used also to denote medial *ū*, for which there is no separate sign in these plates. Two forms of medial *ē* may be seen e.g. in *Śēshāhēr-a(ṭ)va yē*, l. 4, and *pra(prā)lēyāchala-*, l. 5, and similarly two forms of medial *ō*, e.g. in *hīrttayō vīḷō*, l. 35 The sign of *anuvāra* is sometimes placed after the consonant-sign, as in *°padam yathārham*, l. 17. The signs of *virāma* and *avagraha* do not occur, and a sign of punctuation is found only in lines 20 and 25 (where in either case it is out of place) and at the end of the grant The language of the inscription is Sanskrit There are two verses in lines 1-8, and four imprecatory verses in lines 27-35, the rest of the text is in prose As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*, *visarga* at the end of a word is ten times omitted, and single consonants are used instead of double ones in *chatusimā-* for *chatussimā-*, l. 19, =*anurōdhā cha* for =*anurōdhāch=cha*, l. 26, and five or six times in the words *data* and *dati* for *datta* and *datti* (lines 25, 28, 29, 31, 32 and perhaps 23). There is besides some confusion of the short and long vowels, especially in the case of *i* and *ī*, where *ī* is used instead of *i* no less than nine times (e.g. in *nīkasha*, l. 3, *rīpu*, l. 10, *salīla*, l. 21, etc.), and *ū*, as has been already stated, is everywhere written by the sign for *u* A few times the writer or engraver has omitted an *akshara*, as in *Vidyādhābhañja*° for *Vidyādharañja*°, l. 15, the chief name of the inscription which is correctly given on the seal, and altogether the grant has been written rather carelessly

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the ornament of the spotless family of the Bhañjas,² the Mahārāja Vidyādharañjadēva, also called king Dharmakalāśa(?), who was a son of Śīlābhañjadēva,³ grandson of Digbhañjadēva,⁴ and great-grandson of Raṇabhañjadēva; and its object is to record a grant which was issued by the king from Vañjulvaka.⁵ Like the Gumsūr grant of Nātribhañjadēva Kalyāṇakalāśa, it opens with two verses which glorify the (third) eye of Hara (Śiva) and invoke the protection of the waves of the divine Gaṅgā In lines 15-27 the king informs the *Sāmantas*, *Bhōgins*⁶ and others, the [lords of] *viśhayas*, and the people generally who dwell in the Raṇalavva, *viśhaya*, that with pouring out of water he gave the village of Tundurāva in that district,

¹ Which of the two signs is used, depends on the consonant to which the sign is attached, thus, *k* and *n* always take the curve-shaped sign and *p* and *s* always the straight or hook-shaped sign In line 17, where the curve-shaped *u* is attached to *p*, the *akshara* intended to be denoted is *pū* (of *pūjayati*), not *pu*, the same remark applies to the *u* of *nīrddhūta*° (for *nīrddhūta*°) in line 11 But in the case of *bhu* and *bhū*, *u* and *ū* are both denoted by the same (curve-shaped) sign

² Compare e.g. *Gaṅgāmalakulatilaka*, above, Vol III. p. 18, l. 12, and *Kādamod(māḍ)malakulatilaka*, *ibid* p. 223, l. 22

³ In line 5 of the Gañjām plates mentioned in Mr Sowell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol II. p. 33, No. 218 (and of which Dr Fleet has given me an impression), the name is spelt *Śīlābhañjadēva* Above, Vol III. p. 363, l. 33, a place *Śīlābhañjapāṭi*, which was in *Ódra-dēśa* (Orissa), is mentioned

⁴ The name *Digbhañja* also occurs in the Bāmaghātī plates of Raṇabhañja, where there can be no doubt about the reading of it

⁵ The original has *viśhaya-Vañjulvakāt*.

⁶ Compare e.g. above, Vol VI p. 238, l. 18: *-sāmanta-bhōgika-viśhayapātī-*; *ibid* p. 142, l. 25 (in one of Vaṇḍīmāhādēvi's grants) we have the term *brīhadbhōgin*

rent-free,¹ to the *bhaffa* Dārūkhandī—a son of Śūridēva(?) and grandson of Gaurichandra—of the Upamanyu *gōtra* and Bahvricha *śākhā* (of the Rīgvēda), and he enjoins future kings (*rājaka*) to protect this gift, and (in lines 27-35) quotes four imprecatory verses from the *dharmaśāstras*.

The inscription (in lines 35-38) ends with four statements, introduced severally by the participles *lāñchhitam*, *pravēṣitam*, *likhitam*, and *utkīrnam*. About the meaning of the two last there can be no doubt the grant was written by the *sāndhivigrahika* (or minister of peace and war) Khambha, and engraved by the *akshasālīn*² (or goldsmith) Kumārachandra. The term *pravēṣitam* I have not found in similar surroundings in any other grant; but since this word takes the place here of the phrase *svayam-ādīśhītō rājñā dātakō=tra* of the Gumsūr grant of Nētribhañja and of the earlier grant on these very plates³ (where that phrase in both cases appears in company with *lāñchhitam*, *likhitam* and *utkīrnam*), I think that it must likewise be taken to refer to the business of the *dātaka* and that the words *pravēṣitam Kēsavēna* must be translated 'brought (to the donee's) home by (the messenger) Kēsava.' The passage commencing with *lāñchhitam* I am unable to explain properly. According to Dr. Fleet, above, Vol. VII. p. 227, *lāñchhana* denotes the device used on the seals of copper-plate charters, etc., and *lāñchhita* therefore probably means 'furnished with such a device' or 'marked with a seal' (*mudrayā mudritam*).⁴ We find the word in the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman,⁵ above, Vol. III. p. 46, l. 50, *lāñchhitam Jayasiñghēna*; in the Gañjām plates of Prithivīvarmadēva, above, Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 35, *lāñchhitamīn-cha śrī-mā(ma)hādēvyā*, in the grant which was originally engraved on these plates, above, p. 272, *lāñchhitam [rā]jñī-śrī-Mānikya-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the queen, the glorious Mānikya-mahādēvī'; and it occurs also in the Gumsūr grant of Nētribhañja, where the words by which it is followed cannot be made out with confidence.⁶ In the present case our text appears to give us *lāñchhitam śrī-Trikalīṅga-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the glorious Trikalīṅga-mahādēvī,'⁷ which would be similar to what we find in the earlier grant on these plates, but these words are followed by *tējadikēna*, which may be corrupt and the meaning of which is quite obscure, and after that again we have the instrumental *śrībhaṭṭa-Stambhadēva-mantrinā*, 'by the minister, the *bhaṭṭa* Stambhadēva,'⁸ which, for want of the meaning of the obscure word, I see no way of connecting with what precedes. It is curious that in at least two of the passages where the word *lāñchhitam* occurs the marking with the seal is stated to have been performed by a queen.

Our inscription contains no date of any kind, and for the present it seems impossible to fix its age even approximately, because we know nothing that is certain about the chiefs of the Bhañja family during the Middle Ages,⁹ and possess no dated inscriptions with the same alphabet. With all due reserve I would say that the inscription may perhaps be assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

¹ In the wording of the grant the expressions which are characteristic of the locality to which the grant belongs are *sambandha* (in line 19, used in the sense of *sambaddha*), *śailadhārā-puraskarēna vidhina*, and *akaratēna* (for which by mistake *karatēna* has been engraved). Compare e.g. above, Vol. III. p. 45, l. 36, and Vol. VII. p. 101.

² On this word, which in Sanskrit is generally spelt *akshasālīn* (e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII p. 276, l. 24, and Vol. XVIII p. 145, l. 28), see now Prof. Hultzsch, above, Vol. VII p. 107, note 4.

³ See above, p. 272 and note 2.

⁴ According to Yājñavalkya I 319, the *śāsana* of a king should be *svamudrōparivāṣhitam* (= *sva-mudrayā Goruḍa-vardhādī-rāpay-ōpari-bāṣhitam=akṣitam*). And above, Vol. III. p. 802, l. 74, there is a verse according to which a charter becomes faultless when it is *mudrā-suddha*, 'faultless as regards the seal,' etc.

⁵ See above, p. 272, note 2.

⁶ Similar names are *Chōla-mahādēvī* and *Gaṅga-mahādēvī*.

⁷ In the Gumsūr grant of Nētribhañja the *bhaṭṭa*, the illustrious Stambhadēva, is mentioned as *dātaka*.

⁸ A traditional date in the Śaka year 754 (A.D. 832) is given for one of the Bhañja (Bhuanu) chiefs in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 8.

As regards the localities, the inscription mentions *Vaṇjūlvaka*, from where both this grant and the Gumsūr grant of Nētribhaṇja were issued, the *Ramalavva viśhaya* and in it the village of *Tuṇḍurāva*. I have not found the names of these places on the sheets of the *Indian Atlas* where I have looked for them.

TEXT.¹*First Plate, Second Side*

- 1 Om² [||*] Jayatu Kusumavā(bā)na-prāpa-vikshōbha-daksham svaki-
- 2 ranaparivēśhōrjutyā-³jirṇpēndulākham [||*] tribhuvanabhavan-ā-
- 3 ntar-dyōtabhāsvat-pradipam⁶ kanakanī(ni)kasha-gauram vibhru⁷ nētram
- 4 Harasya [||*] ⁸Śēśhāhēr=ava⁹ yē phanā[h*] pravilasanty-udbhā-
- 5 svarēndu-trisha[h*] pra(prā)lēyāchala-śringakōtta(ta)ya iva tva-
- 6 āgantū ya(yō)=tyunnatā[h*] [||*] nrittātōpa-vighattitā iva bhujā rā-
- 7 jantū yō Sā[m]bhavās=tā sarvvāgha-vighātina[h*] surasa-
- 8 rit[t*]ōy-ōrmmayah pānt[u] vah [||*] Svasti [||*] Vijaya-Vaṇjūlvaka-¹⁰

Second Plate, First Side.

- 9 d=astī¹¹ śri-vijaya-nīlayah prakāṣagunagana-gra-
- 10 sta-samastari(ri)purargga[h*]¹² ¹³[śri-Dharmma?]kalaśa-nāmā rā-
- 11 jā nirdhuta¹⁴-kalikalushakalmasha[h*] śri-Banabhaṇjadēva.¹⁵
- 12 sya prapaṇtra[h*] śri-Digbhaṇjadēvasya¹⁶ naptā śri-Śi-
- 13 lābhaṇjadēvasya sutah paramamāhīśvarō mātāpi-
- 14 tri-pādānuddhyātō Bhaṇjāmalakula¹⁷-tilakō mahārā-
- 15 ja-śri-Vidyādha[ra*]bhaṇjadēvasya¹⁸ kuśalī Ramalavva.¹⁹

¹ From the original plates² Denoted by a symbol³ Metre Mālunī.⁴ Originally *ranapari* was engraved, but the *r* of *pa* has been struck out.⁵ Read *śhaurjyā*—Compare *Raghuvamśa* v 74 *svakīranaparivēśhōddhēda-sūnyāh pradīpāh*.⁶ Read *pradīpāh*⁷ Read *bāhru*; this word is synonymous with *pingala*, and Śiva is *pingalāksha*. Compare also above, Vol VI. p 200, l 1 of the text—The Gumsūr grant has *chāru*. [In a letter which never reached the author I suggested that *chāru* is correct and should be translated "brow less"—S K.]⁸ Metre Śardūlavikrīditī⁹ Read *ava*¹⁰ These four *akṣaras* are quite clear in the original. Dr Rājēndralāl's text has *Vaḷyaleakā*. The Gumsūr grant appears to have *Vāṇjūlvakā*, which by Kamalākānta was misread *Vāchalekā*.¹¹ Read *t* | *Asī* *śrī*.¹² The *visarga* which I have added here and below before *śrī* is not absolutely necessary.¹³ The words in these brackets are conjectural. As will be seen from the facsimile, four *akṣaras* were originally engraved here, but they were partly struck out or altered; and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that remnants of letters which were originally engraved on these plates are mixed up with the new letters. I consider it certain that the first *akṣara* is intended to be *śrī* (for *śrī*), and that the last contained the conjunct *mm*—The corresponding passage of the Gumsūr grant is *Asī-jayaśrī-nīlayah prakāṣaguna-grasta-sarvarepugarevāh śrī-Kalyāṇakalāsa-nāmā rājā*¹⁴ Read *nirdhūta*¹⁵ In the facsimile the first *akṣara* (*ra*) of this name might be read *ra* (and was read so by Dr Rājēndralāl), but in the original it is distinctly *ra*, and what looks like *v* is a remnant of what was originally engraved on the plate.¹⁶ This name is clear in the original; and so is the next. Dr Rājēndralāl read the two names *Divaḍḍhaṇja* and *Śilḍhaṇja*.¹⁷ Dr Rājēndralāl read *Bhaṇjanala-kula*.¹⁸ Read *°dēvas-sa*.¹⁹ The first three *akṣaras* of this name are clear in the original, the last might be read *edha*. Dr Rājēndralāl read *Ramalabhaṇja*, but regarded the letters as doubtful.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 16 viśhay-ā yathānivāsi-sāmanta-bhōgi-bhōgyādī¹-vi-
 17 śhaya-janapadam yathārham mānayatī pu(pū)jayatī vō(bō)-
 18 dhayatī=ādīśati² ch=ānyat sarvvatah³ śivam=asmākam-a-
 19 nyat⁴ ētad[ṽ]ishaya-samvandha-⁵Tund[u]rāvagrāma⁶ chatuśmā-
 20 paryantah⁷ grāmō=yam || mātāpitrōr=āimanās=cha puny-ā-
 21 bhivṛddhayā⁸ achandrārka-samam kālam yāvat salī(lī)ladhā-
 22 rā-purabsarūpa vidhinā guṇ-ānurādhāt⁹ karatvāna¹⁰[bhōgya P]
 23 Upamanya-¹¹gōtiāya datā-pravarāya¹² Ba(ba)hvrīcha-śyākha-¹³

Third Plate ; First Side

- 24 ya'Gōrichandrah¹⁴ naptā Śuridēvasya suta bhātta-Dāru-
 25 khandī || nāmnē pratipādītō=smābhīś=tad=ēśhā datā=ddha-¹⁵
 26 rmma-gauravād=asmākam-anurōdhā¹⁶ cha bhavishyad-rājaknī[h*]
 27 pratipālaniy=ēty=¹⁷uktañ=cha dharmma-sāstrair-vvahubbir=vva-
 28 sudhā . datā¹⁸ rājabhī[h*] Sagar-ādibhir=yasya yasya yadā
 29 bhu(bhū)miś=tasya tasya tadā phalam [[*] Sva-dattām para-datā¹⁹ vā
 30 yō harēta vasundharām [i*] sa viśthāyā[m*] kṛmī²⁰ bhutvā pi-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 31 tṛibhū[h*] saha pachyatē [[*] Mā bhu(bhū)d=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-dat=ā-²¹
 32 ti pāṛthivāḥ [i*] sva-dānāt=phalam-āntyam²² paradat-ānupāla-

¹ The akshara bhō of bhōgyādī has not come out well in the facsimile, but is quite clear in the original. In my opinion, the word bhōgi before bhōgyādī is superfluous and has been engraved by mistake; and for the following viśhaya-janapadam I should have expected something like viśhayapatī-jānopadāmś=cha

² Read cha! Anyat—The Gumsūr grant apparently has —ādīśati cha sarvvataḥ śivam=asmākam=anyat viśitām=astu bhavatām=ētadvishaya-

³ Originally śivam= was engraved, but the s of vi has been struck out

⁴ This second =anyat is superfluous.

⁵ Read -sambandha- (for -sambaddha-)

⁶ Read °grāmāś=chatuśśmā-

⁷ Read paryantō The following grāmō=yam and the sign of punctuation are superfluous

⁸ Read °ddhaya ā-chandrārka-sama-kālam, the following yāvat is superfluous.

⁹ Read °rōdhāt.

¹⁰ Instead of karatvāna, we require akaratvāna, which (like akartkṛtiya) occurs often in other inscriptions and is quite distinct in the lithograph of the Gumsūr grant (though Kamalākānta's text gives dkararatvāna). The following two aksharas are conjectural. In the Gumsūr grant akaratvāna is possibly followed by bhūnyajbhīh (for which the text has bhānyādri)

¹¹ Read Upamanyu-

¹² As the word datā below is several times written data, this might stand for dattī- (or perhaps datta-) pravardya, but I am unable to explain the expression. In Ind Ant, Vol. XXI, p. 256, l. 43, we have an equally obscure The Upamanyavas had three pravaras — Vāsishṭha, Ābharadvasu and Indrapramada; compare M Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit., p. 385

¹³ Read -śākhā-

¹⁴ Gaurichandrasya naptā Śūri(?)dēvasya sūtāya bhātta-Dārukhaṇḍī-nāmnē.

¹⁵ Read dattī=dhā-

¹⁶ Read °ddhā-

¹⁷ Read =ēti | Uktañ=cha dharmma-sāstrair | Bahubbir=.—Metre of the verses up to the commencement of line 33 śīlaka (Anushtubh)

¹⁸ Read dattā

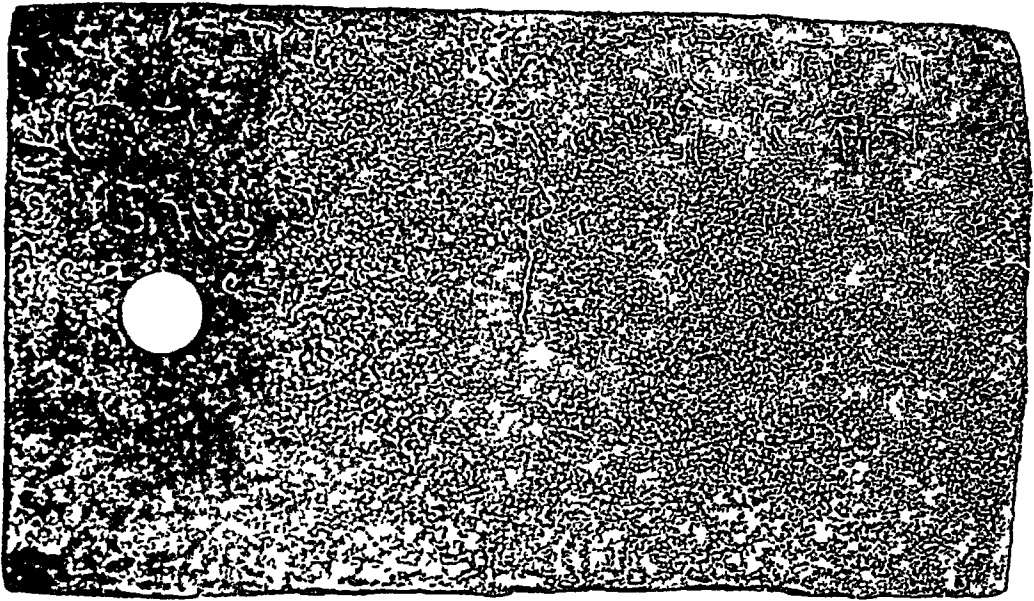
¹⁹ Read kṛmīr=bhūtvā.

²⁰ Read -dattām

²¹ Read -dattī-

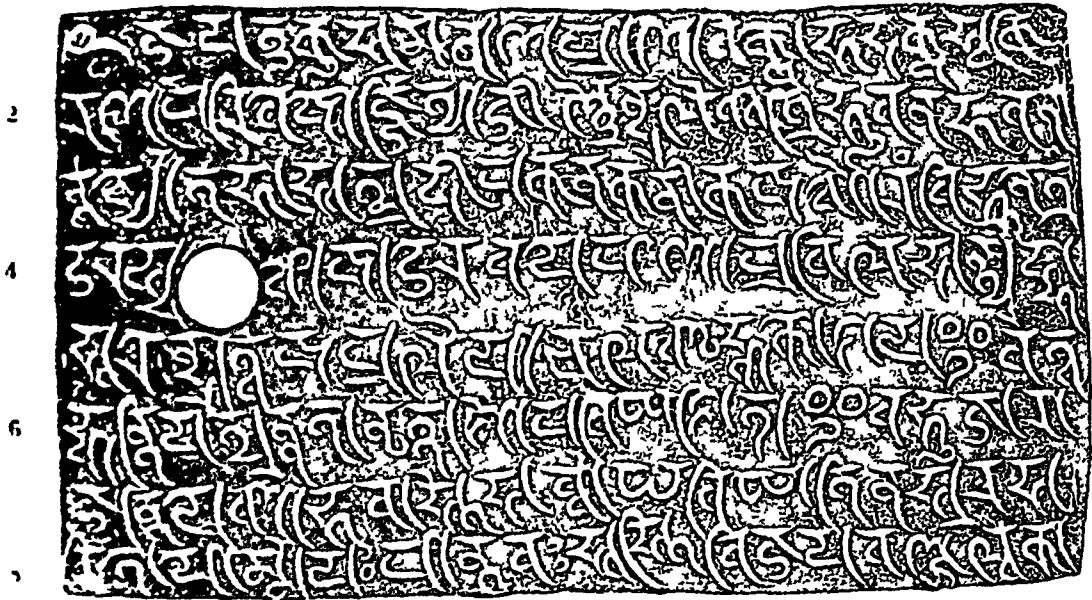
²² Read =ānanyam paradatī, as e.g. above, Vol. III., p. 45, l. 48, p. 343, l. 26, etc. Instead of ānanyam āntyam (Vol. VIII., p. 142, l. 25)

1a

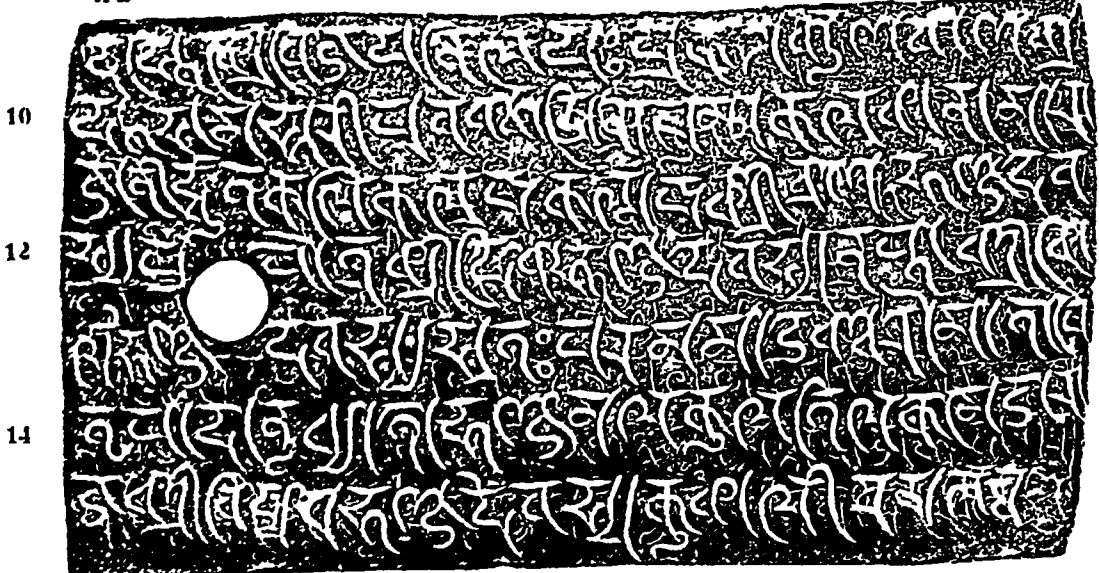


Collotype by Gebr. Pletner, Halle - Saale

1b



11a



E. Hultsch

11b

16

15

20

22

111 a

24

26

24

30

111 b

32

34

36

34

- 33 na(nê)[||*] Iti¹ kamaladalāmnu(mbu)vindu-lôlâ[m*] śriyam=anuchi-
 34 ntya man[u]shya-jivitaṁn=cha² [||*] sakalam=î(i)dam=udâhritaṁ=cha vudhvâ³
 35 na hi [pu]rushaiḥ para-kirttayô vilô[pyâh||*]Lâñchhitam śri-Tri[ka ?]||⁴
 36 űga-mâ(ma)hâdēvy[â] tējadikēna⁵ śri-bhatta-Stambhadēva-mant[r]î(tri)nâ⁶
 37 pravēṣita[m*] Kēṣavēna⁷ likhitam ⁸sānddhivigrihi-śri-Khambhâ-
 38 na urtkirna⁹ ch=ākshasâli(li)-Kumāracharndēna¹⁰|| thâ¹¹ [||]

No. 38 —GHATIYALA INSCRIPTIONS OF KAKKUKA, SAMVAT 918.

By D R BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

The subjoined inscriptions are all engraved on a column standing *in situ* in Ghatiyâlâ, twenty-two miles west-north-west of Jôdhpur. The column is not far distant from an old ruined Jaina structure, now called *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*, which contains an inscription edited by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Journ R As Soc* 1895, p. 516. Further particulars in connection with these ruins will be found in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907. Inscription No 1 is engraved on the eastern, and the remaining ones on the western, face of the pillar. The inscriptions are so weather-worn that it is not possible to take good impressions. With patience and perseverance, however, almost the whole of the inscriptions can be deciphered with certainty on the original stone itself.

Inscription No 1 contains 20 lines of writing, which covers a space of 2' 3½' high by 1' 6" broad. The characters agree with those of the inscription found in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*. The language is Sanskrit. The first seven lines are in prose. Lines 8—16 contain five verses. Then the date is given in prose in l 17. Then a verse occurs which is followed by a line in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is only once denoted by the sign for *v*, in *luṣṭumvakam*, l 8; consonants are doubled after *r*, *visarga* followed by *s* has been once changed to that letter in *dēvyâs=sutô*, l 7, the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvâra* before *ś* in *°vansa°*, l 1, *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*, and *visarga* has been omitted once before the following *sta* in *ayam=ustambhîta stambhô*, l 16.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Vinîyaka (Ganapati). Then is set forth in prose a genealogical list of the feudatory Pratihâra family which is brought down to Kakkuka, to whose reign the inscription belongs. It agrees with the lists furnished by the inscription in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* and the epigraph of Bâuka found in the Jôdhpur city wall. It is followed up by five verses, the first two of which merely contain conventional praise of Kakkuka without giving any historical information. The third verse says that Kakkuka obtained great renown in the countries of Travani, Va'la and Mâda, amongst (the people known as) Ârya, in Gurjjaratîrâ, and in Parvata in the Lâṭa country. Most of these names are repeated in verse 16 in the other

¹ Metre Pushpitâgrâ.

² Read *°jivitaṁ cha*

³ Read *buddhva*

⁴ Read *śrî-Trikâlî*. A sign of the medial *î*, which was prefixed to the akshara *trî*, has been struck out. In the place of *ka* (?) another letter was originally engraved.

⁵ With the exception of the *â* in brackets, the nine *akṣharas* at the beginning of the line are clear in the original.

⁶ The *câ* at the end of the line and the *vud* at the commencement of the next line, which show in the facsimile, seem to me to be remnants of the inscription which was previously engraved on these plates.

⁷ The *akṣharas sand* of this word contain certain marks which were not engraved by the engraver of the present inscription and which were struck out by him.

⁸ Read *sandhivigrahi-śrî* or *sandhivigrahika-śrî*.

⁹ Read *utkirnam*

¹⁰ Read *°chandrēna*

¹¹ For this mark, which is distinctly *thâ*, compare *ś'g Ind. Ant* Vol. XVII, p 140, note 4b

inscription of Kakkuka in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*. Thus, Travani is the same as Tamani there, and also occurs in this unaltered form in verse 18 of the Jôdhpur inscription of Bânka. Similarly, Valla is mentioned in both these inscriptions. Mâda is given in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription in conjunction with Maru (*Maru-Mâda*). Jêsalmâr is still called Mâda, and Maru proper can only be the Sheo, Mallâni and Pâchpadrâ districts of the Jôdhpur State. Ârya and Gurjaratrâ are doubtless the Ajja and Gujjarattâ of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. Ârya is unidentifiable, but is perhaps the same as that mentioned in Varâhamihira's *Brihat-samhitâ*, Cap. V, v 42. Gurjaratrâ, as has been shown by me elsewhere,¹ comprised the districts of Didvânâ and Parbatsar of the Jôdhpur State. Lâta, as was also pointed out by me, embraced about this time the larger portion of the present Gujarât of the Bombay Presidency.² Parvata, which is apparently said to be in Lâta, is unknown to me. Does Parvata, however, here simply mean a mountain and refer to some such inroad of Kakkuka as that mentioned in the expression *gahûna gôhandâm gurimmi* in verse 17 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record? Or perhaps Parvata may be taken to be a distinct country, and connected with the *Pârvatîyas* of the *Brihat-samhitâ*, Cap. XVII v. 16.

Verse 4 of our inscription tells us that Kakkuka erected two columns, one at Rôhimsaka and the other at Maddôdara. Exactly the same information is conveyed by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record, excepting that for Rohimsaka we have there Rôhimsakûpa. Rôhimsaka is undoubtedly the same as this Rôhimsakûpa or the Rôhimsakûpaka of our inscription No. 2, and is to be identified with Ghatiyâla. Maddôdara, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is Mandôr, five miles north of Jôdhpur, which is locally believed to have been a seat of Pratihâra power and is full of very ancient ruins, and where a fragment of a Pratihâra inscription was discovered by me last season.³ The next verse informs us that the column on which the inscription has been incised was erected by Kakkuka. Precisely the same information is given by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra-sudi 2 budhâ Hasta-nakshatrê, the same as that mentioned in the latter inscription. And further we are told that here a market was established, and the village peopled with *mahâyana*, i.e. big folk. The very same thing is alluded to in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record. The inscription really ends here so far as the purport of it is concerned, but a verse follows which has something of the character of a *subhâshita*. Its chief interest, however, lies in the fact that it was composed by Śrî-Kakkuka himself, as the line in prose at the end informs us.

Inscription No. II contains 11 lines of writing covering a space of 1' 3" high by 1' 2½" broad. Excepting the opening words *Om siddhîh*, it is in verse up to 19, and the rest in prose. The palæography and orthography do not call for any remarks other than those made in connection with inscription No. I. The first verse invokes the blessings of Vinâyaka (Gaṇapati) who, we are told, was placed on the column to ensure prosperity, and, as a matter of fact, the

¹ *Journ Bo As Soc* Vol XXI, pp 414-415.

² *Ibid*, pp 413-414.

³ Another ancient name of Mandôr is Mândavyapura mentioned in verse 10 of the Jôdhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Bânka. In the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907, p 80, I have said that though this inscription stone was found in the city wall of Jôdhpur, it must originally have been at Mandôr, as all stones for the fortification of the fort had been brought from the latter place. This conclusion is confirmed by the first *pâda* of the verse just referred to, which is *Mândavyapura-durgbesmin*. The word *asmin* shows that the stone originally was at Mândavyapura, i.e. Mandôr. Mândavyapura, again, is spoken of both as a city and fort, and Mandôr remained so till the prince Jôdhâ removed his capital from there to Jôdhpur. Even to this day some of the portions of the ramparts of Mandôr have been preserved. As the verse in question states that certain Pratihâra brother princes erected ramparts round Mândavyapura fort, it is plain that it was in the possession of the feudatory Pratihâra princes. This is also corroborated by the fact mentioned in the text that last season I found a part of a stone inscription belonging to the Pratihâras. In it the name of Kaka could be distinctly read, and some reference to his son made therein could also be traced. But who that son was — whether Kakkuka or Bânka — is not certain. The name Mândavyapura occurs even so late as V. E 1319 in the Sindhâ hill inscription of Châchigadêva (above, Vol IX., p 78, l. 36).

pillar is surmounted at the top by a quadruple image of Ganapati, facing the cardinal directions. The next verse informs us that the village of Rôhinsakûpaka (Ghatyâlâ) had formerly become unsafe on account of the Âbhîras (Ahîrs),¹ and had consequently not been a place of residence for good people. Verses 3 and 4 tell us that Kakkuka, the favourite son of Kakka, of the Pratihâra race, constructed a market place decorated with variegated streets, went to the houses of Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas (*prakṛiti*)² and Vaiśyas, and, promising them means of livelihood, established the *mahājana*, the big folk there. We thus fully understand what the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* epigraph and our inscription No. I mean by saying that Kakkuka established a *haffa* and *mahājana* at Rohimsaka or Rohimsakûpa. Owing to its being infested by the Âbhîras, whose predatory instincts even to the present day are not quite extinct, the place must have become deserted, but it was re-peopled by Kakkuka by inducing men of the three principal castes to come and reside there, after he had defeated and ousted the Ahîrs. The verse following expresses a wish for the permanence of the prosperity of the *mahājana*, and of the fame of Kakkuka. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra Sudî 2 which, though the further details of it are not given, is, it will be seen, identical with that specified in our inscription No I and the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* epigraph. Next, we are informed that the inscription was written by a *Maga*, called Mâtriravi, and was engraved by the goldsmith Krishnêśvara, doubtless the same who incised the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Bauka. It is followed up by the name of the *sûtradhâra* or mason who probably dressed the stone and erected the column, but the name is lost.

The fact that Mâtriravi is called a *Maga* is very interesting. On the original stone the letters *ma* and *gê* are quite distinct, and, though *na* is not so distinct, it is clear enough. No reasonable doubt need, therefore, be entertained as to Mâtriravi being spoken of as a *Maga*. *Maga* is another name for the *Śâkadvipîya* Brâhmanas, about whom the late Professor Weber wrote a very learned and exhaustive paper. Round about Jodhpur there is a class of Brâhmanas known as *Sêvaks*, most of whom are religious dependants of the *Osvâl Śrâvaks*. They call themselves *Śâkadvipa* Brâhmanas, and know that their story is told in the *Nâmagrantha* of the *Sûrya-purâna* and also in the *Bhavishya-purâna*. That the *Śâkadvipîyas* were originally foreigners has been clearly shown by Professor Weber. But it is only our inscription that furnishes a specific date, viz V E 918, when we can positively assert that Magas lived and were known by this very name in Râjputânâ at least.

Inscription No. III is of two lines containing nothing but verse 5 of Inscription No I. Inscription No. IV consists of four lines containing two verses. They possess the flavour of *subhâshitas*, and have each one and the same last *pâda*, saying that six things are dear to Kakkuka. What those six things are has been specified in the verses themselves.

No I.

TEXT.³

- 1 ओं विनायकाय नमः ॥ आसीदतीहारवन्धगुरु-⁴
- 2 सहजः⁵ श्रीहरिचन्द्रः [1*] अनेन राज्ञीक्षत्रियभद्राया जा-
- 3 तः श्रीमान्मुतः श्रीरञ्जिलः [1*], अस्माच्छ्रीनरभटः [1*] अ-

¹ For some remarks on Ahîrs, see *Journ Bo As Soc* Vol. XXI pp 430-433; for fuller information still, see my monograph contributed to the *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*.

Prakṛiti, which is the same as *payā* in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription, here doubtless signifies the Kshatriya class, as it is distinguished both from the *vipra* (Brâhmana) and *vansh* (Vaiśya) classes. This is rather an unusual sense of the word, and so far I have not seen it used in this sense anywhere else.

From the original stone

⁴ Read °वर्ग°.

⁵ Read °सहज°.

- 4 तः श्रीनागभटः [1*] अतः श्रीतातः [1*] अतोपि श्रीयशोवर्धनः [1*]
 5 अस्माच्छ्रीचन्दुकः [1*] अतः श्रीशोलुकः [1*] अस्माच्छ्री[भो]टः [1*] अतः
 6 श्रीभिक्षादित्यः [1*] अतः श्रीगुणान्वितः श्रीकक्कः [1*] अनेन
 7 राज्ञीश्रीदुर्लभदेव्यास्तुतो जातः श्रीकक्कः ॥
 8 सन्तः कुटुम्बक¹ यस्य स्थिरः कामः सितं यशः ।
 9 विपुला चपलं² बुद्धिराग्रही गुणसंग्रहे ॥ [१*]
 10 न्यायभंगे भवेत्कीपो रागोपि जनपाल[ने] ।
 11 गुरुभ्यश्च भयं यस्य भूषणं दीनरक्षणं ॥ [२*] येन
 12 प्राप्ता महाख्यातिस्त्रवणां वल्लमाडयोः । आर्ये-
 13 षु गुर्जरक्षायां लाटदेशे च पर्वते ॥ [३*] तेन मण्डोदरे स्त-
 14 अस्तथा रोहिन्सके कृतः । उभावप्युन्नतिं नीती स्वपक्षा-
 15 विव जन्मदौ ॥ [४*] श्रीमत्कक्ककवोरेण कुलदीपेन
 16 धीमता । अयमुस्तम्भित³ स्तम्भो यशःस्तम्भ इवोन्नतः ॥ [५*] संव-
 17 त् ८१८ चैत्रशुदि २ बुधे हस्तनक्षत्रे । अत्र हृष्टो महाजनश्च
 18 स्थापितः ॥ श्री [1*] यौवनं विविधैर्भोगैर्गर्भ्यमं च वयः
 19 श्रिया । वृद्धभावश्च धर्मेण यस्य याति स पुण्यवान् ॥ [६*]
 20 अयं श्लोकः श्रीकक्केन स्वयंकृतः⁴ ॥

No II

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्री सिद्धिः [1*] दिवा राक्षौ च संध्याया — — — —
 2 — सकुले । सिद्धिं करोतु सर्वत्र स्तम्भधामा वि[ना]-
 3 यकः ॥ [१*] रोहिन्सकूपकग्रामः पूर्वमासीदना-
 4 अयः । असेव्यः साधुलोकाना आभीरजनदारुणः ॥ [२*]
 5 विचित्रवीथिसंपूर्णं हृष्ट कृत्वा गृहाणि च । विप्रव-
 6 णिप्रकृतीनां गृहं गत्वा प्रियेण च ॥ [३१] श्रीमत्कक्कस्य पुत्रेण
 7 सप्ततीहारजातिना । कक्केन स्थितिं दत्वा स्थापितोन्न महा-
 8 जनः ॥ [४*] महाजनस्य सदृष्टिः लाभः⁷ पूजा सुखं भृतिः । श्री-
 9 कक्कस्य कुन्दाभा कीर्त्तिर्भवतु शाश्वती ॥ [५*] संवत् शते ८१८ चै-

¹ Read कुटुम्बक² Read °मुत्तम्भित

placed over °kr°

³ From the original stone⁴ I do not understand the position of चपल here⁵ Read अयं कृत ; the anusvāra of °yam° must have been inadvertently⁶ Read °लोकानामाभीर°.⁷ Read सदृष्टिर्लाभः.

- 10 चसुदि २ [१*] लिखितं मगे[न] मातृविणः [१*] उक्तीर्णं द्विभकारेण
[क]थ्ये-
- 11 यरेण ॥ सूत्रधारोच्च नि..... विष्णु ॥

No. III.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री[मत्क]कुक्कवीरेण कुलदीपे[न] धीमता । अ-
2 यमुत्तन्धित स्तम्भो यशः[१*]स्तम्भ इवीकृतः ॥

No IV

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री[१*] वल्लकी काकलीगीतं शरच्चन्द्रश्च मालती ॥
2 विनीता स्त्री सतां गोष्ठी ककुक्कस्य ^२पृयाणि षट् [॥१*]
3 न्यायमार्गो ^३गुरोर्भक्तिः[१*] पुत्ते स्नेहः कृतज्ञता ॥
4 प्रिया वाग्नागरो वेषः ककुक्कस्य पृयाणि^४ षट् ॥ [२]

No 39.—SARANGARH COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

Sarangarh is the capital of a feudatory State of the same name in the Chhattisgarh division of the Central Provinces, 32 miles south of Raigarh, the capital of another State and a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The chiefs of these two States are Rāj-Gōnds. The plates in question are in the possession of the Rāj family and first came to my notice in the beginning of the year 1903 at my last visit to Sarangarh. As they were locked up and the keys were not available at the time, the then Superintendent of the State, Rai Sahib Ālam Chand, promised to send them to me when I asked for them, but my reversion to the executive duties before I could return to head-quarters, followed by Papdit Ālam Chand's retirement from service, left them where they were, until the present Superintendent, Munshi Akbar Khān, took active steps in the matter at the instance of Rai Bahadur Pandā Baijnath, B.A., Diwān of the Bastar State, and sent them on to me on the 7th January 1908. Thus the recovery of the plates first discovered over forty years ago is as much due to the interest of the above gentlemen as to the readiness of Rāja Jawāhar Singh to lend them for examination.

The exact date and the details of the first discovery are not now forthcoming, but the plates are said to have reached the Bengal Asiatic Society on the 7th December 1864.⁵ Dr. Rājendra Lal Mitra published them in that Society's Journal in 1866, where he stated that they were presented to the Society by Lieutenant G. Bowie of the Sambalpur Police Corps, but when Dr. Fleet wrote his Gupta inscriptions about 1888, and searched for the plates, he could not

¹ From the original stone² Read प्रियाणि³ Read गुरोर्भक्तिः.⁴ Read प्रियाणि.⁵ See *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV, p. 195 ff

find them. He then recorded that as the published version was not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced he was unable to include this inscription in his volume¹

The fact appears to be that the plates were never presented to the Society. They were simply lent by and finally returned to the owner, the Śārangarh family, whose State was in those days included in the Sambalpur district, now transferred to Bengal

These facts combined with the absence of a facsimile copy of the record in Dr. Rājendra Lal's notice, together with certain misreadings of the text, afford, I venture to think, sufficient reasons for re-editing this inscription.

There are two copper plates, each measuring $6\frac{1}{2}" \times 3\frac{1}{2}"$, and the weight of the two together is 12 ozs. $5\frac{1}{2}$ drs. About 1" from the proper right margin each plate has a hole, roundish on one side and squarish on the other, the diameter being about $\frac{1}{8}"$. These were intended for stringing the plates on the ring, the loss of which has deprived our inscription of its last portion, which must have been engraved on a third plate. The lost plate must have contained about 5 or 6 lines² which can almost be restored from other inscriptions of the same king, and of Mahā-Jayarāja, all of which are composed in exactly the same wordings, the names of villages granted and the donees being of course different. In our inscription only some of the imprecatory verses are lost as also the date at the end, which of course cannot be restored. Judging from other inscriptions of this king the date must have been in regnal years, so that it could not have been of much help beyond fixing the priority or otherwise of our inscription as compared with others.

The plates recovered are in an excellent state of preservation. One is inscribed on one side and the other on both in characters of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The letters are very neatly and well formed, their average size being about $\frac{1}{4}"$. The accompanying plate gives a facsimile copy, from impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur

The language is Sanskrit prose except the usual imprecatory verses, here attributed to Vyāsa. As regards orthography, there is very little to be noticed beyond what has been already done by Dr. Konow with regard to another inscription of the same king recently found at Khariar³. As the composition is almost identical, the peculiarities are common to both. The *upadhāniya* occurs in line 3 in *-pradah=parama-*. The same sign, viz 2 dots, has been used for *visarga* and a pause. Ordinarily *mātrās* for *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* alone are attached at the foot of letters, but in this inscription there is a curious example in line 12 where the sign for *ō* in *anumōḍitaḥ* is partly exhibited by a top and partly by a foot stroke, all other *ō*'s being represented by the top strokes for *ā* and *ē*, compare *vikkramōpanata-* of line 1

The inscription was issued from the town of Śarabhapura and records the grant of a village named Chullapdaraka situated in the *bhukti* or subdivision of Tundaraka by the Queen and the royal family of Rāja Mahā-Sudēva and assented to by him, to a number of learned priests, viz Bhāskaravāmi, Prabhākaravāmi, Barbbaravāmi, Bōtasvāmi, Dattavāmi, Vishṇuvāmi, Phalguvāmi, Svāmīkīrtisvāmi and Śamkaravāmi, all of the Kauśika *gōtra*. One of these, Vishṇuvāmi, is apparently identical with the donee of the Khariar plates. He also belonged to the Kauśika *gōtra* and received a village in the Khariar zamindāri from this king. Neither these two nor the third charter of this king, which was obtained from Raipur, throw any light on the dynasty to which he belonged or on

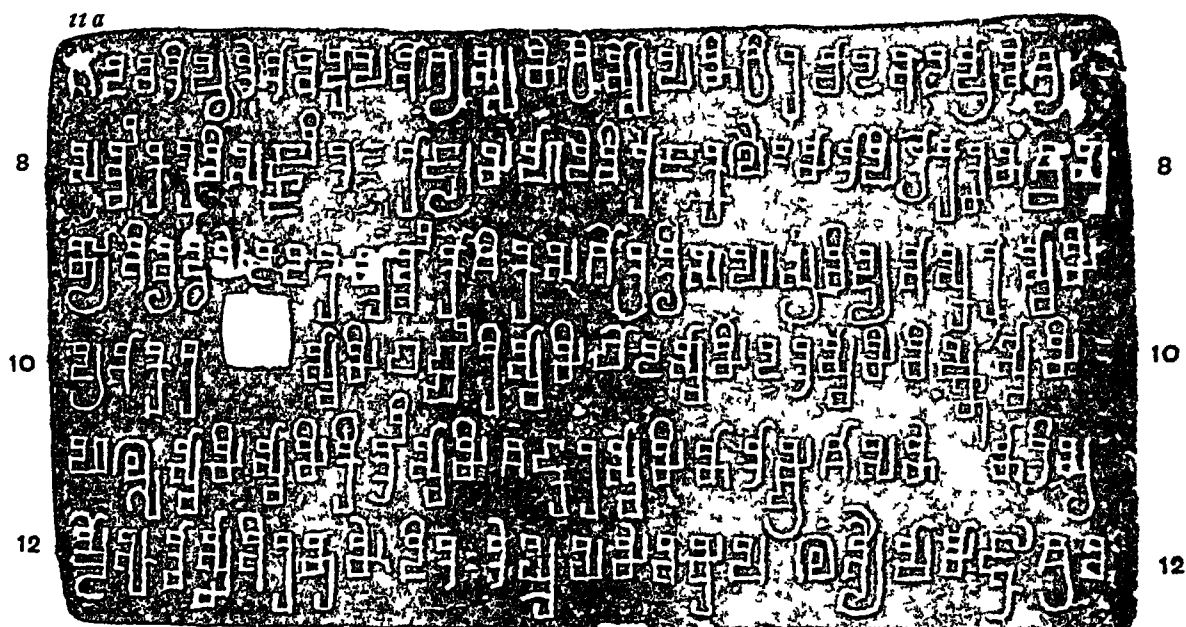
¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 193, footnote 2

² Eighteen lines of our inscription remain, the Khariar plates have 23 lines, the Ārang plates of Jayarāja 24, and the Raipur plates of Sudēva 28, but these last ones are much smaller in size than the others. Our plates are slightly bigger than all the three sets

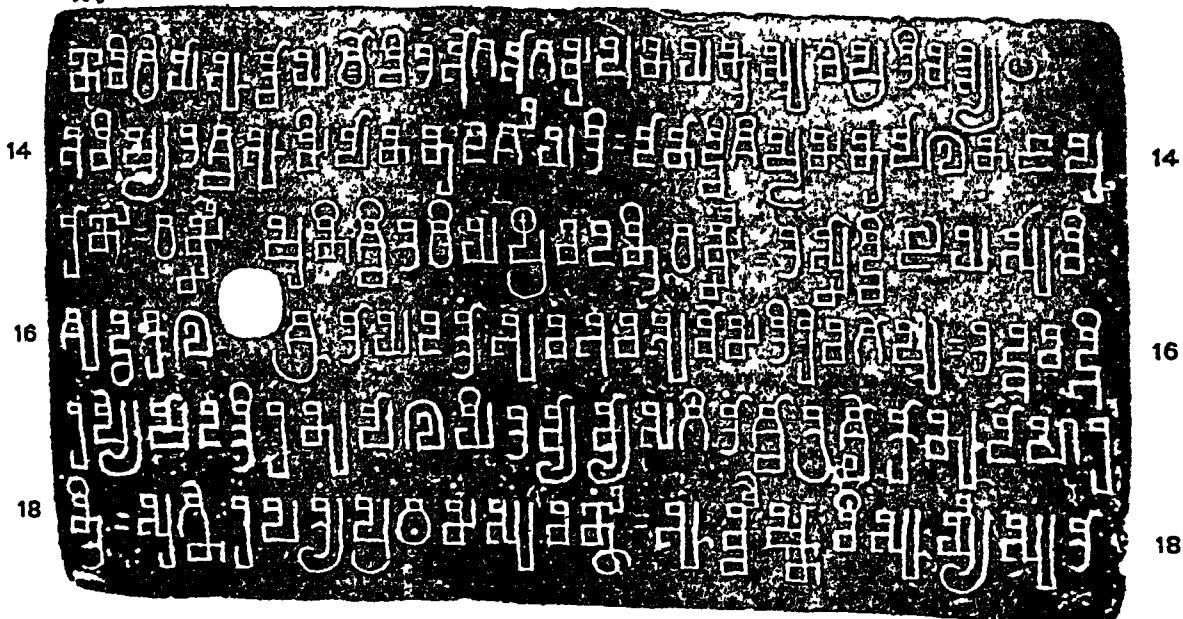
³ See above, pp. 170 and ff.



11 a



11 b



his date. Dr Konow has conjectured that the Śarabhapura kings might have been Rāshtrakūtas. They were ascendant in the Central Provinces about the 8th century to which period the characters of our inscription belong. But Dr Konow, for reasons pointed out by him, regards the identification as yet very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura, which recurs in the other two grants of Mahā-Sudēva, and in the Ārang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, has not yet been identified. I identify Tundaraka with the present Tūndrā, about 6 miles south of Seorī Nārāyan on the Mahānadi and about 35 miles west of Śārangarh. It is now included in the Balōdā Bazār tahsil of the Raipur district. The village Chullandaraka must have been somewhere close to Tūndrā, but I am at present unable to trace it. If it exists we would now find the name in a form like Chulāndur, a characteristic Chattisgarhī name, some similar ones which I remember being Machāndur, Palāndur, Kachāndur, etc. It appears to me that another village granted by Mahā-Sudēva in his Raipur charter was not very far away from Tūndrā. It is called Śrisāhikā,¹ which I take to be the present Sīrsāhī, also included in the Balōdā Bazār tahsil, and situated about 25 miles south-west of Tūndrā. Mahā-Jayarāja of the Ārang plates, who belonged to the same dynasty, also seems to have granted a village in the same part of his kingdom, viz. Pāmvā,² which I identify with Pāngarh,³ about 21 miles north of Tūndrā and included in the Jānjgir tahsil of the Bilāspur district. Pāmvā and Śrisāhikā are stated to be included in the Pūrvarāshtra or Eastern country, and we know from the Khariar plates that to the south the kingdom extended at least up to Khariar. This leads to the inference that the territories of Mahā-Sudēva included a large portion of Mahā-Kōsala, or roughly speaking Chattisgarh division.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate

- 1 Om⁵ svasti [I*] Śarabhapurād-vikkram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuta-ohūdśmani-prabhā-pra-
- 2 sākāmbu-dhōta⁶-pādayugalō ripu-vilāsini-sāmanta-ōddharana-hētur-vvasu-
- 3 vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ-paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitrī⁷-pād-ānuddhyātāś-śrī-Mahā-Sudē-
- 4 va-rājāḥ Tundaraka-bhuktiya-Chullandarakē prativāsi-kutumbinas-sa-
- 5 mājñāpayata [II*] Vīditam-astu vō yathānyam grāmāḥ tridaśapati-sadana-
- sukha-
- 6 pratishthākarō yāvad-ravi-śaśi-tārā-kṛana-pratihata-ghōrāndhakāram ja-

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 gad-avataṣṭhatō tāvad-upabhōgyas-saṁdhis-sōpanandhur-achātābhataprāvēśya-
- 8 sarvva-kara-vīsarjyātāḥ rājya-mahādēvi⁸-rōjakulāḥ mātāpitrōr-ātmanams⁹-cha pu-
- 9 ny-ābhivṛddhayē udakapūrvam ¹⁰Kōśika-sagōtra-trisahasravidya-Bhāskarasvāmi-
- 10 Prabhākarasvāmi-Barbharasvāmi-Bōtasvāmi-Dattasvāmi-Vishvasvāmi-
- 11 Phalgusvāmi-Svāmīkirttasvāmi-Śankarasvāminā [m*] tāmbraśāsānēn-ātisṛ-
- 12 śtō bhūtv-āsmābhur-anumōditaḥ [II*] Tē yūyam-ēvam-upalabhy-aishām-ājñāśrava-

¹ Gupta Inscriptions, p 197.

² Ibid, p 192

³ The adjunct garh seems to have been added when a mud fort, which still exists, was built there.

⁴ From the original plates

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ Read -dhauta- [It is possible that the sign read as ḍ here and in Kōśika, l 9, should be read as au. The two mātṛs are separated by an interval, which is not the case where ḍ is intended. This remark also applies to the other plates of this king.—S. K.]

⁷ Read -pitṛ-

⁸ Read -rōjakulāḥ

⁹ Read -ātmanas-

¹⁰ Read Kautika-

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 13 na-vidhâyâ bhûtvâ yathâbhitam bhôga-bhâgam=upanayantas=sukha[m*]
 prativatsyatha [[*]
 14 Bhavishyatas=cha bhûmipân=anudarśayati || ¹ Dānād=viśiṣṭam=anupālana[m*] pu-
 15 rānāmh² dharmamēshu nīśhitadhīyah=pravadanti dharmam || (I) tasmā[d*]
 dvijāya suvi-
 16 śuddha-kula-śrutāya dattām bhuvam bhavatu vō matir=ēva gōptum ||
 Tad=bhavadbhi-
 17 r=apy=ēshā dattir=anupālayitavyā [[*] Vyāsa-gītām=ch=ātra ślōkān=ndāhara-
 18 nti || ³ Agnēr=apatyam prathamam suvarṇam (II) bhār=vvaishnavi sūryyasutā⁴

TRANSLATION.⁵

Om! Hail! From Sarabhapura. The illustrious Mahā-Sudēva Rāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre from the crest jewels in the tiaras of the chiefs who have been subjugated by (his) prowess, who is the cause for the doing away with the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies, who is the giver of riches, of land and of cows, who is a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of his mother and father—issues a command to the householders living in Chullandaraka in the territorial sub-division (*bhukti*)⁶ of Tundaraka:—

Be it known to you that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of (our) ensuring the happiness of the abode of (Indra), the lord of the gods—which has been conveyed by a copper charter accompanied with (pouring) of water, by the Royal Consort⁷ and the Royal Family to Bhāskaravāmi, who knows the three thousand⁸ (verses?) Prabhākaravāmi, Harbhāravāmi, Bōtasvāmi, Dattasvāmi, Viṣṇusvāmi, Phalgunavāmi, Svāmīkīrtisvāmi,⁹ (and) Śankarasvāmi (all) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, together with its treasures and deposits, not to be entered by the district officer¹⁰ and soldiers, (and), free

¹ Metre Vasantatilaka² Read *purāṇa*³ Metre Indravajrā⁴ The remaining portion of the verse is -*ś-cha gāvah* | *dattās=trayaḥ=lēna bhavanti* | *lōkā yah kādūchanam gām cha mahīm cha dadyāt* ||⁵ I have freely adopted the language of other translators of similar inscriptions, especially of Drs. Konow and Fleet.⁶ *Bhukti* was an old territorial division, the exact meaning of which has not yet been ascertained. It occurs in other inscriptions (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 218, note 5) and sometimes becomes permanently attached to names such as Jājābhukti, the ancient name of Bundelkhand, which was corrupted into Jajhanti in Al Beruni's time; (see above Vol I, p 218, and Sachau's *Al Beruni's India*, Vol I, p 202)⁷ Mr Venkayya suggests to take Rājyamahādēvi as the name of the queen.⁸ The original is *trisaṁśata-vidya*, which Dr. Rājendralāl has taken to be a part of the proper name Bhāskaravāmi, but I think it is an adjectival phrase eulogising his learning which extended to the knowledge of three thousand of—what is not stated. Probably he knew three thousand *ślōkas* of some very important and difficult work, considered as a great achievement in those times.⁹ [The proper form of the name is certainly *Kīrtisvāmin*, but the second part of the preceding name has been repeated by mistake.—S K]¹⁰ The word is *chāḍa*, usually translated 'irregular troops,' which translation I adopted in my Betul and Ragholi plates. Dr Vogel, some time ago, kindly drew my attention to this point giving a more plausible explanation of the word. He wrote to me:—¹¹ 'On my first visit to the ancient Hill State of Chamba (Panjab) I learnt that the head of a pargana there has the title of *chār*, which is evidently derived from Sanskrit *chāḍa*. The *chār* collects the villagers who have to do work (forced labour) on behalf of the State, he arranges for load carriers and supplies in case the Rāja or some traveller visits his district. I have little doubt that the *chāḍa* of the copper plates is the same as the *chār* of the Chamba State. In the Chamba copper plates published in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey (1902-03) I have therefore rendered the word by 'district officer.' It was clearly a

from all taxes,—has been sanctioned by us, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourself. Being aware of this you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness rendering in proper manner (their) share of the enjoyment.

And he enjoins upon future kings:—The ancients whose minds are fixed upon religion say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from making a grant); therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brāhman of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.

And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyasa—Gold is the first offspring of fire, the earth belongs to the God Vishnu and (cows are) the daughters of the sun: (therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow and land).¹

No 40 — PATIAKELLA GRANT OF MAHARAJA SIVARAJA
[GUPTA] SAMVAT 283

By R D BANERJEE.

This inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was discovered several years ago by a peasant in a cornfield in the zamindari of Patiakellā in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. It is the property of an Ōṛiyā Brāhman, who, I hear, regularly worships it. The Rājā of Patiakellā made it over to Bābu Nagendra Nātha Vasu, the Honorary Archaeological Surveyor to the Mayūrbhañja Estate. Nagendra Bābu made it over to me some six or seven months ago for decipherment.

The inscription is engraved on a single plate of copper, measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ " by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". To the left there is an oval projection, $1\frac{1}{2}$ " long, to which a lump of brass or bell metal is attached. On the top of this lump there is an oval cavity, showing traces of the seal. But no letters or symbols are discernible at present. Both sides of the plate are inscribed. Altogether there are eighteen lines of writing in this grant. The writing was fairly well executed, but its preservation is not very good. One corner of the plate is missing and has carried away portions of the dates with it. Fortunately the date can be made out correctly from the portions still remaining. In this grant the date was given twice. First of all we read in the second line *tryadhishāittiyuttara* . . . and secondly at the end of the eighteenth line *Samvat 200* . . . Thus tens and hundreds are all fairly certain. I am indebted to Dr. Kojow for the reading of the symbol for two hundred.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and are in every respect similar to those of the Mundēśvari inscription of Udayasēna, from the Shāhābad district. The Mundēśvari inscription is dated in the [Harsha] year 30 (635 A.D.).² The peculiarities of the characters of our grant are as follows:—

- (a) Among the ligatures the only noticeable feature is to be found in the ā mark, which is expressed in two different ways while attached to the same letter na. Cf

privilege of importance that the head of the district was not allowed to interfere with the granted land, in other words, he was not allowed to collect labourers or to demand supplies, &c., on a half of the State."

¹ These words which must have been engraved in the third plate have been supplied to make sense.

² The Mundēśvari inscription has been found in two pieces. The second portion was presented to the Indian Museum so far back as 1891. The first portion containing the date was found among the debris around the temple and sent to the Indian Museum in 1904. For the Mundēśvari temple, see *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (1895), p. 370. Dr. Bloch has referred to this inscription twice. See *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1902-03*, p. 20, and *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-04*, pp. 42-43. The inscription will be published below, pp. 289 and ff.

punyābhivṛddhayē in l 8 with *vṛihadbhōgikādhikaranāny=ēva*, l 7. The *ē* mark is unusual in *-pūrvakēn=d-* in l 9.

- (b) It is interesting to note that this Cuttack grant shows a greater affinity to the Mundēśvarī inscription than does the Gañjām grant of Śaśānka,¹ while the latter shows a marked affinity to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269.² Thus the *ya* in the Bōdh Gayā inscription and the Gañjām plate is bipartite, while in the Mundēśvarī inscription and the present grant it is of the usual early Gupta type, i.e. tripartite. Similarly the lingual *sha* in our grant and the Mundēśvarī inscription shows a cursive base line unlike the acute angle type of the Bōdh Gayā and Gañjām inscriptions. This form of *sha* is also to be found in the Nepal inscription of the year 316.³
- (c) The presence of the acute angle is noticeable only in the dental *sa* and *ma*, as is also the case in the Mundēśvarī inscription. But some letters show a well-defined acute angle at their lower extremities in alternative cases, cf. the *dha* in *-hārādhigama-* (l. 5) with that in *-dīdhiti-* in l 3, and *vṛihadbhōgikādhikaranāny=* in l 7.
- (d) The characters of our grant differ from those of the Mundēśvarī inscription in so far as the lingual *na* in the latter is exactly similar to the *na* of the early Gupta type, while the *na* in our grant has larger space between the right and left curves.
- (e) The characters of this grant show a greater affinity to the Gōlmādhītōl inscription of the Gupta year 316 than to the contemporary Nepal inscriptions. The paleography of the epoch beginning with the last half of the 6th and ending with the first half of the 7th century A.D. can nowhere be studied with greater advantage than in Nepal. The inscriptions of the Harsha year 34, the Gupta year 316, the Harsha years 39 and 45 show very clearly the change which came over later Gupta characters in the last half of the 6th century and the 50 years following that. Thus the Gōlmādhītōl inscription of the year 316 shows in its characters very little departure from those of the Mandasōr inscription of Yaśōdharman.⁴ The Patan inscription of the year 34⁵ exhibits a further step onwards, as it is more allied to the Gañjām grant of Śaśānka than our grant or the Gōlmādhītōl inscription. The next inscription, that of the Harsha year 39⁶ and the short record of the year 45 of the same era, are inscribed in characters which are very much akin to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman and the Madhuban and Banskhēra grants of Harshavardhana.
- (f) The letters *da* and *ṭa* resemble each other very closely. Thus, *vṛihadbhōgikādhikaranāny=*, l 7, looks like *vṛiṣaṭbhōgikādhikaranāny=*
- (g) There is little difference between *va* and *cha*. Thus, *-chala-taraṅga-*, l. 1, looks like *-vala-taraṅga-*, while *Śivarājah*, l. 5, looks like *Śiccharājah*.

As regards orthography two or three departures are noticeable, such as *-maṁgura-*, l. 1, *-vanśa-* and *-āsītty-*, l. 2, *gēhattō*, l 8.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant made by a feudatory chief named Śivarāja to a number of Brāhmins during the reign of his suzerain Śagguyayyana of southern Tōsali. Śagguyayyana is styled *Paramamādhēvara-Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Paramadēvatādhipatya*, which clearly shows his imperial position. The title of the suzerain and the name of the

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 143

² Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 72, pl. VIII

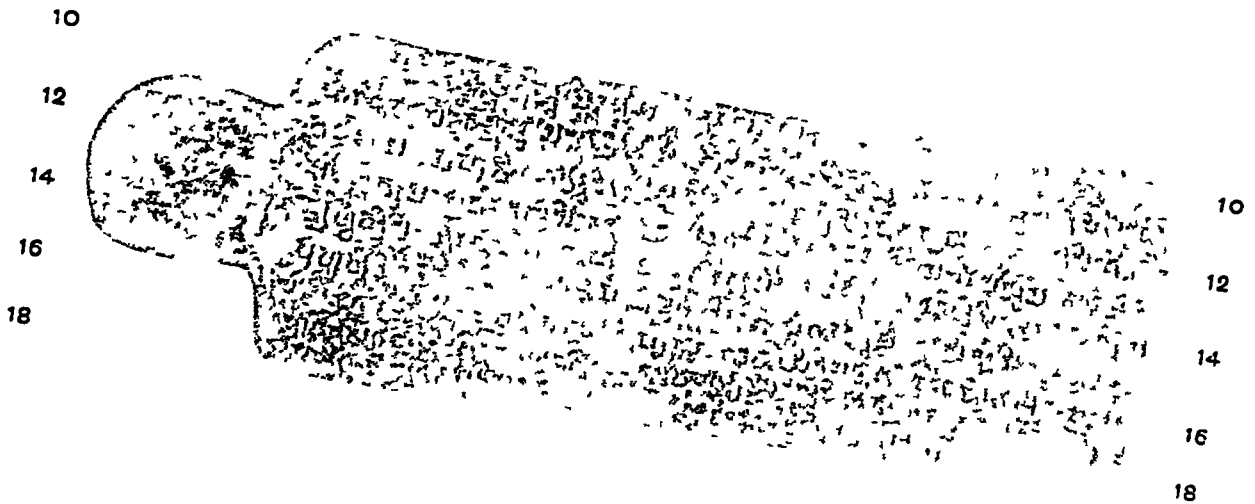
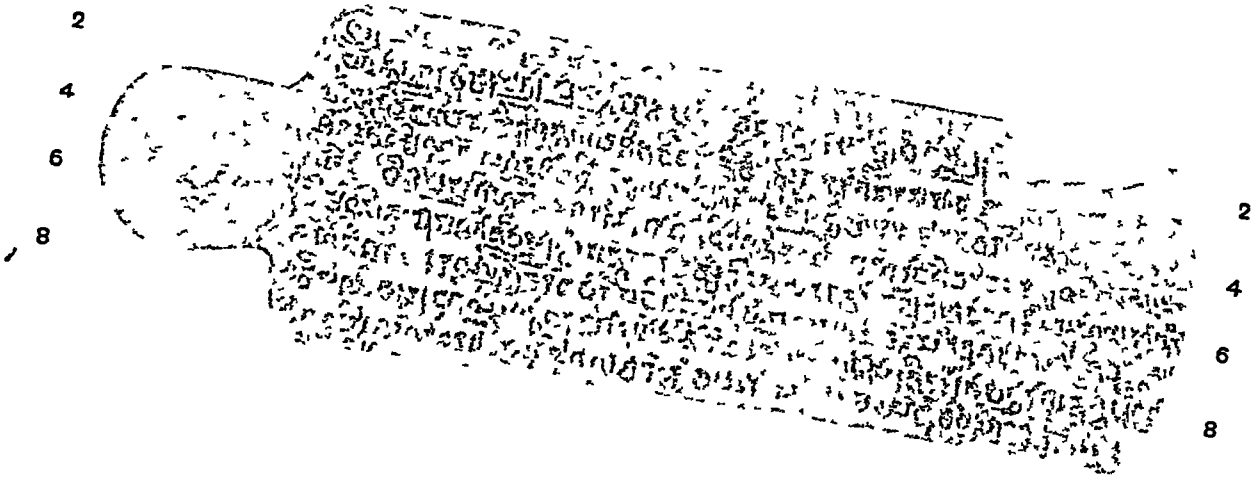
³ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 150, pl. XXII

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 169 and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 74.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 170, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 77, pl. X.

⁶ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 274, pl. XLIA.

Patriakella Plate of Sivaraja —[Gupta] Samvat [283]



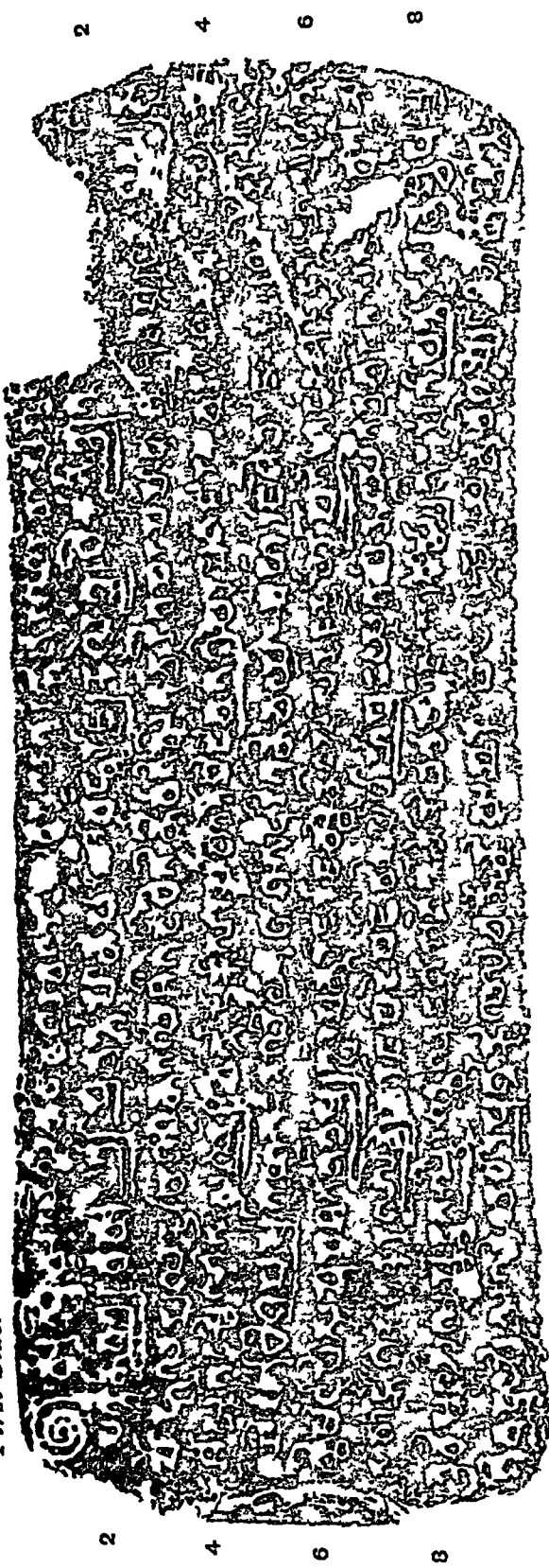
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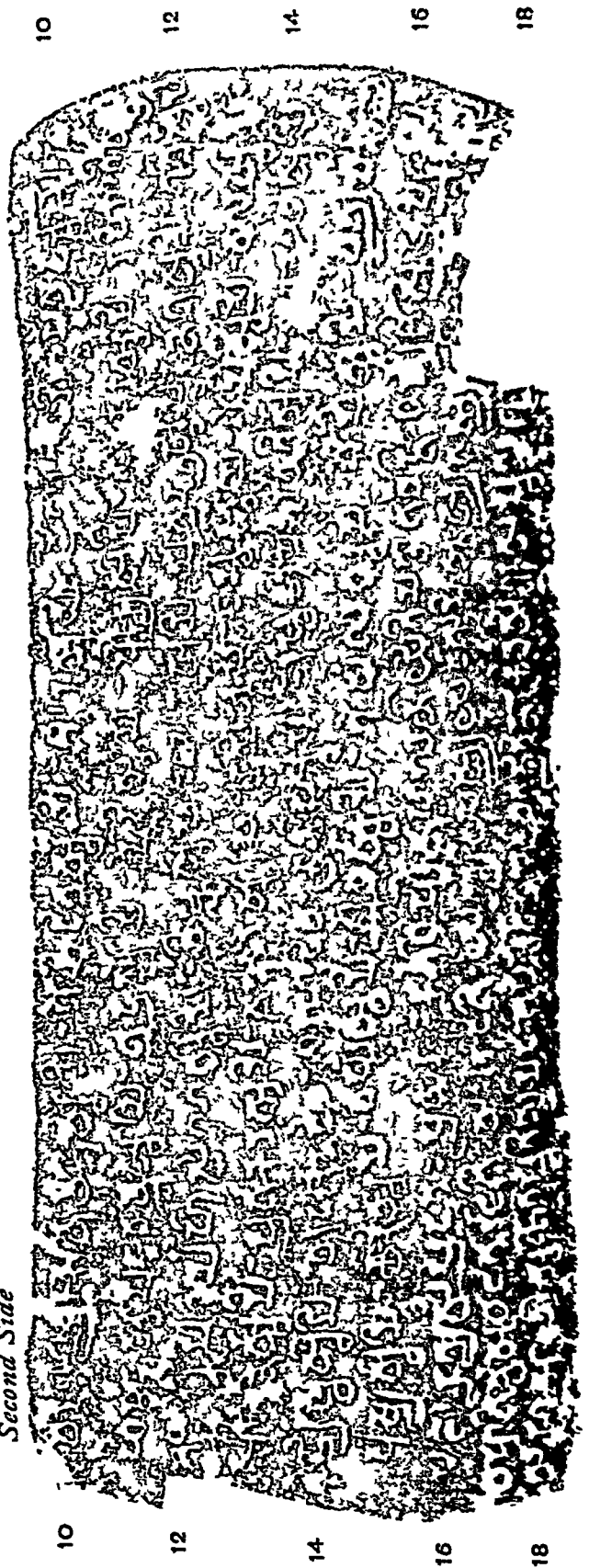
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

W GRIGGS COLLOTYPE

First Side.



Second Side



donor points to Śaivism, but the names of several donees such as Vishnusrvāmi, Rēvatīsvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, *etc.*, show a Vaishnava taint. The document was issued from Vōrttanōka, which was the Imperial capital (l. 4) as well as the residence of the feudatory chief (l. 8). The grant consisted in the village Tandraivalu. It was given to several Brāhmins belonging to separate *gōtras* and *charanas*. The date has already been discussed. There can be little doubt about the fact that it is a Gupta year. Thus our grant was incised after the Bōdh Gayā inscription and before the Gaṇjām grant, the Nepal inscription of the year 316, and the Mundēsvārī inscription. The second line mentions the kings of the Māna race, *Mānavanśa-rājyalālē*. This dynasty has been mentioned in two 12th century inscriptions only, *viz* the Nawādī inscription of the Śaka year 1059,¹ which has been recently purchased by the Archaeological Survey and brought to the Indian Museum, and in the Dudhpau rock inscription.²

I am afraid it is beyond my power to identify the geographical position of the village mentioned in the Patīākellā grant. Neither the *vishaya* nor the *bhukti* or the *mandala* has been mentioned in the grant, but in lines 5-6, we find *asmīnn-ēva vishayē*, which probably indicates that the name of the *vishaya* was also Vōrttanōka.³ I now edit the inscription from the original plate —⁴

TEXT.

First Side

- 1 Om⁵ svasti [*] saṁlā-nidhi-vēlā-vala[yita-cha]la-tarang-ābharapa-ruchira-mamgura
- 2 pattanavatyā[m] vasumatyā[m] pravarttamāna-Māna-vaṁśa-rājya-kālē tryadhik-āsittya-
ntta[ra]
- 3 Maudgal-āmala-kulē gagana-tala-śītadidhiti-nivātē sita-charitē Paramamāhēśvara-
śrī-Śagguyayyanē⁶
- 4 śāsati dakṣiṇa-Tōsalyā[m] Vōrttanōkāt-paramadēvat-ādhiḍaivata-śrī-paramabhattā-
raka-charava-kamal-āmala-kṣau-
- 5 mī⁷-hār-ādhiḍama-pratihata(h)-kalyug-āgata-durita-nichayaḥ(yō) mahārāja-
Śivarājah kuśali asmīnn-ēva
- 6 vishayē samupagat-ābhaviṣyat-sāmanta-rāja-rājasthāniy-ōparika-kumārāmātya-
tadāyuktaka-mahāmahattara-
- 7 vṛhadbhōgikādhikaranāny-ēva rājapādōpajivī yathārha[m] śrāvayati mānayati cha
viditam=a[stu] bhavatām ya[th-ā]-
- 8 ttra vishayē sambaddha-Tandraivalu⁸-grāma(mō) Vōrttanōk-⁹[āvavāsa-
gē(?)]hattō=smābhīḥ mātāpitṛrōr=ātmanas=cha puny-ā-
- 9 bhivṛddhayē saṁlā-dhārā-pūrvvakān=āchandr-ārka-sama-kāly-ākshayanivī(nivī)-
dharmmēna¹⁰ nānā-gōttara-

¹ Above, Vol. II, p 333

² Above, Vol II, p 346

³ [The locality cannot be far from Tōsali, which we know from Aśoka's Dhauli edicts, and which must be located in the neighbourhood of Dhauli. It seems more likely to explain *asmīnn-ēva vishayē* as *Tōsali-vishayē* than as *Vōrttanōkavishayē* —S K]

⁴ [It has proved impossible to get good impressions of the plate. The subjoined reproductions are the best that could be obtained.—S K]

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ [I am unable to see *Śagguyayyanē*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading, I think I see *Śambhāya-
gyēnu-* —S K]

⁷ [I see *Tandraivalu-grāma* —S K]

⁸ [I read *-āmala-śrīni-* —S K]

⁹ [I read *Vōrttanōkē ch=divāsa* . . . but cannot make out the rest.—S K.]

¹⁰ Read *-ādham-aśkaya-* Compare above, Vol VI, p 139, Vol. VII, p 101, note 1.

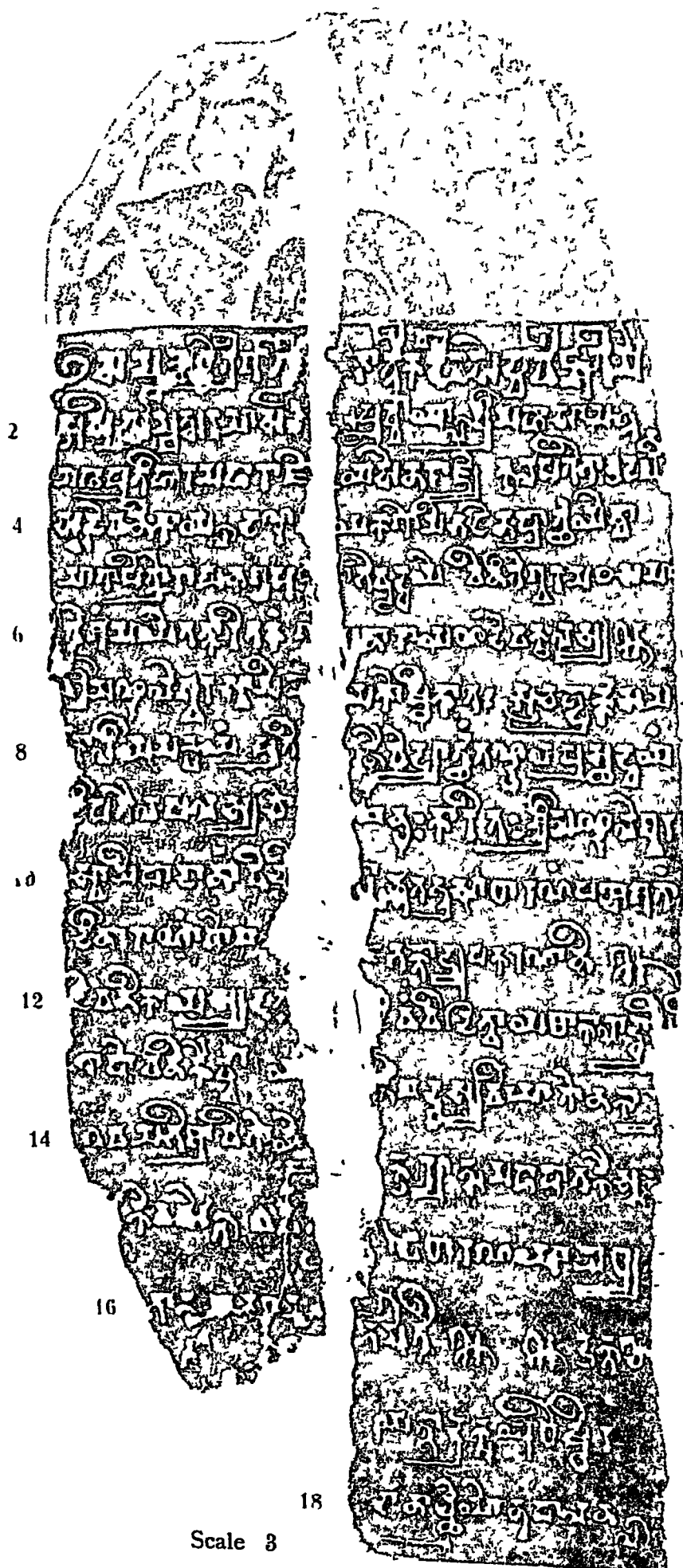
Second Side

- 10 charanēbhya Anuruddhasvāmi-Gōmidēvasvāmi-Śūrasvāmi-Vōppasvāmi-Pitrisvāmi-
 11 Harungasvāmi-Chandrasvāmi-Bhadrāsavāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Pushyasvāmi-.karasvāmi-Rōhipi-
 svāmi-
 12 Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi-Mahāsēnasvāmi-Vishnūsvāmi-Yadusvāmi-Mātradasvāmi-Nāgasvāmi-
 Bhōgasvāmi-
 13 Ana[nta?]svāmi-Prabhākarasvāmi-Nāva..rasvāmi-Dīpīsvāmi-Jam[vu]svāmi-Gōmisvāmi-
 Valasvāmi-
 14 Jyēsthāsavāmi-Adarśanadēva-Dhanadēva-Kumārasvāmi-Jyēsthāsavāmi-Rēvatisvāmi-
 Prāya(?)svāmi-
 15 Pushyasvāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Vappasvāmi-Śravasvāmi-Gōpālasvāmi-Gōmisvāmi-ēbhya-
 tāmra-
 16 -pattī-kṛtya sampradattāh [I*] Pūrvavarājakṛtō dharmm[ō]=nupālaniyāiti(ya iti)
 matvā bhavadbhūh[I*] Dharmmasāstrēshv=api śruyatē [I*]
 17 Va(ba)hubhū-vvasudhā dattā rājabhih -Sagarādibhūh [I*] yasya yasya yadā
 bhūmiḥ=tasya tasya [tadā phalam] [I*] [Shashtim] varaha-
 18 sahasrāni svarggē tishthati bhūmidah [I*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny-
 ēya narakē vasēt [I*] Samvat¹ 200

TRANSLATION.

In the [two hundred] and eighty-third year of the rule of the Māna family on the earth, full of cities, which has the shores of the ocean as its bracelet, the moving waves as its trinkets and the radiant *mangura* fishes as its . . . In the spotless family of Mudgala, when the great worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Śagguyayana, whose character was white and who was undisturbed like the moon in the sky, was ruling in southern Tōsali, *Mahārāja Śivarāja*, whom the accumulation of sins could not approach on account of his obtaining from the lotus-like feet of the Paramabhattāraka, the God of Gods, the spotless position of a ruler of the earth, being in good health, from Vōrttanōka honors all present and future feudatory chiefs, *Rājasthānīyas*, *Uparikas*, officers of the heir-apparent, *Tadāyuktas*, great nobles, tax-collectors and other dependants of the king in this *viśhaya* in due form and proclaims — "Be it known to you that the village Tandralvalu, belonging to this *viśhaya*, from (the residential house at?) Vōrttanōka, for the increase of the merit of my father and mother and myself, after having poured out water, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon subsists, everlastingly, as a permanent endowment, is given by writing on copper plates to Anuruddhasvāmi, Gōmidēvasvāmi, Śūrasvāmi, Vōppasvāmi, Pitrisvāmi, Harungasvāmi, Chandrasvāmi, Bhadrāsavāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, .karasvāmi, Rōhipīsvāmi, Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi, Mahāsēnasvāmi, Vishnūsvāmi, Yadusvāmi, Mātradasvāmi, Nāgasvāmi, Bhōgasvāmi, Ana(nta)-svāmi, Prabhākarasvāmi, Nāvarasvāmi, Dīpīsvāmi, Jam(vu)svāmi, Gōmisvāmi, Valasvāmi, Jyēsthāsavāmi, Adarśanadēva, Dhanadēva, Kumārasvāmi, Jyēsthāsavāmi, Rēvatisvāmi, Prāyasvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Vappasvāmi, Śravasvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, Gōmisvāmi, belonging to various *gōtras* and *charanas*. A law laid down by former kings should be observed, thinking so (you should observe my gift). It is heard in the laws (two of the ordinary benedictory verses follow). Samvat 200.

¹ Read *Samvat*.



Sten Konow

Collotype by Gebr Plettner

No. 41 — MUNDESVARI INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASENA.
THE [HARSHA] YEAR 30.

By R. D. BANERJEE.

This inscription was discovered among the debris which had accumulated around the temple of Mundēsvari in the Bhābua subdivision of the Shāhābād district¹ It seems that sometime after the incision of the inscription some ignorant person sawed it lengthwise in halves. The two halves of the inscription were discovered and brought to the Indian Museum at different dates. The second half seems to have been discovered by the late Babu Purna Chandra Mukhārji so far back as 1891-92. The first half, which is the more important part of the inscription, as it contains the date, was discovered in 1902² Impressions on tin foils were then sent to Dr Bloch. The inscription was finally brought to the Indian Museum in the beginning of 1904. The two halves have now been joined together and placed on a masonry pedestal in the Inscription gallery of the Museum.

The stone measures 2' 8" by 1' 1" and contains eighteen lines of well-executed writing. In the first half of the inscription the first fifteen lines are clear, but the sixteenth line has been much damaged and the seventeenth and eighteenth lines have been lost altogether. With the exception of the last two lines, which contain one of the usual imprecatory verses, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

In a previous paper I have fully discussed the palæography of this inscription³ The only orthographical peculiarities are the substitution of *ba* for *va* in *sambatsara*, and the use of *i* instead of *m* before *f*. Letters with a superscribed *rēpha* have been doubled. Final forms of *m* are to be found in ll. 2, 4 and 18, and of *t* in 1 15. The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all, though it would have been in its place in ll. 14 and 18. Note also the form *kāritakam* in l. 6.

The inscription records a grant of two *prasthas* of rice and a *pala* of oil to the god *Maṇḍal-śvara* by a *kulapati*⁴ named Bhāgudalana. It is dated in the year 30 in the reign of the *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahārāja* Udayasēna, who is not known from other sources. Judging from the affinity of the characters of this inscription with those of the years 34 and 39 from Nepal,⁵ the era is most probably that established by Harshavardhana. The mutilation of the central portion of the inscription by sawing the stone into two halves has caused a series of gaps. Some of these can be filled up, but lines 11 and 15 are quite unintelligible. I now edit the inscription from the original stone.

TEXT.

- 1 Om⁶ Samba(mva)tsarē trīṣaṭi[tamē] Kārttika-divasē dvāviṃsatimē
- 2 asmin=samba(mva)tsara-māsa-[diva]sa-pūrvvāyām śrī-Mahāsāmanta-
- 3 Mahāpratihāra-Mahārāj-[Ōḍa]yasēna-rājyē kulapati-Bhāgudalana-⁷
- 4 s=sa dēvanikāyam danda[nā]yaka-Gōmibhaṭṭēna prārthayitvā
- 5 mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha pu[nyā]bhivṛddhayē Vinitēśvara-mathasamā-
- 6 vēsam maṭham=etat-kāritakam [śrī-]Nārāyaṇa-dēvakulasya

¹ *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (published by the Public Works Department, 1895) pp. 370—371.
Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1902-03), pp. 42-43.

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1902, p. 20.

³ See above, p. 285 f.

A teacher who maintains ten thousand pupils at his own cost is termed a *kulapati*. See *Vāchaspatyaśāstradhānam*.

Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, pp. 72-73.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

The final *na* of this word has been added above the line.

- 7 śrī-Mandalēśvara-svāmi-[pādā]ya kṛtshtukātaḥ ā-chandr-ārka-sama-
 8 kālīyam=akṣhayam prāt[dīnam] naivēdyārttham tapdula-prastha-dvayam
 9 dīpa-taila-palasya oh=ō[pani]bandhaḥ kārtaḥ śrī-Mandalēśvara-
 10 svāmi-pādānām vichchhi[ti-vi]śrānta-tantra-sādhāranam pañchāśatām
 11 dīnārāṇām gōba . . . ja-bhaktādy-upakaraṇāni¹
 12 dēvanikāyasya datta[m²=ētaḍ=ē]vam viditvā yathākāl-ādhyā[sibhi]-
 13 r=āpōvanikair³=vvā ya[thāni]baddhasya vighātō na kār[ya]
 14 ēvam=abhiśrāvītō yō[=nyathā]kuryāt=sa mahāpātakaḥ=sa[ha]
 15 [nara]kē vasēt ēvam . . . vadhāraṇayā madhya . . .
 16 bhāka . . . tam=ati || Ukta[n= cha]
 17 yatnād=rakṣa Yudhushtira
 18 dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam

TRANSLATION.

Hail In the year 30, on the twenty-second day of Kārttika, on the above-mentioned year, month and day, in the reign of the great feudatory, the Mahāpratihāra, the Mahārāja [Uda]yasēna, the kulapati Bhāgudalana, having applied to the Council of gods (?Brāhmanas) through the daṇḍanāyaka Gōmibhata built this maṭha of the dēvakula of Nārāyaṇa, to increase the merit of his father and mother and of his own self, near the temple of Vinitēśvara. For the lord Maṇḍalēśvara provision has been made every day, as long as the Sun and the Moon last, everlastingly, to provide two prasthas of rice for the votive offering and a pala of oil for the lamp from the treasury Fifty dīnāras current up to the frontiers of the Lord Maṇḍalēśvara- with rice and other ingredients. Knowing it to be a gift of the Council of gods, the merchants who trade on the waters(?) and who arrive at the proper time⁴ should not hinder this arrangement. Having heard this, whoever acts to the contrary shall live in hell with great sins O' Yudhushtira, preserve with care preservation is preferable to gifts

No 42 —INSCRIPTION ON THE UMBRELLA STAFF OF THE BUDDHIST
 IMAGE FROM SAHET MAHET

By T. Bloch, Ph.D.

The stone bearing this inscription was discovered by Rākhal Dās Banerji in April, 1908, in the Lucknow Museum. As Dr Vogel tells me, it is a red sandstone slab, 3' 1" high, 11½" wide, and 4½" thick. "It is broken off at the top, just where the octagonal portion begins. Here the four corners are provided with an ornament in the Mathurā style. The lower portion of the slab is carved with a seated female figure, apparently unfinished. The back of the column is cut off straight." The photograph of the stone, supplied to me by Dr Vogel, shows that this carving has been done at a later time, perhaps when the stone was intended to be used for some building. It has destroyed a good many letters in the second half of the inscription, while the first half has become almost entirely obliterated by sharpening knives on it.

However, enough remains to make it absolutely clear that the inscription was identical with the dedicatory epigraph on the pedestal of the large standing Bōdhisattva from Sahet

¹ The sign at the end of this line has been added in order to fill up the vacant space.

² [I would read dattāny=ētaḍ —S K]

³ [I read āpōvanikair= —S K]

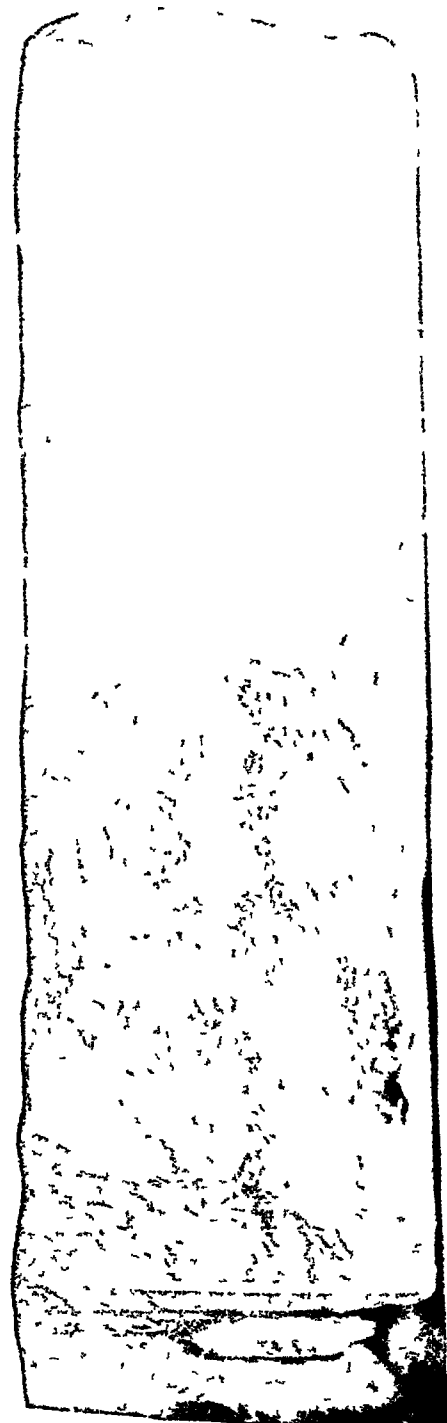
⁴ [I would translate those who come and worship from time to time or the ascetics of the tapōvana.—S K]

Buddhist inscription from Set Mahet.



Scale 35

From an impression supplied by Dr J P Vogel



From a photograph.

Collotype by Gebr Plettner

Mahêt, which has been edited by me, above, Vol VIII pp 180-181. This fact is of considerable interest. First it shows that I was right in explaining the word *dāṇḍas=cha* in line 2 of the Sahêt Mahêt image inscription as "a staff for supporting the umbrella over the head of the Bôdhisattva" (l c p 180). Secondly,—and this is by far the most important point connected with this inscription,—we now know for certain that the Sahêt Mahêt statue was found by Cunningham *in situ*, or, in other words, that no possible doubt can be raised against the correctness of Cunningham's identification of Sahêt Mahêt with Śrāvastī.¹ For although the records of the Lucknow Museum are not as clear as one would have expected them to be in regard to the provenance of the stone, Dr. Vogel has pointed out to me some very conclusive evidence, which in my opinion makes it certain that the stone was found by Dr Hoey during his excavations at Sahêt Mahêt in 1885. The only possible doubt that could be, and has been, raised against the bearing of the Sahêt Mahêt, now Calcutta Museum, statue upon the question of the identity of Sahêt Mahêt with Śrāvastī, turned around this point: did Cunningham find the Bôdhisattva image at Sahêt Mahêt in its original position, or had it been shifted to this place from somewhere else? Strange though such a transportation would appear to us *prima facie*, it still has been, as far as I know, an assumption that seemed to recommend itself to certain scholars. I am afraid their position has now become definitely weakened by the discoveries above referred to.

Unfortunately no further help is given to us by the new inscription for restoring the missing words in the beginning of the inscription on the pedestal of the Bôdhisattva statue in the Calcutta Museum. Only the two letters *vapu* in the beginning of line 2 show that I was right in restoring the second word in the Calcutta inscription as *dévaputrasya*, and further in ascribing the Calcutta statue to the time of either Kanishka or Huvishka. However, this is a very small matter, for which hardly any additional proof was required owing to the occurrence of the name of the *Trépitaka Bala*, the donor of the Calcutta image, in a Mathurâ inscription of the year 33 of Huvishka.²

I now edit the inscription from impressions and a photograph, kindly supplied to me by Dr Vogel.

TEXT.

- 1 [dê]
2. vapu[trasya]
3. [v]ihâr[ī]-
- 4 [sya] [bhikshu]-
5. sya [Balasya trāpita]kasya
6. dānam Bôdhi[sa]tvô chh[a]trâ³ dandaś=cha
7. Śāvastiyê [Bhagavatô cham]ka[m]ê Kôsamba-
8. [kutyê âchâ]r[yy]â[nam Sarvvâ]s[t]ivâdina[m]
9. [pa]r[ī]grâ[hê]

•No 43 — TWO BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM SARNATH.

By STEN KONOW.

During the excavations in Sarnâth in February 1907, I found a fragment of a stone umbrella lying between the bases of two small brick *stûpas* to the west of the main shrine exca-

¹ Dr Vogel informs me that Pandit Dayâ Râm Sahni has discovered additional proof, that even in the days of Gôvindachandra of Kanauj, the traditional identity of the two places was still alive. See *Journ R As Soc.* 1908, pp 971 and ff.

² See above, Vol VIII, p 182

³ It is doubtful, if the word was written *chhâtrâh*, as in the inscription on the pedestal. However, the next word clearly is *dandaś=cha*, and not *dāṇḍas=cha*, as it is spelt on the pedestal of the statue

Sarnath stone umbrella inscription



Scale 5

Sarnath Buddhist inscription.



Sten Konow

Scale 6

Collotype by Gebr Plettner

Another inscription written in Pāli was discovered during the excavations carried on by Mr Marshall and myself in the winter of 1908, on the back of a slab containing conventional representations of scenes of the Buddha's life. I publish it here from impressions prepared in my office. The writing covers a space of $12' \times 9'$, and the height of the individual letters is $\frac{1}{2}''-1''$.

The characters belong to the 4th, or, perhaps, the 3rd century A.D. The tripartite *ya* is almost identical with the *ya* of the Allahābād *prasasti*, while the *sa* has the older form with a hook, and not with a loop. The date of the inscription is of interest for the history of Buddhist iconography.

The language is mixed Pāli, the forms *-prabhavā* in line 1, and *-śramaṇō*, l. 6, not belonging to the dialect. The inscription contains the common formula *yē dhammā*, etc.

TEXT.

- 1 Yē dhammā hētu-prabhavā
- 2 tēsam hētum tathāga-
- 3 tō avōcha tēsam cha
- 4 yō nurōdhō ē-
- 5 vam vādī mahā-
- 6 śramaṇō.

No 44 —SPURIOUS LAPHA PLATE OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRTHVIDEVA SAMVAT 806

By HIRA LAL, B A., NAGPUR.

At the request of Mr C U. Wills, I C S, Zamindārī Settlement Officer, Bilāspur District, I have examined a copper plate in the possession of a Zamindār at Lāphā, named Dahirāj Singh, who is over sixty years of age and whom I had the pleasure to meet. He was good enough to lend it to me for taking an impression to accompany this note. He informed me that the plate was given to one of his ancestors, who first came from Delhi and took service at Ratanpur as one of the gate-keepers of the Ratanpur Fort and also as a guard of the Rānī's palace. He used to live in the Bhēdīmūdipirā, one of the quarters of Ratanpur town. This portion of the town was eventually given to him as a *mū'āfi*, and afterwards the present copper plate grant is said to have been given bestowing on him 120 villages belonging to the Lāphā Fort. The present Zamindārī contains only 75 villages and the Zamindār informed me that before Mr Chisholm's settlement in the year 1868, there were only 60 villages in it.

The plate is rectangular, measuring $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{5}{8}''$, having a smooth surface, inscribed on one side only. There are two small holes on the top. The writing covers $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, leaving out the *Śrī* at the top.

The record consists of 8 lines surmounted by a prefatory one, the middle portion of which is spaced down, apparently for ornamental purposes. This line and the word *śrī* at the top together with *śrī* 5 at the commencement and *subham=astu* and the date in figures at the end are in prose. The rest is in verse, consisting of 5 *anushṭubh ślōkas* which are numbered, except the last. There are altogether 206 letters including 9 figures.

The style of writing is Ōriyā, and there are not less than 25 letters which are distinctly borrowed from the alphabet of that language. All the *mātrās* or vowel signs have been marked according to what is in vogue in the present Ōriyā writing. The letters *ja*, *da* and *va* have been invariably written in the Ōriyā form. The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes. Thus in verse 2 we find *sūrusāmanta-* instead of *śūrasāmanta-*.

The inscription purports to record the gift of 120 villages appertaining to the Lamphâ (Lâphâ) fort to a noble named Lungâ, who had come from Delhi, by the Haihaya king Prithvî-dêva, on the 1st day of the dark fortnight of Mâgha in Samvat 806. For what services the gift was made and on what conditions, is not stated, but it was to be hereditary and it was given because the king's "mind was pleased with the *Kauraviya*"¹ which apparently means that he was pleased with the Kavar tribe, to which the donee belonged, presumably for their military services. What strikes one most at the first glance is the freshness of the metal, the clean cut and the modern characters, and this rouses suspicion. The intermixture of Ōriyâ letters is in itself suspicious. They might, however, be old and indicate that the plate is an old one. On looking for the date such an idea gets partially confirmed, but the suspicion again revives as soon as we learn from the Zamîndâr that, since the grant was made, only 27 generations have supervened. The Zamîndâr thinks the date to be of the Vikrama era, so that the plate would be about 1,159 years old. This would give, on the average, 43 years to a generation, which is absurd. A critical examination of the record affords as easy an evidence of its being spurious. The characters are in reality all modern, having been taken from the Hindi and Ōriyâ alphabets. The inscriptional alphabet of the Chhattisgarh Haihayas has a peculiarity of its own, not easily describable, but which distinguishes it from the modern alphabet. The most distinctive letters are *cha*, *ja*, *dha*, *bha* and *sa*, but in all instances where these letters occur in the present plate, they have no such distinctive features. The style of the record is also modern. I have not come across any Haihaya inscription with a *śrî* at the top, which modern writers usually put in. Again the word *śrî Krishnachandra*, which is apparently meant as an invocation, is a modernism, similar phrases being *śrî-Râma*, *śrî-Gaṇēśa*, etc. In all Haihaya inscriptions, the invocation is *Om namah Śivâya*, i.e. I bow down to Śiva. The forger, who, I believe, had seen many of the Haihaya inscriptions, forgot the distinctive Haihaya invocation owing to the story of Śrî-Krishna being uppermost in his mind, and he thought that as Krishna was so well pleased with Mayûradhvaja, the supposed ancestor of the Haihayas, an invocation to that deity would be most appropriate. The next phrase, calling the record *viyaya-lêkha* or the victorious writ, meaning royal record, is another novelty of the Ōriyâ type, in which, as in Dravidian languages, the addition of *viyaya* or victory to every act done by a high personage is a matter of etiquette. A *Râja* does not go, he conquers *viyaya karuchhanti*, he does not eat, he conquers the kitchen, he does not answer the call of nature, he conquers the latrine, and so on. I have not come across any other grant being distinguished as *viyaya-lêkha*. The next phrase refers to a seal, which is nowhere to be found. The prefatory phrases done, the record proper again begins with a modernism, viz *śrî* 5. This reminds one of a Hindi letter-writer which was used in schools, some years ago, in which there was a couplet to the effect that 6 *śris* should be recorded for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or son. This must have occurred to the writer's mind, more particularly because he was, as I suppose, a school-master himself and was probably teaching the *Pattrahitashini* to his pupils.

Now with regard to the date, the Vikrama year 806 or 749 A.D. is impossible. It goes back to a period when probably the Haihayas had not at all come to Chhattisgarh. From inscriptions we have a date 1114 of Jâjalladêva² I, who was fifth in descent from Kalingarâja, the first Haihaya, who is said to have conquered Dakshinakôsala. Taking then the date of Kalingarâja to be 1000 A.D., the present grant would have been made by the Haihayas 250 years before they began to rule in Chhattisgarh. Even if we suppose that it refers to the Kalachuri era, it would be equivalent to 1054 A.D., i.e. almost contemporaneous with the commencement of Haihaya rule. Prithvirâja was fourth in descent from Kalingarâja and was the father of Jâjalladêva I. The date of this plate would place a difference of 60 years between

¹ [Perhaps *Kauraviya* is intended.—S. K.]

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 34.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

श्री.ह.सं.सु.वा.न.श्री

विष्णुसुक्तम्

श्री ५ ॥ स्वास्ति श्री भक्त होना ना विना जः ॥ स्वास्ति वेदना ॥ पृथ्वी पृथ्वी भ
 होद विनिगोप्युना य पदावृणः ॥ १॥ नरे दया ज्ञाना विना ना स्तना ॥ भक्ति
 से विना ॥ नाना एका एका से दया दया निरा गोपहि ॥ २ ॥ पृथ्वी गत
 एस्वना पृथ्वी रथ गत ॥ नमस्त्वा ॥ पृथ्वी नंदं शोप नां को न क्षीयत
 धी ॥ ३ ॥ एका एका विना यो भविषो न नमस्त्वा विना वि ॥ न नमस्त्वा
 नना आवा नी नमस्त्वा ॥ सिना दि ॥ ४ ॥ पृथ्वी भविष्यति नमस्त्वा ॥
 नमस्त्वा ॥ स्वास्ति नमः ॥ मद्यना विनिना ना भव नमो दधम
 ना ॥ ५ ॥ भवना ॥ स्वास्ति ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥

father and son, if we suppose that both records were written in the first year of their reigns This is again improbable These kings moreover had not then gone to Ratanpur

On the whole, I come to the conclusion for reasons stated above that this grant to Lungā is a *lungā*¹ affair and was perpetrated somewhere between 1860 and 1870 by a Sanskritist of Ratanpur, whom I do not desire to name out of respect for his Sanskrit learning I suppose 'chill penury' induced him to undertake a work which he would not have otherwise done The record does not show any adequate cause for the grant being made, and it is noteworthy that exactly double the number of villages of those which the Zamindāri contained before Mr Chisholm's settlement were recorded as granted by the Haihaya Rāja. It may be noted that when this record was written the change of the tribal name of the donee or his descendants from Kavar to Tavar had not been mooted or at least had not been seriously taken up, otherwise we should not have had the phrase *Kauraviya-prasannadhīh* in verse 3 There is a family genealogy of the Lāphā Zamindār, written in the year 1927 or 1870 A.D., which shows that the tribal name had then been changed to Tavar

TEXT.²

Śrī.

Śrī Krishnachandra

vijayalēkhā

śrī-lēkhaka-mudrā chaturasrā

- 1 Śrī 5 || Svasti śrimau-mahārājādhirājah kṣhiti-nvēkarāt³ || (1) Prithvidēvō ma-
- 2 hōddarśi-manlyudbhāsi-padāmva(bu)jah || 1 || Haihayāmnarāja⁴-savitā sūra-sāmanta-
- 3 sōritāḥ || (1) mahōdbhata-bhatākirna-sainyō vairiganaprahā || 2 || Dily-āgata-
- 4 susūāya⁵ Lung-ākhyāya mahātmanō || (1) dadē vritim⁷ vamsāparām
- Kauraviya-prasanna-
- 5 dhīh || 3 || Lamphā-durgam=ayī(pi) grāma-vimsōttaraśatōnmitām || (1) samvatsarē
- 6 ras-ābhr-āsht-ātītē Māgh-āsīt-ādikē || 4 || yē bhaviṣhyamti bhūpālāḥ pā-
- 7 lanīyā sad-ēti taiḥ || (1) maddattā likhitā tāmra-patrē Mādhasasūri-
- 8 nā || Śubham=aśtu⁸ || Māghē vadī || 1 || Sammansarē⁹ 808

TRANSLATION.

Śrī

The illustrious Krishnachandra

The Victorious writ

The illustrious writer's regular seal

Śrī 5. Hail

(Verse 1) The illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* Prithvidēva, the king of many countries (is) very intelligent (His) lotus feet are shining with the diadems (of kings prostrating before him).

(V 2) (He is as it were) the sun amongst the descendants of the Haihayas and is served by his brave feudatories. His army is full of very extraordinary soldiers He is the destroyer of his enemies.

¹ The word in Hindi means "mischievous"

² Read *kṣhiti-anēkarāt*.

³ Read *sūra-sāmanta*.

⁴ Read *vritim*

⁵ Read *-astu*

⁶ From the original plate

⁷ Read *Haihayāmnarāja*.

⁸ Read *susūāya*

⁹ Read *Samvatsarē*

(V. 3-4) His mind being pleased with the Kauraviyas¹ (Kawars) he gave to the very brave noble named Lungā, who had come from Delhi, 120 villages with the Lamphā fort for maintenance from generation to generation, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the Māgha month in the expired year (symbolically expressed by) flavour (6) sky (0) and eight (8)

Future kings should always respect my gift written on the copper plate by Mādhava Sūri
Let good fortune attend The first day of the dark fortnight of Magha in the year 806.

NO 45 — ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA. KALACHURI SAMVAT 347

By K B PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA

These two plates belong to a Rajput family residing at Ābhōna, a village in the Kalavana tāluka of the Nāsik district. I obtained them on loan through my friend Mr N C Kelkar. They are inscribed on one side only, and measure $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7''$. The writing is carefully engraved and is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from the Sarsavni plates of Buddharāja edited by Dr Kielhorn in this Journal, Vol VI, pp 294 and ff. They include numerical symbols for 300, 40, 7, 10 and 5 in line 34. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five imprecatory and benedictive verses in lines 28-33, the text is in prose.

The inscription is one of Śankaragana, the son of Krishnarāja, of the family of the Katachchūris. It records an order of Śankaragana, issued from his camp at Ujjayini, to the effect that he granted a hundred *nivarttanas* of land in the village of Vallisikā situated in the district of Bhōgavardhana to a Brāhmana named Ālmanasvāmin, of the Gautama gotra, belonging to the Taittiriya śūkhā, who was a resident of Kallāvana, at the request of Gōggā. The inscription is dated, in words and numerical symbols, on the 15th day of the bright half of Śrāvana of the year 347,² which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, so that the date corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 595.

The Katachchūri Śankaragana is identical with the father of Buddharāja, who issued the Sarsavni grant. The wording of the two inscriptions is practically identical, with the exception of the portion referring to the grants themselves. There is, of course, nothing in our inscription to correspond to lines 14-17 of the Sarsavni plates, which refer to Buddharāja.

Of the localities occurring in our inscription, Kallāvana is the modern Kalavana in the Nāsik district. Vallisikā and Bhōgavardhana I cannot identify.

In line 20 of the present inscription we find the technical expression *a-chūṣa-bhaṣa-prāvēśyam*, which so frequently occurs in other inscriptions, and which has usually been rendered "not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers." I invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars to the following passage, in which Śankarāchārya uses it,³—

*tasmāt tārīka-chūṣa-bhaṣa-rāj-āpravēśyam abhayaṁ durgam idam alpabuddhy-agamyam
śāstra-guru-prasāda-rahitais cha Ānandajñāna gives the following explanation,—
advaitē virōdh-āntar-ābhāvē=pr tārīka-samaya-virōdhō=st=ity=āsanky=āha tasmād
iti | pramāna-virōdh-ābhāvas tach-chhabd-ārthah | āryamaryādām bhindā-*

¹ Or, if we read *Kauraviya*, "he gave to the very brave and noble Kaurava (Kawar) named Lungā."

² [In the photo-lithograph 347 has been wrongly printed instead of 347—S K.]

³ *Bṛihadāranyak-6-a ushaddhāshyaṣṭakā*, Anandasrama edition, pp 311 and ff.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16

18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

20

22

24

26

28

30

32

34

Handwritten text in a script, likely Indic, covering the main body of the manuscript page. The text is densely packed and appears to be a continuous narrative or record.

*nās chāñā vivakshyantē | bhāñās tu sēvakā mthyā-bhāñāñas tēshām sariñchām
rājāñas tārkhāñas tair apraviñyam anākramāñyam idāñ brahmañkatāñam 1.
yāñat.*

TEXT.

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 श्री¹ स्वस्ति[॥*] विजयस्कन्धावारादुज्जयनीवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगतलविमल-
विपुले
- 2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्त्वापाश्रयदुर्लभे गाभीर्यवति
स्थित्य-
- 3 नृपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटच्चूरीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रि-
कयेव कीर्त्या
- 4 भुवनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरङ्कलङ्घदोषरहितकुलकुमुद-
- 5 वनलक्ष्मीविवोधनचन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्यश्रयविशेषलोभादिव सकलै-
राभिगामिकै-
- 6 रितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्सम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्येन च
रुचिरवं-
- 7 शशोभिना नियतमस्खलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथपेनेवावि-
- 8 शङ्ख विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नना-
शाय विग्रहपर-
- 9 भिमानभङ्गाय शिञ्चितं विनयाय विभक्तार्त्तं एदनाय प्रदानं धर्माय
धर्माः श्रेयोवा-
- 10 मये तस्य पुत्रः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरदधिसलिलास्त्रादितयशा धनदवकुण्ड्रा
न्तक-
- 11 समप्रतापः स्वानुब्रह्मोपातोर्जितराजश्रीपरतावा(पा)तिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्त-
- 12 मण्डलः परस्परपीडितधर्मात्कामनिषेवो प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगभीरीकृत-
- 13 हृदयस्सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावासधर्मक्रियश्चिरोत्सन्ना-
- 14 नां नृपतिवंशानां प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्ध-
कृपणसमभिल-
- 15 धितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्त्रामी मातापितृ-
- 16 पादानुध्यातः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषय-
- 17 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समाश्रयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

Second Plate, First Side

- 18 भोगवर्द्धनविषयान्तर्गतवस्त्रिसिकाग्रामि उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्तनिना(नेन)
 19 भूमेर्निवर्तनशतम् सर्वादानसंग्राह्यं सर्वदिव्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमि-
 20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रादेश्यमाचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-
 भोग्यं
 21 कक्षावनवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसब्रह्मचारी आह्वणस्वामिने वलिचरुवैश्व-
 देवा-
 22 ग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृदये गोमा-
 विज्ञापनया
 23 उदकातिसर्गेणातिसृष्टं यतोऽस्मदंश्चैरन्वैर्वागामिनृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रवलपवन-
 24 प्रेगितोदधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्वेयस-
 25 स्य गुणानाकलय्य भोगसामान्यभूप्रदानफलेऽसुभिः शशिकररुचिर चिराय
 यशश्चिचोर्पुमि-
 26 रयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलाहतमति-
 राच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य-
 27 मानं वानुमोदित स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्तस्त्रयादित्युक्तश्च भगवता
 वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [11*]
 28 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ विन्याट-
 29 वीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं
 हरन्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्व-
 30 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
 फलम् ॥ पूर्वदत्तां
 31 द्विजातिभ्यो यन्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालन-
 मपिच ॥ यानीह
 32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मात्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्तमात्यप्रति-
 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः
 33 पुनराददीत ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारिंशदुत्तरके आवणशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां
 महापिलु-
 34 पतिपाशुपतदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविश्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतवाट्चलि-
 नेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७ आवण शु १० ५

¹ The Sanskrit plates read *sāmānya-bhōga-bhā-*

TRANSLATION.¹

Line 1. Om ' Hail ' From the victorious camp pitched at Ūjjayinī. In the lineage of the Katakchûris, which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the firmament, clear on the approach of autumn, illumined by the mass of the rays of the excellences of many jewels of men (as the ocean is adorned by the rays of its gems); which is difficult to be crossed, because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals), full of gravity and desirous of keeping within the bounds of what is proper (just as the ocean is full of depth and desirous of keeping within its shores), there was the glorious Krishnarāja, who illumined the world with his fame, as the moon with light, agreeable to all men, who was from his birth solely devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), just as the moon solely rests on Śiva, who (though) free from defects, yet like the moon (who has a spot) revives the beauty (prosperity) of his family resembling a forest of night lotuses, who was resorted to by all virtues which attract² men to a king and by other qualities, as if through a desire to obtain a very suitable abode, who was endowed with all the constituent parts of royalty, who had properly enjoyed the fruits of his regal powers, who resplendent with his illustrious family, the flow of his liberality being ceaseless and the majesty of his power well-known, roaming fearlessly, subdued the regions, as the chief in a herd of wild elephants, with the ceaseless flow of its rutting juice, displaying the greatness of its strength, roaming about fearlessly breaks down rows of forests, whose sword was used to protect the helpless, whose wars were made to humble the pride of his enemies, whose learning aimed at modesty, who acquired wealth to make gifts, who made gifts in order to acquire religious merit, and acquired religious merit in order to obtain final bliss

(L 10) His son, the glorious Śankaragana, a great devotee of Śiva, the lord of countries bounded by the eastern and western ocean, and other lands, who meditated on the feet of his parents; who had no rival in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; whose might was equal to that of Kubêra, Varuna, Indra and Yama, who acquired the fortune of great kings by the strength of his arm, to whom, by reason of the excess of his prowess, the circle of all feudatory kings bowed; who enjoyed religious merit, wealth and pleasure without allowing them to encroach upon one another; whose profound and lofty mind was satisfied with mere submission; who performed religious acts by giving away, in charity, the immense wealth acquired by properly protecting his subjects; who re-instated families of kings who had long been dethroned, who uprooted those that were too proud; who granted to the afflicted, the blind and the poor, the object of their desires which exceeded their sanguine expectations,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, *bhōgikas*, heads of provinces, districts, and villages, officers and others —

Be it known to you For the increase of the religious merit and fame of our parents and ourselves we have granted, at the request of Gōggā,³ with pouring out of water, a hundred *nivartanas* of land,—by a *nivartana* measuring forty on both sides,—in the village of Vallisikā situated in the province of Bhōgavarddhana, together with all receipts, free from all *ḍitya*, forced labour, and *prātibhādikā*, according to the maxim of *bhāmucchūdra*, not to be encroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lies,⁴ to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons for as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure,—to Âhmanasvāmin, a resident of Kallāvana belonging to the Gautama *gōtra*, and a student of the Taittiriya *sākhā*, for the maintenance of *balī*, *charu*, *vaśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites,—wherefore future kings and governors, whether of our own family or others, reflecting that this world of living beings is as unstable as a wave of the waters of the ocean, moved by a strong gale, that

¹ [Compare the translation of the Sarsavi plates and the notes accompanying it, above, Vol. VI. pp 299 and ff —S. K.]

Kāmanākiya nṛisāra, chap IV verses 6-8

² Gōggā was probably the name of the queen of Śankaragana

⁴ See the introductory remarks

riches are perishable and unsubstantial, and that virtues endure for a long time,—wishing to participate in the fruit of a gift of land, which is an object of enjoyment by all, and desiring to accumulate fame as bright as the rays of the moon for a long time, should consent to this gift of land and preserve it. Whoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance should take it away, or allow it to be taken away, shall be guilty of the five great sins. And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas —[Here follow five well-known imprecatory verses.]

(L 33) In three hundred years increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth day of the bright half of Śrāvana, this edict, the *dātaka* of which is the *Mahāpīlupatī Pāśupata*, was written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahādhikarānādhikṛta Vātohalu*. Sam 300 40 7 Śrāvana śu 10 5.

No. 46 —ARIGOM SARADA INSCRIPTION

LAUKIKA SAMVAT 73.

By STEN KONOW.

Ārigōm is a village in the Nāgām pargana, 74° 45' long., 33° 56' lat., about 15 miles south-west of Śrinagar, as the crow flies. Dr Stein, in his note on the *Rājatarangini* I 340, identifies Ārigōm with Hādigrāma, where Gōpāditya is said to have established an *agrahāra*, and states that some remains of temples were traced there by Pandit Kāśī Rām in 1891. Hādigrāma is further mentioned by Kalhana (VIII, 672) as one of the strongholds of the Dāmara Prithvihara. In the troubled times following on the accession of Jayasimha in A D 1128, "Hādigrāma, where King Sussala and those of his side had lost their renown, was burned by Sujja, whose valour was mighty" (VIII, 1586), and the place is further mentioned in connexion with the incursion of king Lōthana during the same period (VIII, 2195).

In June 1908, Pandit Mukund Rām, who had with great courtesy been placed at my disposal by the Kashmir Darbar, was informed by a friend of the existence of an inscribed stone in the house of a Brāhman in Ārigōm, and at my request he went up to inspect it. According to information gathered by him on the spot, the stone in question was found about twelve years ago in a piece of uncultivated land near the Masjid Malik Sahib by a cultivator, who was digging there, and sold to a Brāhman for some corn. The Brāhman kept the stone for some time and did *pūjā* to it. But people who saw it, told him that the writing probably contained information about hidden treasure, and that the stone therefore properly belonged to the Mahārāja. He got frightened, and first hid the stone under the wall of his house, but later on he threw it into a pit at the entrance of his *gōśūlā* and covered it up with cow-dung. Pandit Mukund Rām further informs me that images, pedestals, stones and bricks are found all over the place, and it is probable that excavations would yield interesting results.

The stone mentioned above is square, measuring 20" each way, and being 4½" high. On the top is a raised circle, apparently the base of an image. One of the four faces of the stone is inscribed with five lines in Śāradā letters.

The writing covers a space of 17½" × 3", and the height of the letters averages ¾". They are distributed over five lines, the fifth of which contains the date. The beginning of the first two lines and the last letter in lines 1-3 and the three last letters in line 4 have disappeared.

The characters are Śāradā, and they are very well cut. *Ja* has the older form as in the *Baijnāth prasasti*. The final form of *m* occurs in line 3. The diphthong *ē* has been marked in two different ways, by means of a horizontal line above, as in *bhagavatē*, l. 1, or by a vertical before the consonant as in *tē*, l. 2. Similarly *ō* is sometimes marked by adding a horizontal above, sometimes by prefixing a vertical to the consonant accompanied by the sign for *ā*. Compare

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Arigom Sarada inscription of Ramadeva —Laukika Samyat 73

Āryavalokitēśvarāya, l. 1, and *lōkanāthāya*, l. 2 A third method occurs in *lōkā* . . at the end of line 1, where a wavy line has been added above the sign for *la*. Of initial vowels only *ā* occurs in *āryā*, l. 1 Among ligatures I may note *kya*, l. 1, *kkra*, l. 3, *kva*, l. 4, *ṅga*, l. 2, *dya*, l. 3, *rya*, l. 1; and perhaps *lhna*, l. 3 The numeral symbols for 7, 3 and 5 occur in line 5

The language of this inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation of Avalokitēśvara in l. 1, and the date in l. 5, the whole is in verse There are altogether two verses The first is apparently a *ślōka* The second *pāda*, however, contains three syllables too much, but these *al'sharas* are probably simply a repetition of part of *pāda* 1. The second verse is a *śārdūlavikrīḍita* The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* built of *pakka* bricks, by Rāmadēva, the son of Kulladēva, in order to replace a wooden structure which had been built by a *vaidyā*, whose name I read Uihna, and which had been burnt down by king Simha This Simha must be identical with Jayasimha (from A.D. 1128), in whose reign Hādigrāma was burnt down by Sujj¹ It then becomes highly probable that the *vaidyā* Uihna is identical with Uihana, the son of Sahadēva, who was a supporter of Sujj.² Sahadēva is described as a *Rājaputra*,³ which fact can of course be well reconciled with his son Uihana's being a *vaidyā* The constructor of the brick *vihāra* was Rāmadēva, whom I cannot identify. His father Kulladēva was perhaps in charge of the old wooden *vihāra*, if I am right in interpreting *tad-rata* (l. 4) as "devoted to, attached to him, viz, Avalokitēśvara"

The word *vihāra* is used with more than one meaning. In our inscription, however, there cannot be much doubt that it signifies a shrine, as it has been characterized as "the abode of Lōkanātha" The stone upon which this epigraph has been incised is most probably the actual base of the statue of Lōkanātha here alluded to Lōkanātha is, of course, identical with Avalokitēśvara, who is invoked in lines 1-2 Our inscription thus furnishes valuable proof of the fact that Buddhism was still lingering in Kashmir in the 12th and 13th centuries

The mention of the materials used in building the old and the new shrines, is also of interest We learn that the former was constructed from wood, while the latter was built from *pakka* bricks

The old *vihāra* is stated to have been built in the vicinity of Gangēśvara This is now called Ganēśvara, and is the place where the present inscription was dug out The modern corruption of the name is not of very old date The old name was at least remembered about 40 years ago This is proved by a *janmapattra*, which Pandit Mukund Rām found in Ārīgōm, and which was written by Pandit Ganēśa Khusrao in Laukika Samvat 4939, i.e. A.D. 1862-63 It speaks of a person as *Gangēśvara-pādamūlē Ārigrāmē vāstavya* residing in Ārīgōm at the feet of Gangēśvara Gangēśvara was originally probably a Śiva temple, and it is not unlikely that it could be identified by means of excavations

The inscription is dated Samvat 73, Mārga śuti 5. This date must be subsequent to the burning of Ārīgōm during the reign of Jayasimha Now Jayasimha's father was murdered in the Laukika year 4203, and the burning of Ārīgōm took place in the first part of his reign It is therefore as good as certain that we have to understand the date of our inscription as 4273 on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśirsha, corresponding to Sunday, the 16th November 1197.

TEXT.

1 ...⁴ नमो भगवते आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय ॥ ⁵[नै]लोक्यालोकभूताय लोका-
[लो]-

¹ *Rājataranginī*, VIII 1536

² *Ibidem*. vv 2066, 2092, 2097

³ *Ibidem* v 193

⁴ I cannot restore the beginning The *akshara* preceding नमो looks like नै Pandit Mukund Rām suggests to read नै

⁵ Metre Ślōka There is something wrong in the second *pāda*

- 2 [ल].[स]मवच्छिदे [१*] जगदानन्दचन्द्राय नीलनाथाय ते नमः ॥[१*]
 'प्रागङ्गेश्वरसि[न्]-
 3 धौ [सुम]तिमान्वैद्यीरुदेवामिषश्चक्रे दारुमयं विहारममलं श्रीलोकनाथास्य-
 दम् [१*] तस्मि[न्]-
 4 हृत्पेण कालवशतो दग्धेय पक्षेष्टिकाश्चेष्टं तद्रतकुलदेवतनयोमुं रामदेवो
 [व्यधात् ॥] [२*]
 5 सं ७३ मार्ग शुति ५

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Salutation to the exalted noble Avalôkitêśvara.

(Verse 1). Salutation to thee, the Lord of the World, who hast become a light to the three worlds, who destroys transmigration, the moon of delight to the world

(V 2) Formerly the *vaidyā* Ulnadêva² by name made a spotless *vihāra* of wood, an abode for the Lord of the World, in the vicinity of the Gangêśvara (temple) After this, by the will of fate, had been burned by king Simha, Râmadêva, the son of Kulladêva, who was devoted to him (Avalôkitêśvara), made yonder (*vihāra*) excellent with burnt bricks

Line 5 Samvat 73, the 5th day of the bright (half) of Mârga(śirsha).

No 47 — CHANDRAVATI PLATE OF CHANDRADEVA

SAMVAT 1148

By STEN KOSOW.

The plate containing this inscription was found on the inner slope of the left bank of the Ganges, near the water's edge, under the fort at Chandravati, in the Benares District. Mr. Chhote Lal, the District Engineer of Benares, informs me that, owing to the erosive action of the river, portions of the fort were undermined and fell down from time to time. The plate fell into the river along with the walls of the fort, and was seen and picked up by the Public Works Department's boatman, who deposited it in the District Engineer's office at Benares. In March 1908 it was then finally handed over to the Director General of Archaeology in India.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures $15\frac{3}{8}$ " \times $11\frac{3}{4}$ ". The edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims. In the upper part of the plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and 3" in diameter. On the ring slides a bell-shaped seal, $2\frac{3}{8}$ " from top to bottom. The surface of the seal is circular and $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It represents in relief, on a slightly countersunk surface, a Garuda, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling and facing the proper right. Across the centre is the legend *śrīvadach-(srimach)-Chandradêvah*, and at the bottom a conch shell.

The plate contains 23 lines of writing. Parts of it are much worn, and the portion containing the date cannot be made out with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. With regard to orthography I shall only note that *va* is used both for *va* and for *va*, and that the dental sibilant is often used instead of the palatal one, thus, *asita-*

¹ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

² It is possible that the name should be read Ulnadêva.

for *asīta-*, l 1, *-vaṃsa-* for *-vaṃsa-*, l. 2. There are several other misspellings and slips, especially towards the end.

After the invocation to *Śrī* common in other plates of the same family, our inscription proceeds to give the genealogy of the donor in four verses, which are well known from other inscriptions. We are told that Yaśōvīgraha had the son Mahichandra, whose son again was Chandradēva, the issuer of the present grant. The inscription then goes on in prose, stating that the victorious king Chandradēva issues the following order to all the people assembled, residing in the Vadagavā-village in the Vāvana-pattalā, and also to the *Rājas*, *Rājās*, *Yuvarājas*, councillors, chaplains, warders of the gate, generals, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, towns, mines, *sthānas* and *gōkulas*.

"Be it known to you that the aforesaid village, with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fishing places, with its ravines and saline soil, with and including its groves of *madhūka* and mango, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abutments, up to its proper boundaries, has today, on the . . . day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Samvat 1148, been given by us for as long a time as moon and sun endure, with the pouring out of water from the palm of our hand, purified with *gōkarna*¹ and *luśa*-grass, to the Brāhmaṇ Varuṇēsvayasarmaṇ (-śvaraśarmaṇ), the son of Varāhasvāmī the grandson of Anarudha, of the Vasishṭha *gōtra*, and whose only *pravara* is Vasishṭha, for the increase of the merit and fame of our parents and ourselves, after having today bathed here in the neighbourhood of Sauri (Śauri)-Nārāyana, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings, and groups of ancestors,² after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is skilled in rending the veil of darkness, after having worshipped Vāsudēva, the saviour of the three worlds, and after having sacrificed to the Fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar."

The first point here that is worthy of notice is the date, which is the earliest known for Chandradēva, the other copper plate of his time being dated in Samvat 1154.³ It will be seen that the portion of it containing the *tithi* and the week day is illegible. Mr Chhote Lal, who has examined the original, writes about this point,—

"Ordinarily, it might be thought that the excessive corrosion and incrustation of rust at this particular part of the plate was purely accidental, but from a minute examination of the imperfect and damaged letters which are still discernible, I am led to conclude that the excessive incrustation at this point was due to the fact that the surface of the plate was already damaged by somebody in his endeavour to make a correction in the date. It is remarkable that the name of the place or that of the stream in which the donor took his bath, is not mentioned in the inscription. Nor is there any mention of the occasion (eclipse, *sankrānti*, etc.) at which the gift was made. It would appear that Śauri-Nārāyana was in those days a very well-known place of pilgrimage requiring no further details to localise it, that the occasion *presumably* was the ordinary *Kārttika-snāna*, and that the date originally entered on the plate was *pañchadaśyām gurau*, but was afterwards attempted to be corrected into *ekādaśyām ravau*. The *ē* of the latter just overlaps the *paṃ* of the former, the *kā* of the latter being rather large has been so formed as to include the *cha* and to cover the space occupied by *da* of the former; while the space occupied by *śyām* of the former has been utilised for the rather clumsily large *da* of the latter. It will thus be seen that the space originally occupied by the word *pañchadaśyām*, which was of normal size, was subsequently occupied by the much larger letters, *ē*, *kā* and *da*, and there being no more space available for the final syllable *śyām*, it was omitted. Similarly, the *ra* of

¹ Compare Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* XV. p 10, Note 57.

² See *ibidem*, note 55

³ *Ind. Ant.* XVIII pp. 9 and ff.

raran overlaps the *gu* of *guran* and *rau* of the latter has been deformed into something like *rau* of the former. Now the question arises, "Why was the date corrected?" The reason may be that the grant was originally intended to be made on the *pañchadaśī*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which was expected to take place on that date. A little calculation will show that the eclipse did actually occur on the specified date (corresponding to Thursday, the 7th of November, 1090 A D), but as the time of its occurrence was early in the following morning (according to calculation), it must have been very doubtful whether it would be visible at the place visited by Chandradēva. This circumstance may have been anticipated, and it may have been decided to make the donation on the preceding *Prabôdhini Śādaśī* (Sunday, the 3rd of November, 1090 A D) which was a most suitable day for the purpose, being the day on which Vishnu—the deity worshipped by Chandradēva—rises from his four months' sleep. I say all this may have been the cause of the alteration in the date, for there is no *a priori* reason against this supposition. But I consider it very unlikely that a Mahārāja, who changed his mind about the actual day of performing a religious ceremony, could have allowed a correction—and a clumsy correction at the best—to be made in the copper plate inscription recording the gift of a whole village, when the entire inscription could have been cut on a new plate in a day's time. The fact seems to be that it is no honour to a Brāhman to receive a gift on the occasion of an eclipse, and there are certain sects of Brāhmanas, e.g. Sarpuraris and Kanaupyas, who would promptly excommunicate any member of their community who was known to have received a gift on account of an eclipse. The Brāhman who received the munificent gift from Chandradēva probably belonged to one of these sects, and, after the king had made the gift and departed, he seems to have thought of concealing his disgraceful conduct and to have caused the original and genuine date to be altered as explained above."

Mr Chhote Lal further identifies Vadagavā with the present Baragaon, a village 14 miles north-west of Benares. He thinks it, however, also possible that it was the old name of Chandravatī, which was afterwards changed in honour of king Chandradēva.

After the mention of the grant, we find some of the usual imprecatory verses, and, at the end, the name of the writer, the *śhakkura* Mahananda.

TEXT 1

- 1 Om² svastī || ³akumth-ōtkantha-Vaikumtha-kantha-pītha-luthat-karah | samrambhah
suratārambhō sa Śriyah śrēyasē=stu vah || ⁴āsīd=asī(śī)tadyu-
- 2 ti-vamsa(śa)-jāta-[kshamā]pāla-mālāsu divam gatāsu | sākshād=Vivasvān=iva
bhūridhāmnā nāmnā Yashovigraha ity-udārah || ⁵tat-sutō=bhūt(n)=Mahāchandra-
- 3 ś=cha[m*]dradhāma-nibham nijam | yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-pārē vyāpāritam : yashah ||
⁶tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aikarasikah krāmta-dvishan-mamdālā(mamdālō)
⁷viddhast-ōddhata-
- 4 dhira-yōdha-timirah śrī-Chandradēvō nripah | yēn=ōdāratara-pratāpa-sa(śa)mit-
śśēsha-prajōpadravam śrimad-Gādhīpur-ādhirājyam-asamam dōrvikra-
- 5 mēn=ārjyam || ⁸tīrthāni Kāśī-Kusik(-śik)-Ottarakōśal(sal)-Ēndra(h)sthānīyakāni
paripālayat=ābhigamyah(ya) | hēm=ātmatulyam=anīsam(śam) dadatā dvijēbhya
- 6 yēn=āmkitā vasumatī śatasa(śa)s=tulābhīh || sa cha paramabhāttāraka-mahārājā-
dhirāja-paramēsva(śva)ra-paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-nijabhujōpā[r*]jita-śrī-Ka-
- 7 nyakuvj(bj)-ādhipatya-śrī-Chandradēvō vijayī ||⁹ Vāvana-pattalāyām Vadagavā-
grāmē nivā[sinō nikhila]-jana-padān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarā-

¹ From the original plate.

⁴ Metre Indravajrā.

Read *viddhast*.

This sign of interpunction is superfluous

² Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Metre Anushtubh

⁶ Metre Vasantatilaka.

³ Metre : Anushtubh

⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

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- 8 ja-mamtri-purôhita-pratibhâra-sânâpati-bhâmdâgârik-âkshapatalika-bhishaka(shag)-naimi-
[ttik-âmtahpu]rika-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagô[ku]-
- 9 lâdhikâripurushân-âjñâpayâ(ya)ty-âdisati cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâm
yathôpa[rulikhi]ta-grâma[h*] sa-jala-sthalah sa-lôha-lavan-âkaraḥ sa-ma-
- 10 [t*]sy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharah sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâtikâ-trina-yûti-gôchara-
paryantah s-ôrdh[h*]-âdhas=chatur-âghâta-visu(su)ddhah sva-simâ-paryantah
[samvat]
- 11 1148 Kârttika su di ady=êha Sau(Sau)ri-nârâyana- samipê
snâtva vidhivan-mamtra-dêva-pu(mu)ni-manuja-bhûta-putriganâms-tarppayitvâ ti-
- 12 mira-patala- pâtana-pa[tu-ma]hasams(sam=)[ushna-rôchi]sham samabhyarchya tribhu-
vana-¹trâtur=Vâsudêvasya pûjâm vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ
havirbhujam [hu]tvâ
- 13 mâtâpitrôr=âtmana[â=cha] punya-pra(ya)[sô-bhuvirddhayâ] ² Vasishthagôtrâya ²
Vasishth-âka-pravarâya ² Anarudha-pautrâya Var[â*]hasvâmi-putrâya ²
Varuṇêsvaya(êvara)-
- 14 sa(âs)rmmanê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya gôkarsa(rna)-kusalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdakên=âsmâbhîh
âchamdrârkam yâvav(ch=chh)âsanikritya pradattah | matvâ yathâdiyamâna-
bhâgabho-
- 15 gâkara-pravanikara-turushkadamda-kumaragadânaka-prabhriti-samastâ [n*] = n i y a t â s
nyat-âdâyân= âjñâ(m)-vidhêyi-bhûya dâsyatha
- 16 iti || bhavamti ch=âtra paurânîkâ[h*] slôkâh || || ³bhûmum yah pratagrihâtî
yâs=cha bhûmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau punya-karmmanau ni-
- 17 yatau svargna(rgga)-gâmanau || sa(âs)mksam bhadrasanam chchhatram⁴ varâsvâ
(êvâ) varavâranâh | bhûmi-dânasya chihnanî phalam=⁵a(ê)tat=Puramdara ||
shasht(h)im varsha-sahasrâ-
- 18 ni svarggê vasatî bhûmidah [l*] âchchhêtâ ch=ânumantâ cha tân[y=*]êva
narakam(kê) vasêt || svadattâm paradattâm vâ yô harêd(ta)=vasumdharam |
sa vishthâyam krimir=bhûtvâ
- 19 pitribhîh saha majjati || vârihinêshv=aranyêshu êushka-kôtara-vâsinah | krishpa-
sarpplâs=ra(cha) jâyantê dêva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hârinah || na visham vi[sha]m=
ity-â-
- 20 hu[r*] vra(bra)hma-svam visham=uchyata(tê) | visham=êkâknam hamti(r=)
vra(bra)hmasvam puvrapautriâkam(putrapautrikam) || ⁶rgâm=akâm svarsâm=
êkam bhûmêr=apy=êkam=amgulam | haram(haran) narakam=âpnôti yâvad-â-
- 21 bhûta-sa[m*]plavam || tadâgânâm sahasrânî ⁷asvam[ê]dhasatânî cha | gavâm
kâ(kô)ti-pradânana(nêna) bhûmi-harttâ na suyatî(êudhyatî) || va(ba)hubhîr=
vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhîh Cha(Sa)ga-
- 22 râdibhi[h] || (l) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || ⁸yân=
iha dattânî purâ narê[n*]dra[r*] dânanî ⁹varmmâpiyasaskarâpî [l*] m-
[rmâlyavâmta-prati]-
- 23 mânî tânî kô nâma sâdhuh punar=âdadhîta || || ¹⁰Lakhitam=idaṁ
tâmmrapataka[m*] thakkura-êri- Mahanamda ||

¹ The engraver originally wrote *tribhuvama-*, but corrected it

² These signs of interpunctuation are superfluous

³ Metre of this and the following verses Anushtubh

⁴ Read *chhatram*

⁵ The ê stroke has been put over the pu of *Puramdara*

⁶ Read *gâm=êkâm svarnam=êkam cha*

⁷ Read *asvamlâhasatânî*

⁸ Metre *Indravajrâ*

⁹ Read *dharmâdrihaya-*

¹⁰ Read *lakhitam-*

No. 48 —BURHANPUR SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAH.
SAMVAT 1646.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR

Burhānpūr in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces is an ancient historical site¹ It was the chief seat of the Fārūqī kings. They ruled over Khândēsh, which name the Muhammadans derived from their title of Khān Their rule lasted from 1370 to 1600 A.D., when it was displaced by the Mughals. One of these Fārūqī kings built the Jam'a Masjid, in which besides Arabic inscriptions he had one carved in Sanskrit, which gives his genealogy and the date of the construction of the mosque This inscription is in the northern corner and is written within an arch, so that the lines, which are 6 in number, are of unequal length. They contain five verses, besides the invocation *Śrī śrīṣṭīkartrē nāmah* in the commencement and the date in the end, both of which are in prose

The letters are Nāgarī and are raised, not incised, in the same fashion as Persian letters are usually found carved Orthography hardly calls for any remarks. The sign of *atagraha* has been omitted throughout. Over the *na* of *-hhāna-* (1 3) we find the Arabic sign of *tashdīd* or double consonant

The date is recorded in great detail, giving both the Vikrama and Śaka years, which are stated to be 1646 and 1511 respectively, the cyclic year being Virōdhī. The mosque is stated to have been completed on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of the month Pausha, the exact moment in *ghaṭī*s and the *nakṣatra*, *lagna*, *yōga*, *karana*, etc., being added most precisely² The date in the Hijra era is given as 997 in Arabic above the inscription Its English equivalent was kindly calculated for me by the late Professor Kielhorn, C.I.E., who found it to be Monday, the 5th January 1590. The astrological details are unique in a Muhammadan mosque and show the religious tendency of the later Fārūqī kings. In Burhānpūr much of the beliefs of the two religions (Hinduism and Islām) got mixed up, traces of which are still conspicuously present there As an instance may be cited the preachings of the *Pīrūdās*, who are Musalmāns and who say that God will now become incarnate as *Nishkalankī*³ The Fārūqīs undoubtedly believed in astrology, as this inscription shows, and although the builder of the mosque took every care to erect it in the most auspicious moment completing it exactly in one year (as an Arabic inscription carved in the middle of the Masjid discloses) and wished by his pious act to ensure the long continuance of his dynasty, yet uncompromising destiny snatched away the crown from them, only ten years after the construction of the edifice. In fact Bahādur Khān, the builder's son, was so much infatuated with superstition, that, in spite of his possessing the impregnable Asīgarh fort with ten years' provisions, enormous treasures and numerous horses and cattle, he felt convinced that he could not hold his own against Akbar, of whom he believed that he was a necromancer and that magicians accompanied him to reduce the fort A pestilence which broke out among the animals, was attributed to the black art, and he saw no way but to surrender to the mighty wizard. This mosque was thus destined to receive another inscription, which Akbar triumphantly caused to be carved recording his victory of Khândēsh in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600), annihilating the glory of the mosque builder's dynasty for ever This inscription is in Persian and is conspicuously inscribed on the outside wall of the left hand minār

¹ It was here that the famous Mumtāz Mahall (Arjūmand Bānū Bēgam) breathed her last.

² For details see translation at the end

³ I have seen some Sanskrit manuscripts in Persian character in the possession of some Maulvis of Burhānpūr, preserved as heirlooms from their ancestors, who apparently studied them under State encouragement. Unfortunately most of these valuable records have been destroyed by the fires of 1897 and 1906 which caused damage to the extent of about 57 *lakhs* besides loss of life.

The chief interest of our inscription lies in the genealogy of the Fârûqis given in it. According to it the first king was Râja Malik, whose son was Ghaznî (Khân). His son was Kaisar Khân, whose son was Hasan, from whom was born Âdil Shâh, whose son was Mubârah. Âdil Shâh, the constructor of the mosque, was the son of this Mubârah. This genealogy differs from those given by Firishṭa and Abul Fazl. According to the former Âdil Shâh was the 6th descendant from Malik Râja, and according to the latter the 8th, while according to our inscription he was the 7th. The tables given below will show at a glance how matters stand —

Sanskrit inscription	Briggs' <i>Firishṭa</i> , Vol IV, p 280	Jarrett's <i>Âin-i-Akbarī</i> , Vol II, p 226
Râja Malik	Malik Râja	Malik Râj
Gaznî (Khân).	Nasîr Khân	Ghiznî Khân, title Nasîr Khân.
Kaisar Khân		Mîran Shâh <i>alias</i> Âdil Shâh
		Mubârah Shâh Chankhandî.
Hasan (Khân)	Hasan Khân.	Âdil Shâh Aynâ <i>alias</i> Ahsan Khân
Âdil Shâh	Âdil Khân	Âdil Shâh.
Mubârah	Mubarak	Mubârah Shâh
Âdil Shâh.	Râja Ali Khân.	Râja Ali Khân, title Âdil Shâh.

The *Âin-i-Akbarī* states that "Bahâdur Khân (who was the son of Râja Ali Khân) was 9th in descent from Malik Râj." This has led Colonel Jarrett,¹ as it would indeed lead others, to suppose that the list given there is genealogical and that Ahsan Khân, the fifth king, was identical with Hasan Khân, who, as a matter of fact, was never a king. Hasan Khân belonged to a collateral branch of the family, whose son became king on the failure of male issue in the main line.

The *Âin-i-Akbarī* has mixed up the succession list with the genealogical table. Mîran Shâh, the third descendant, was really a grandson of Malik Râja, but the point missed is that he was not the direct ascendant of the last Âdil Shâh or Râja Ali Khân. The crown first went in Mîran Shâh's line up to Âdil Shâh Aynâ, who was succeeded by his brother Dâwûd Khân, and the latter by his son Ghaznî Khân, who was poisoned two days after ascending the throne. Abul Fazl does not mention Ghaznî Khân at all, probably because his succession to the throne was only nominal. Ghaznî Khân left no son,² and hence the crown went to Râja Ali Khân's grandfather Âdil Shâh or Âdil Khân. The three kings Mîran Shâh, Mubârah Shâh and Âdil Shâh Aynâ were not thus direct ascendants of Râja Ali Khân. The *Âin-i-Akbarī* list should therefore be left out of consideration, and the question must be decided between our inscription and Firishṭa's list. Briggs³ takes Hasan to be the son of Nasîr Khân, relying on Firishṭa's assertion that "Âdil was the son of Hasan and grandson of Nasîr Khân." If Hasan were the son of Nasîr Khân, he would be the brother of Mîran Shâh, who was crowned king after his father's death. We would, therefore, have to suppose that Mîran's nephew came to the throne after the expiry of three

¹ See his *Âin-i-Akbarī*, Vol II, p 226, footnote.

² Briggs' *Firishṭa*, Vol. IV, p 303

³ *Loc cit*

generations, which is an unlikely supposition. There is nothing to show that Ādil Khān (Hasan's son) was extraordinarily long-lived¹ It, therefore, seems very probable that there was an intervening generation between Nasir Khān and Hasan Khān, and the missing link is supplied by the Sanskrit inscription in the person of Kaisar Khān, son of Nasir and father of Hasan Khān. In the inscription Kaisar Khān is merely called a *vīra* or hero and not a king, and although Hasan was also never a king, the epithet of *kshatṛīa* was apparently added to his name by way of courtesy, to tickle the ruling prince. Regarding the sources of his information Firishta records² that when he visited Burhānpūr in A. H. 1013 (A.D. 1604), he asked Mirzā Ali Isfahānī if any history existed of the Fārūqī family. The Mirzā replied that he knew of none, but said that he once saw a genealogy³ of the family down to Malik Rāja, which he copied and took along with him. It would thus appear that no history of the kings later than Malik Rāja existed at all. So the information he collected was apparently from traditions or other casual records, while the writer of the Sanskrit inscription must certainly have been supplied with information from the royal family, as it was intended to be a permanent record. in one of the greatest works the king built. It is, therefore, more reliable than Firishta and leaves no room for doubt as to its authenticity.⁴ A revised genealogy of the Fārūqī kings will be found below on p. 310.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 ॥ श्री सृष्टिकर्त्रे नमः । अव्यक्त(क्तं) व्यापकं नित्यं गुणातीतं चिदात्मकं
[1*] द्यक्तस्य(व्यक्तस्य) कारणं वदे व्यक्ताव्यक्तं तमीश्वर' ॥१॥ यावच्चन्द्रा-
र्कतारा-
- 2 दि दितिः स्यादबरांगणै(णे) [1*] तावत्फारुकिवंशोसौ चिरं नन्दतु
भूतले ॥२॥ वंशेय तस्मिन्किल फारुकीन्द्रो बभूव राजा मलिकाभि-
धानः [1*] तस्याभवत्पुत्र-
- 3 रुदारचेताः कुलावतसो गजनीनरेशः⁶ ॥३॥ तस्मादभूत्केसरखानवीरः पुत्र-
स्तदीयो हसनचितीशः [1*] तस्मादभूदेदलशाहभूपः पुत्रीभवत्तस्य
सुदारखेद्रः ॥४॥

¹ The average for a generation in the line of which Ghazni Khān was the last, is 23 years, while in the line of Rāja Ali Khān it is 29 years. According to the Sanskrit inscription the average for the latter is reduced to less than 26, taking the reckoning up to the death of Miran Muhammad in 1576, but for the minority of whose son Husain Khān, Rāja Ali Khān would have had no opportunity to sit on his brother's throne.

² It may be noted that the visit was paid 14 years after our inscription was carved.

³ Firishta gives this as follows —

Malik Rāja, the son of Khān Jahān, the son of Ali Khān, the son of Uthmān Khān, the son of Simion Shāh, the son of Ashab Shāh, the son of Arman Shāh, the son of Ibrāhīm Shāh of Balkh, the son of Ādam Shāh, the son of Ahmad Shāh, the son of Mahmūd Shāh, the son of Muhammad Shāh, the son of Āzīm Shāh, the son of Ashghar, the son of Muhammad Ahmad, the son of the Imām Nasir Abdulla, the son of Omar-ul-Faruq entitled Khalifā or representative of the last of the prophets.

⁴ If anybody would assert that the Sanskrit composer might have made a mistake in understanding the genealogy, all doubts would vanish by reading the Arabic inscription on the top of the Sanskrit one reproduced in the accompanying plate. Line 8 as deciphered by Munshi Ināmullah Khān, Manager of the Mosque, reads as follows — 'Ādil Shāh bin Mubārak Shāh bin 'Ādil Shāh bin Hasan Khān bin Qaisar Khān bin Ghazni Khān bin Malik Khān al-Fārūqī al-'Ādil.

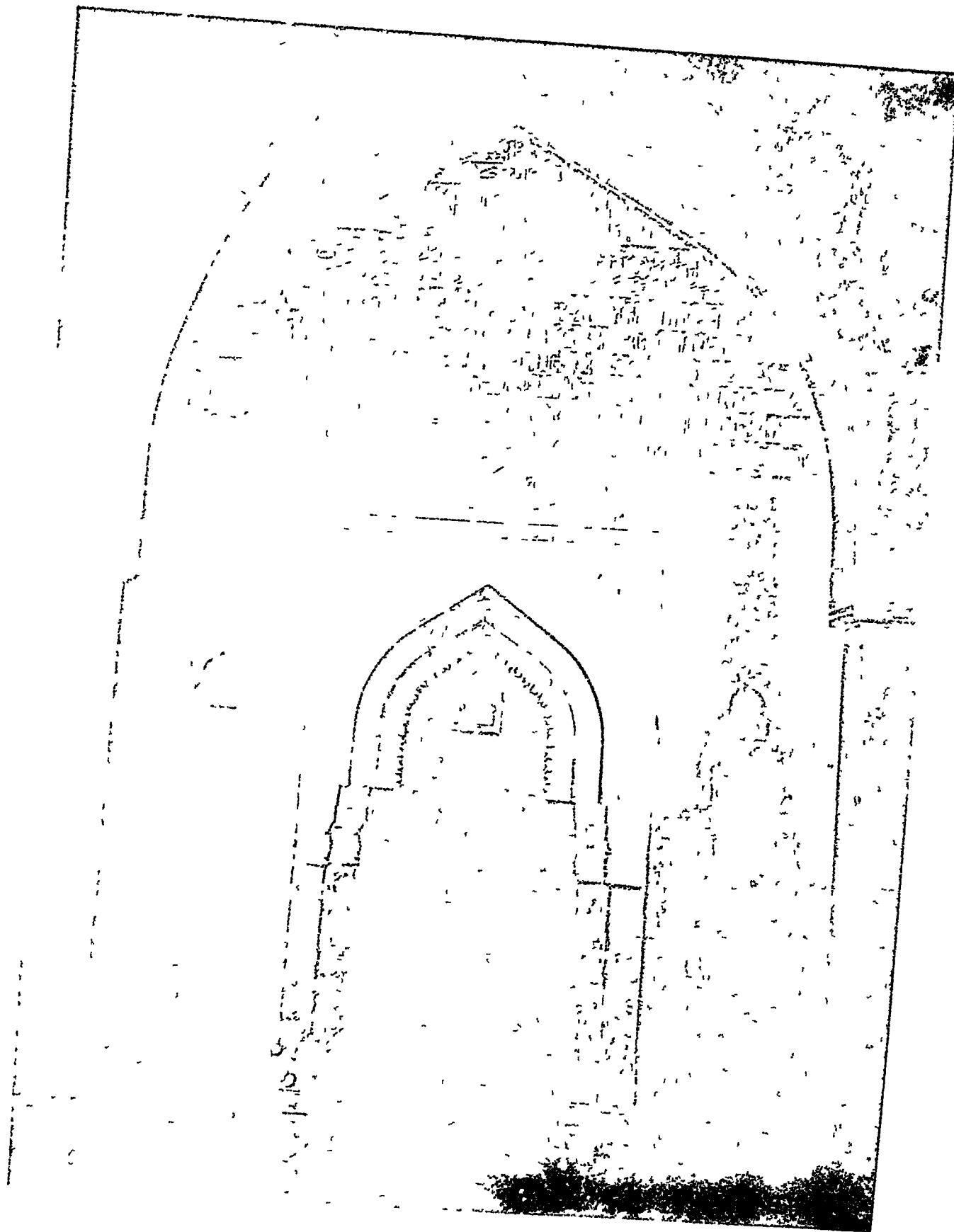
⁵ From my personal transcript from the original and two subsequent ones kindly supplied by Mr. B. Balakrishna Bhāte, Headmaster, Middle School, Burhānpur, and a photograph.

⁶ Read 'कचे नमः'

⁷ This and the next verse are in the Anushtubh metre.

⁸ This and the next are in the Upajati metre.

Burhanpur inscription of Adil Shah —Samvat 1646



STEN KONOW

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH SUPPLIED BY DR TH BLOCH

W GRIGGS COLLOTYPE

4 तत्सुनुः चितिपालमौलिसुकुटव्याघृष्टपादांबुजः सत्कीर्त्तिर्विलसप्रतापवशगा-
मित्रः चितीशेश्वरः][*] यस्याहर्निशमानतिगुणगणातीते परे ब्रह्मणि
श्रीमानेदलभूपति-

5 विजयंते¹ भूपालचूडामणिः² ॥५॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६४६ वर्षे शक्रो³
१५११ विरोधिसंवत्सरे पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे १० घटी २३ सहैका-
दश्यां तिथौ सोमे [कृ]त्तिकाघटी ३३ राह⁴ रोहि-

6 स्थां शुभ घटी ४२ योगे वणिजकरणेस्मिन् दिने रात्रिगतघटी
११ समये कन्यालग्न श्रीसुवारखशाहसुतश्री⁵ ७ एदलशाहराज्ञी
मसीतिरिय निर्मिता स्वधर्मपालनार्थ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Salutation to the glorious Creator of the world

(Verse 1) I bow down to the Imperceptible, the (All-)pervading, eternal (one who is) past (all) qualities, whose essence is mind, who is the cause of what is manifest—to that God who is both manifest and non-manifest.

(V. 2) As long as the moon, the sun and the stars, etc., exist in the firmament, so long may this Fâruki family live happily on the face of the earth

(V 3) In that family there was first the lord of Fârukis by name Râjâ Malik, whose son was king Ghazni⁵ (Khân) who was of an exalted mind, the diadem of the family.

(V 4) From him was (born) the hero Kaisar Khân whose son was Hasan (Khân), the lord of the earth From him was born king Âdil Shâh, whose son was lord Mubârah

(V. 5) Victorious is his son, the illustrious king Âdil, the crest jewel of (other) kings, whose lotus feet are rubbed by the diadems in the crowns of kings (prostrating themselves before him), (who is) of good reputation, and whose enemies have submitted to his prowess, (who is) the lord of kings (and) who bows day and night to the Supreme Being who is past all qualities

(Ll 5—6) Hail! Prosperity! This mosque was built by the king Śrī 7⁶ Âdil Shâh, son of the illustrious Mubârah Shah, for fostering his own religion, in the Samvat year 1646, Śaka 1511, in the Virôdhī saṁvatsara, in the month of Pausa, in the bright fortnight, on the 10th tithi (lasting for) 23 ghaṭīs, followed by the eleventh tithi, on Monday, in the Kṛttikâ (nakshatra lasting for) 33 ghaṭīs with (i.e. followed by) Rôhini in the Śubha yôga lasting up to ghaṭī 42, in the Vanija karana, at the time when 11 ghaṭīs of the night on this day had passed and in the Kanyâ lagna.

¹ Read °विजयते

² Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

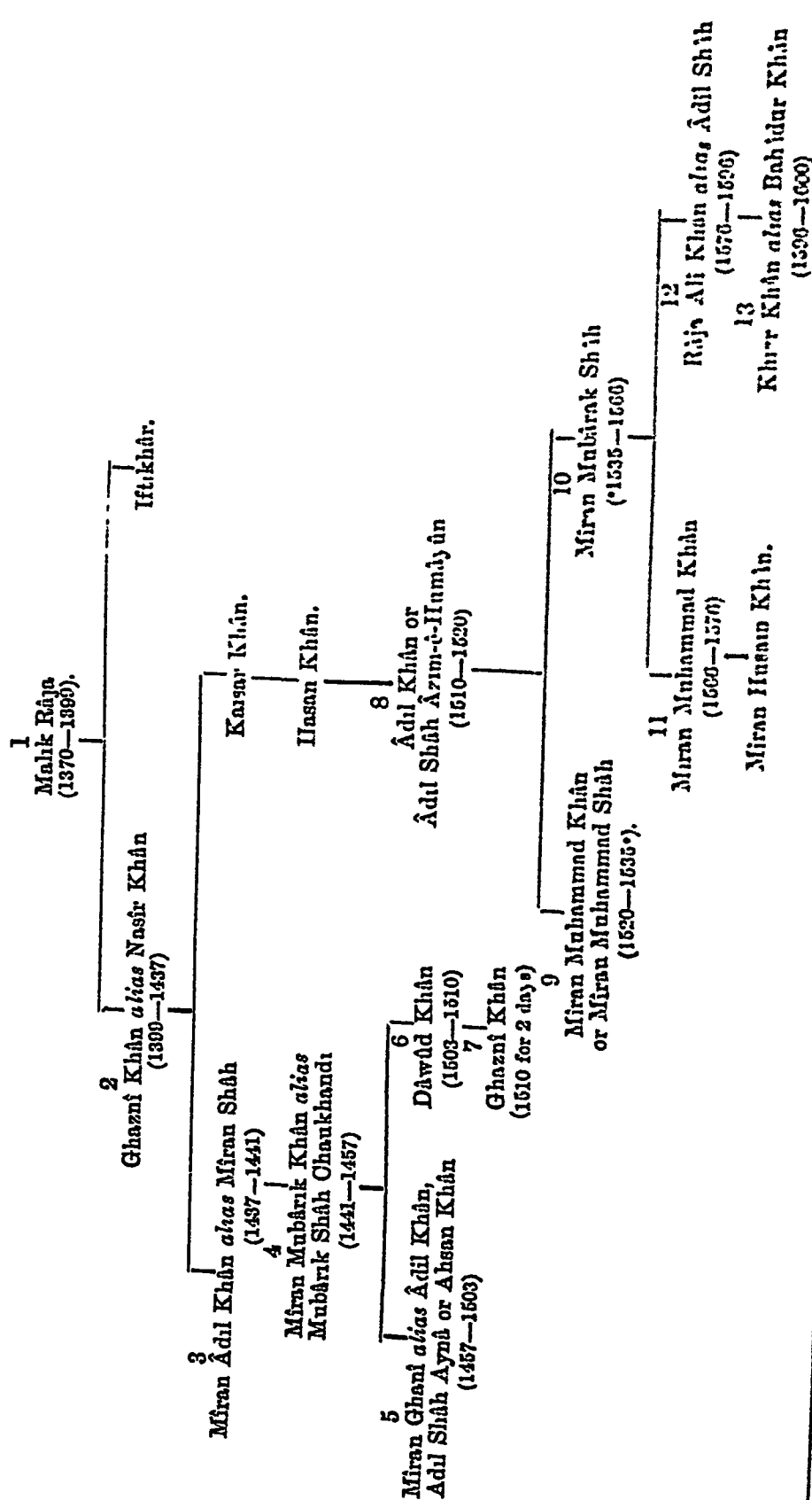
³ Read शक्रे

⁴ Read सह

⁵ This king is well-known by the name of Nasir Khân, the title which he adopted on ascending the throne. General Cunningham erroneously took Ghazni *narefah* to mean King of Ghazni (see his *Reports*, Vol IX, p 117), not being aware that Ghazni was a personal name. Firâhta omitted this name, but Abul Fazl has mentioned it (see Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol II, p 226)

⁶ The number of *śrīs* written for Râjas is usually 108, but here a single figure stands for the highest number, as 6 are written for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or a son

Genealogy of the Fāruqī Kings of Khândēsh.



N.B.—Figures on the top of names indicate the order of succession, and those within brackets the years of their rule.

* This date is doubtful, Firishda being inconsistent. See Briggs' translation Vol. IV, p. 142, which gives the date of his death as A.H. 943, whereas on p. 312 A.H. 942 is given. As Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat died on 14th Feb. 1577 (A.D. p. 143), Miran Muhammad Shāh, who succeeded him also in Gujrat, was evidently living in 1537, and Mubārak could not have become king before that date.

No 49.—NARAYANPAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF GUNDA MAHADEVĪ
THE SAKA YEAR 1033

BY HIRA LAL, B A., M R A S, NAGPUR

Nārāyanpāl is a village 23 miles north-west of Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar feudatory state attached to the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is situated on the right bank of the "splendidly picturesque" Indrāvati, one of those minor rivers of India than which none is more interesting.¹ It "traverses the most untrodden regions of the peninsula. Here in the deepest recesses of the wild forests which cover the Mardian hills, is the home of the Gônd races—one of the aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whose origin is indistinct, a people who still erect rudé stone monuments and use stone implements, unwitting of the procession of the centuries and the advance of civilization to their borders." And yet the very place which has today all the signs of a primeval forest, may a thousand years back have compared favourably with any of the civilized provinces of those times. At least such seems to be the irresistible conclusion from the discovery of the antiquarian remains left by the forgotten Nāgavamśi kings of that little known statē. Nārāyanpāl is one of those places which enjoyed celebrity in their times, a place to which "people of various countries resorted," and which instead of having a long row of wooden peg gods, which now adorn the village turf, possessed the temple of Nārāyana, "the basket of the gems of knowledge" which no doubt the residents duly picked up. The Indrāvati was to Bastar what the Narmadā has been to India, the separating boundary between the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples. It is therefore no surprise to find all the inscriptions to the north of the Indrāvati written in Nāgarī characters, while all to the south are written in Telugu. It appears that the Nāgavamśi kings, though ruling on both sides of the Indrāvati, had fixed that river as the ethnic or at least the linguistic boundary for the convenience of the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples under their sway. Our inscription being found in Nārāyanpāl on the north bank of the river is therefore in Sanskrit characters. Its discovery is due to the efforts of Rāi Bahadur Pandā Baijnāth, B A, who kindly sent me five impressions. Another impression has since been prepared by Mr Venkoba Rao of the Madras Archaeological Survey. I have made use of all these materials for my edition. The inscription is engraved on a stone slab, standing near the temple of Nārāyana, to which it belongs. In this temple there is still an exquisite image of Nārāyana, 2' high. Above the ground the slab measures 7' 4" × 2' 3", and the writing covers a space 5' 9" × 2' 2", including the imprecatory figures and the additions to be referred to presently, but leaving out the top *Śrī mahā*. The original inscription apparently contained only 35 lines, beginning with *Svasti sahaśra-phanāmani* and ending with *mangala mahā-śrī*, underneath which the usual imprecatory figures of a cow and a calf, the dagger and shield, the sun and moon and the Śiva linga, the meanings of which I have elsewhere² explained, were carved. The additional 11 lines, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d) by me, appear to be later additions, and are either interpolations or were inserted when the ownership of the land changed hands either by succession or otherwise. They generally give the names of persons to whom the land was apparently transferred. The lines marked (a), (b), (c) have been inserted in the blank spaces between or on the sides of the imprecatory figures. Under all these a straight line has been drawn, and the four lines marked (d) have been inserted. These give the name of a queen different from the donor of the inscription proper. This may have been done when the land changed hands after the death of the original donor, when, in the ordinary course, the successor of the donor would be shown as the transferor or grantor.

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol I (New Edition, 1907), page 44.

² Above, pp 164 and 175

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, except the two imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, and the characters as stated before are Nāgarī. They are boldly written but the size is not uniform throughout. While in the top line *Śrī-mahā*, they are as big as $2\frac{1}{2}$ ", the average size in the first four lines is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The engraver apparently finding them too big reduced them to 1" in line 5, but in subsequent lines he again began to increase the size maintaining an average of $1\frac{1}{4}$ " throughout the rest, which forms the major portion of the inscription. In the later additions also, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d), the size varies. In (a) it is less than an inch and in (d) it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ " and in (b) and (c) midway between these two.

As regards orthography, *b* is not distinguished from *v* and there is a confusion in the use of *s* and *ś*, for instance, we have on the one hand *Kāśyapa* (ll. 3, 13), *saranāgata* (ll. 6, 10, 16), *sāsana* (ll. 7, 37 (b) and 46 (d)), *Saka-* (l. 19), *-satana* (l. 34), *asvamēdha-* (l. 34), *sudhyati* (l. 35), on the other hand we have *śvarggatē* (l. 17) and *sahasra* (ll. 1 and 34). The *anuvāra* is usually preferred to the class nasals, though the latter are sufficiently represented throughout. Letters with a superscribed *rēpha* have been invariably doubled. The letters *lsha*, *dha*, *ra*, and, in most places, *bha* appear in their antiquated form, and the top *mātrā* for *é*, *ô* and *au* is sometimes placed vertically before the letter to which it is attached, as in *-dhauta-* (l. 8), *paṇṭra-kṛtōttamāṃgi* . . . *pārthivēndra-* (ll. 8-9), *-saujanya-* (l. 10), *-saurinēy-ā-* (l. 11), etc. In *Sômēśvaradēva* (l. 17) *mē* has the top stroke, while *dē* has the vertical stroke preceding *du*. In line 23 in *-stūtyudadh-* the *mātrā* of *u* is peculiarly attached in the middle of the letter as we at present attach it to the letter *ra* alone.

The inscription records the grant of the village Nārāyanapura to the god Nārāyaṇa and some land near the Kharjuri tank to the god Lōkēśvara, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon day of the Kārttika month in the Khara samvatsara, corresponding to the 18th October 1111 A.D. The donor was Gunda Mahādēvi, the chief queen of the Mahārāja Dhārāvārsha, the mother of Sômēśvaradēva and the grandmother of Kanharadēva, who was then ruling after the death of his father, as stated in line 17. The dynasty claims to be Nāgavamśi of the Kāśyapa gōtra and to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of Bhōgāvatī, the best of cities. There can be little doubt that it was connected with the Sinda family of Yelburga. The *birudas* of the two are strikingly similar. The Sindas also claim to be Nāgavamśodbhava, born of the race of the Nāga (cobra), and the lords of Bhōgāvatī, which city is a mythical place in the nether world. The discoveries hitherto made show the existence of the rule of the family at the diagonally opposite corners of this state, viz. south-west and north-east. I feel confident that if we could "explore the serpent city well," we should find at least a replica of it somewhere in the Nizām's dominions in a position intermediate between these two points. The Rāmāyana seems to confirm this, for Rāma's route to Lankā lay between the two and passed through Bhōgāvatī.

As Dr. Fleet¹ says, there appear to have been more branches than one of the Sinda family, and it appears to me that they were distinguished from each other by some variations in their crests (*lāñchhanas*) and banners (*dhvajās*, *patākas* or *kētanās*). The *vyāghra-lāñchhana* (tiger-crest) seems to have been common to all, probably because the original ancestor of the dynasty which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.² The Bāgalkōt branch had simply the tiger crest and the *phāṇī-kētana*, or banner of hooded serpents. The Bastar branch, or more properly the branch represented by our inscription, had a *savatsa-vyāghra-lāñchhana*, or a tiger with a calf or child, thus depicting probably the story of their origin in a clearer way. The banner is not mentioned. In Bastar there were apparently two branches, the other one being that of Bhramarakōtya-man-

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part II, p. 572.

² *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60, and above, Vol III., p. 231.

dala,¹ whose *lāñchhana* was *dhānur-vyāghra* (bow and tiger) and whose *dhvaja* was *kamala-kadā's*, or lotus flower and plantain leaf. The Halvar² branch of the Bauvāsi tract had the *vyāghra-rāga lāñchhana* or crest of a tiger and a deer, and the *nīladvaja*, or blue banner. To judge from their titles *Paramēśvara Paramabhāṣṭārāla Mahārāja*, the Bastar branch appears to have been more independent than the other branches of this dynasty. But more light is likely to be thrown on the history of the family when all the inscriptions found in Bastar have been deciphered. It would therefore be premature to discuss the subject here.

There is one phrase in this inscription, which to my mind appears so interesting that it should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It is incidentally mentioned in line 32 where the land is said to be given *grāma-nīlaya-nīḍa-sarva vīdhā-parihārīna*, which apparently means "free from the interference of the dwelling-group and territorial assemblies, and all other molestations." This throws a sidelight on the village communities of those days. With regard to *nīḍa*, Mr. Baden-Powell³ says, "All over the south of India we have traces of the *nāḍu*, which was often a sort of county, and in some places there is a clearly surviving tradition of the purpose of this division. Thus in part of Madras known anciently as the Tondaimandalam, we find first a number of *īṣṭam*—the name probably indicating the fort which was the seat of the territorial chief, each of these primitive territories was afterwards reorganised into *nāḍu* and each *nāḍu* contained a number of villages (called *nīṭam* i.e. the village site). The chief of the *nīṭa* was called *nīṭar*.⁴ In Malabar we have evidence of how these *nāḍu* divisions were governed by the *nīṭa-īṣṭam*, or assembly of representative elders out of the family groups of *īṣṭam*, of the ruling class, in each *nīṭa*." It appears from our inscription that this *nīḍa* system was prevalent in Bastar and the word *nīlaya* apparently stands for *tara*, the original local term for "the family aggregate of dwellings, consisting of the houses occupied by the members with a few humble abodes for servants and artisans." *Tara* is said to mean street or hamlet. The *grāma* or village was also recognised, but apparently had no fiscal significance, beyond being a physical aggregate of class areas with an exotic population. It will be noticed that Narāyanapara is described as full of outsiders, who had come from different countries. These apparently contributed nothing to the income of the village, and in the business portion of the charter (ll 25 to 33) we therefore find no mention of the village, but only of the land given. The names of the owners of plots occupied by the family groups have been duly enumerated, and it is they who have been enjoined to pay the rents to the temple. The transaction has been ratified by eight persons, which was probably considered a requisite number⁵ for such business. These probably formed the executive committee of the *nīḍa-īṣṭam* or territorial assembly. As would appear from the inscription, it consisted of the *pregaḍi* or minister, the *īṣṭam* or Secretary of the assembly, the *dhāṇḍar* or treasurer, the *śikhṛi* or priest, and four *nāyaka*s, who, as has been already shown, were chiefs of *nīḍa*s. One of these *nāyaka*s is styled *bhaṭṭanāyaka*, perhaps a superior title to that of ordinary *nāyaka*. The mention of his name immediately after that of the minister indicates his superior position.

Our inscription mentions only one territorial name, viz. the Nārāyanapura village, which is certainly the present Nārāyanpāl, where the inscription has been found, and where the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which the village was dedicated, still exists. The tank Kharjuribandha, which was apparently named after the *khajūr* or wild date trees on its banks, is difficult to locate at this distance of time, as these trees live for about fifty years⁶ only.

¹ See above, pp. 174 and ff.

² Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, Part II, p. 577.

³ The Indian Village Community, p. 231.

⁴ Also *nāyaka*; see *ibid.*, p. 167.

⁵ Baden Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Vol III., p. 148.

⁶ See above, p. 163¹².

⁷ Dr. Watt in his *Economic Dictionary*, Vol VI, Part I, p. 211, says "The age of a tree (wild date) can of course be more correctly ascertained by enumerating the notches and adding six or seven, the number of years passed before the first year's notch. I have counted more than 40 notches on a tree, but one rarely sees them so old as that."

TEXT.

Śrī mahā

- 1 Om¹ Svasti sahasra(śra)-phanāmanī-kīraṇa-nīkar-āvaśbhā[su]-
- 2 ra-Nāgavams-ōdbhava-Bhōgāvati-puravar-ēśvara-sa-
- 3 vatsa-vyāghra-lāmbhana-Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtra-prakāṭi-kṛta-
- 4 vijaya-ghōṣhana-lavdha(bdha)-viśva-viśva-ambhara-paramēśvara-para-
- 5 mahattāraka-Mahēśvara-charana-kamja-kimjalka-pumja-pumjārta-bhramarīy amāna-
- 6 dra-sa(śa)ran-āgata-vajra-pamjara-śrīmad-rājabhūṣhana-mahārāja-Dhārāvarshadēva-
- 7 pād[ā]-
- 8 nāma pattamahādēvi jagad-ēka-mātā sā(śā)sana-patā-dārā nāma nāmat[ā](tō)
- 9 Gam-
- 10 gā-jala-[dhan]ta-parama-pavitra-kṛt-ōttamāṅgi-Dhārāvarsha-mahēśvar-ārdhāṅgi-pā-
- 11 [rthi]vēndra-kul-āṅganā Pārvvatī-bhāsuvā chāru-Bhā[gīra]bhī parama-patirati
- 12 chāra(rā)-Arāmdhuta(Arāmdhati) saujanya-Saraśva(sva)ti-sa(śa)ranāgata-rak-hā-
- 13 mani va(ba)mdhu-chintāmani
- 14 sauvīnēy-ābhina[v]ja-Sāvitṛi kṣama-ōdāra-dharitṛi śrīmad-G[u]ṇḍa-mahādēvi ā-
- 15 sām putra-nāmnā sahasra-phan[ā]-manī-kīraṇa-nīkar-āva[śbhā]sura-Nāgavams-ō²-
- 16 dbhava-Bhōgāvati-paṇa[var-ēśva]ra-savatsa-vyāghra-lam[chha]na-Kāśyapa-
- 17 gōtra-pāka-
- 18 tī-kṛta-[vija]ya-ghōṣhana-[lavdha](bdha)-viśva-v[ī]śva-ambhara-paramēśvara parama-
- 19 bhattā-
- 20 raka-Mahēśvara charana-kamja-kimjalka pumja-pumjārta-bhramarāyam³ va-sa-
- 21 tyā-Harīśchandra-sa(śa)lan-āgata-vajra-pa[m*]jara-pratiganda]-²bhairava-śrīmad-rīyā-
- 22 bhūṣhana-mahārāja-Sōmēśvaradēva(vē) śva(sva)r-ggatē tishām putrasya
- 23 āsām nap[tuh]
- 24 samasta-rājāvalī-vi[ā]jyamā[na]-[śi]mad-vīra-Kanharadēvasya kalyāṇa-vijaya-rī-
- 25 jyē Saka-nripa-kāl-ātītē dasa-sata-trayat[rī]mś-ādhikē³ Khara-samvatsare
- 26 Kārtti-
- 27 ka-paurṇamāsyām vuddha(budha)-vā[rē] samsāra samudr-ō[t*]tārana-taramdāya
- 28 jñ[ā*]na-ratna-karamdā-
- 29 ya svaigg-ārggal-ōdghātana-karāya śīma[n-N]ārāyana dēvāya śrīmad-Guṇḍa-
- 30 mahād[ē]vyā
- 31 sakalam=a[n]ityam=adhruvam=asā(śā)śvatam drishtvā svargg-ārggal-ōdghātana-
- 32 ārthē Nārāyanapurō
- 33 nāma grāmō nānā-dēśīya-jan-[ā]kīrṇas=chamdr-ārka-sṭhity-udadhī-kālam yāvat
- 34 pradattā | tathā śī-Lokēśvaradēvāya Kharjuriva(ba)mdha-samipasthā bhūmih
- 35 pradattā
- 36 Śīmat-piegadā Ādityamayenna⁴ bhattānāyaka Pīntiyō⁵ karuṇa
- 37 ⁶[Ku]driyama-
- 38 Viṇama nāyaka Sōmana nāyaka Rāmanākāsana nāyaka M[ā]rīya bhāmdārī
- 39 Aītana sādhu Vakōmaraya || Ētēśhām bhū[nuh] akāṇa pradattā || [Sa]-
- 40 mra-śīśstih⁷

¹ Expressed by a symbol² Perhaps -danda³ Read Saka-nripa kāl-ātītē dasa-sata trayastri-⁴ Perhaps Ādityamayenna

- Perhaps Pīntiyō

⁵ Perhaps Kṛtīyamavīram⁷ Perhaps Kāgarameṭi

TRANSLATION.

(Lk 1—5) Had the great child of the Mahiraja Dhārāvarshadhēva, who was
 son of the Nāgdeva, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood-jewels, who was the
 lord of Bhogavati, the best of the Nagas, whose crest was a tiger with a calf, who was of the
 Kāśyapa-gotra, who had won his abut of victory (universally) known, who had acquired the
 epithet of the Pāriśarati, Pāriśarathīśvara, who was like a bee rendered yellow by the
 collection of pollen on the lotus feet of Mahādeva, who was a Harischandra in truthfulness,
 whose dwelling was a refuge (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, a glorious
 ornament among kings.

(Lk 7—11) (she who was) the only mother of the world, called the turbaned queen
 consort (chief consort), whose head was wholly sanctified by being washed in the water of the
 Ganges, who was (as it were) half the body of Dhārāvarsha (just as Pārvatī is half the body

¹ Perhaps *Chāḍḍī brahmana*

² Probably *Gāeindapūtra* [or *Gāeindaputra* — S K]

³ This perhaps stands for *datta akarēna śrī śāstana dēvyā dattā*

of) Mahēśvara, a noble lady of royal birth; resplendent (like) Pārvati, beautiful (like) the Ganges; who was exceedingly devoted to her husband, a lovely Arundhatī, a Sarasvatī of goodness, an amulet for those who sought her protection, a magical gem to her relatives, a new Sāvitrī of good breeding, capable of liberal support like the earth (was) Gunda-mahādēvi

(Ll 12—17) After the Mahārāja Sômēśvaradēva, who was known as her son, who was born of the Nāgavamśa, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood jewels, who was the lord of Bhōgavatī, the best of towns, whose crest was a tiger with a calf, who was of the Kāśyapa gōtra, who had made his shout of victory universally known, who had acquired the whole earth, the Paramēśvara, Paramabhāṭṭāraka, who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of Mahēśvara, who was a Hariścandra in truthfulness, who was an adamant cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, who was terrible to the refractory (or, rivals), a glorious ornament amongst kings,

(Ll 17—24) had gone to heaven, in the auspicious and victorious reign of his son, and her grandson, the illustrious hero Kanharadēva, resplendent in the row of all kings, when (the year) ten hundred increased by thirty-three of the era of the Śaka king had expired, in the Khara saṁvatsara, on the day of full moon of Kārttika, on a Wednesday, the village of Nārāyanapura, full of people come from various countries was given by the illustrious Gunda-mahādēvi for so long as the moon, the sun, the earth, and the ocean endure, to the glorious god Nārāyaṇa, who is a ferry for crossing the ocean of transmigration, who is a basket (full) of the gems of knowledge, who opens the bolt of heaven's (door), seeing that everything is transient, unsteady and inconstant, in order to open the bolt of heaven's (door) Likewise the land near the Kharjuribandha-tank was given to the glorious god Lōkēśvara

(Ll 25—33) The illustrious minister Āḍityama Penna, the bhattachāyaka Prōṇṭiyō, the karana Kudriyama Virama¹, the nāyaka Sōmana, the nāyaka Rāmanākāsana, the nāyaka Mārāyā, the bhandārī Aitana, the sādhu Vakōmarya The land of these was given revenue free The śrēṣṭhīn Samara, the brāhmaṇa Chhādrū, the śrēṣṭhīn Ghughū, the sādhu Śrīdhara, the kōsajā (cocoon producer) Nānū, the mālī Pālāsu Padmāsīmīrā, the oilman Gōvinda-pātra, the bābū Jasadhavala, Milāpi the glorious Vāsudēva these should always remain at the feet of the glorious Nārāyaṇa as grihāvetakas, and the tribute should be paid to the illustrious paṇḍit Purushōttama The land has been given free from all obstructions incumbent on the village, the nīlaya, and the nāda, for so long a time as moon and sun endure (Here follow two imprecatory verses)

(L. 35) (Let) great happiness (attend) Hail

(Ll. 36^a—37^a). Land is given to the sūtradhāra Ranavira, free from taxes

(Ll 36^b—42^b) The land of the adhikārīn Chhādrūka is given, free from taxes (Also) that of Brahmāṇḥaka as a grant, free from taxes The land of Mahandaka, Kanharasāi, and Nāgakulamdhvara is given, free from taxes

(Ll. 39^c—42^c) To bhāṭṭāraka Bhāvadēva land is given free from taxes

(Ll 43^d—46^d) Hail The illustrious Dhārana-Mahādēvi gave land for the sake of the god, the illustrious Nārāyaṇa free from all obstructions, and free from taxes. (Witnesses are) Mahanaka, Dēvadāsa, Jaggaṭī, the sādhu Himasutta . . . , Lakhmana, Chāudharī The land was given by the illustrious Dhārana-Mahādēvi free from taxes. The land was given by the queen consort free from taxes

¹ We should perhaps read karana-kuttiyama Virama, Virama, the writer of the kutīam Compare Baden-Powell, Indian Village Community, p 167

No 50—TIMMAPURAM PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA I VISHAMASIDDHI.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D ; HALLE (SAALE).

This short inscription is on three copper-plates which were "discovered in the ground in October 1907 by one Sukuru Ramasvami while digging a hole in his vacant house site in the village of Timmapuram in the Sarvasiddhi taluka" and were sent by the Collector of the Vizagapatam district to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who describes them as follows —

"The plates measure $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches and are strung on an oval ring, the diameters of which are $2\frac{7}{8}$ and 3 inches. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a nearly circular seal which measures between $1\frac{3}{8}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. In the centre of this seal is the legend [𑀅𑀲𑀓𑀭]𑀓𑀲𑀓𑀭 in the same alphabet in which the plates themselves are engraved. The third plate of the inscription is blank, and the grant itself ends in line 2 of the second side of the second plate."

The alphabet and orthography do not call for any special remarks. The final *t* occurs in line 1,¹ the *upadhmāniya* in l. 5, and the Dravidian letter *la* in l. 11. The language is Sanskrit prose. The panegyrical portion (ll. 1—11) is comparatively correct—probably because it was copied from a form preserved at the royal secretariat. The grant portion, however, must have been drafted by a person who knew very little Sanskrit. It contains a Prākṛit word *chattālisa* (l. 12) = Sanskrit *chattāriṃśat*, and several grave grammatical blunders which I have corrected in the footnotes.

The inscription records a grant by Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja surnamed Vishamasiddhi,² who was the younger brother of Satyāśraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja, the son of Kirtivarman, the grandson of Banavikrama, and the great-grandson of Banarāga of the Cha[lu]kya family. This short pedigree establishes the identity of the donor of this grant with Vishnuvardhana I. Vishamasiddhi, the founder of the eastern branch of the Chalukya dynasty. That he was the younger brother of Satyāśraya, i.e. the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II., and the son of Kirtivarman (I.), is stated in many Eastern Chalukya inscriptions; and his grandfather Banavikrama, i.e. Pulakēśin I., is mentioned also in his Sātārā plates.³ The reference to his great-grandfather Banarāga is of some interest, because this name is known only from a few records of the Western Chalukyas.

Both Vishnuvardhana I and his elder brother receive the title *Mahārāja*, but the second is stated to have 'subdued the circle of the whole earth' (l. 5 f.), while the former claims only to have 'humbled the circle of all the vassals' (l. 6 f.). This distinction implies that, at the time of this grant, Vishnuvardhana I was still a dependant of his elder brother, the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II. He professed to be a worshipper of Bhagavat (l. 10), i.e. Viṣṇu, and resided at Piṣṭapurā (l. 1), the modern Piṭhāpuram in the Gōdāvarī district. In the Aihole inscription⁴ the capture of this fortress is ascribed to his elder brother and sovereign Pulakēśin II.

The grant portion differs from that of other records in two respects. It lacks at the end the usual imprecations and other particulars, and the donees are not mentioned by name, but simply stated to have been forty Brāhmanas of the Chhandōga school. The object of the grant was some land at Kumūlūra—a village which I am unable to identify—in the Paṭākī-vishaya.

¹ See note 6 on p. 318.

² This surname occurs both in line 8 and on the seal of the present grant. It forms also the legend of certain copper coins discovered in the Vizagapatam district, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV p. 322 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 309.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI p. 11, verse 27.

The same district seems to be referred to in the Chīpurupalle plates of Vishnuvardhana I, where the name has been read doubtfully as 'Pūki-vishaya,'¹ but, if the facsimile² can be trusted, the engraver has written in reality *Plāki-vishayē*, which may be meant for *Palāki-vishayē*

TEXT.³

First Plate

स्वस्ति⁴ ॥

- 1 श्रीमत्पिष्टपुरवासकात्⁵ स्वभुजविजितदनुतनयम(१)हासेनेन म(१)हा-
- 2 सेनेनाभिवर्द्धितानान्त्रिभुवनमातृभिर्मातृभिरभिरक्षितानां⁶ मानव्यस[गो]-
- 3 चाणां [हा]रितिपुत्राणां⁷ चक्यानामन्वयसुन्नमयितुमसक्तदनु[भू]-
- 4 १तरणरागस्य रणरागस्य¹⁰ नप्तासह्यविक्रमस्य रणविक्रमस्य पौ[त्रो]
- 5 विपुलकीर्त्तः कीर्त्तिवर्मण⁸प्रियसुतः शक्तित्रयवशिक्षतसकलमहोम-¹¹
- 6 ण्डलस्य सत्य[१*]श्रयवल्लभमहाराजस्य प्रियानुजः स्वासिधार[१]नामित[स]-

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 मस्तसामन्तमण्डलः स्वरूपगुणयौवनश्रीया¹² दूरमतिश[यित]-
- 8 मकरध्वजः स्थलजलादिदुर्गविषमेष्वपि लब्धसिद्धित्वादिषमसिद्धिर[त्यि]-
- 9 जन(:)[नि]त्यप्रसूतकामधेनुः लोकातिशयविक्रमतया नरलोक[वि]-
- 10 [क्र]म[ः]¹³ परमभागवतः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुद्ध[१*]तः श्रीविष्णु-
वर्द्ध[न]-
- 11 म(१)हाराजः (॥) प७७किविषये (१¹⁴) कुसूलूरनामग्रामे पूर्वदिशे¹⁵ क्षेत्रे च-
- 12 [त्वा]रि सहस्रनिवर्त्तनानि¹⁶ छेदं कृत्वा (१) [पोटुनूङ्क]व[१*]स्तव्याय(१)¹⁷
चत्त[१]लीस

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 16, text line 13

² Dr Burnell's *South-Ind Pal*, 2nd ed, Platte xxvii

³ From two sets of ink-impressions received from Rai Bahadur Venkayya

⁴ This word is entered on the left margin of plate 1 opposite the beginning of line 4. The sign of punctuation after it runs into the following *akshara* त, it resembles in shape the symbol called in Tamil *Piḷḷavayār-sul*.

⁵ The *t* of श्री⁰ is obliterated.

⁶ The final *t* of वासकात् is entered at the top of the next *akshara* स्व. Another final *t* is entered at the top of the र of the preceding word पुर⁰, perhaps the writer wanted us to read पुरात्.

⁷ The three *aksharas* मातृभि are engraved over रभिर, which was evidently done because they had been originally omitted through an oversight of the engraver.

⁸ Read चतुर्था⁰

⁹ See note 4 above

¹⁰ The न is engraved over ण; compare note 7 above

¹¹ Read वशी⁰.

¹² Read श्रिया⁰

¹³ The ऋ seems to be engraved over a म, compare notes 7 and 10 above. Instead of विक्रम I suspect चविक्रम to be intended by the scribe

¹⁴ This mark of punctuation runs into the next *akshara* कु

¹⁵ Read दिशि.

¹⁶ Read निवर्त्तनसहस्राणि

¹⁷ Read वास्तव्यम्यरवारिशते ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नानागीत्रेभ्यश्छन्दोगसन्नचारिभ्यो यमनियमपरेभ्य षट्कर्मानिरतेभ्यो वेदपारमेभ्यो दत्तवान् ॥

1

2

3

4

11a

5

10

12

E Hultzsch

Full-Size

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 13 ब्राह्मणः नानागत्र खन्दीगसब्रह्मचारिणे यमनियमपारगाय षट्[र्भ]-
 14 निरताय(1) वेदपारगाय दत्तः [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! (Line 1) From (*his*) residence in the prosperous Pishtapura,—the great-grandson¹ of Ranarāga, who repeatedly indulged in the passion of fighting in order to elevate the family of the Cha[lu]kyas, who were Hāritiputras, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the Mānavyas, who were protected by the Mātṛis, the mothers of the three worlds, (*and*) who were rendered prosperous by Mahāsēna,² who by his own arm had defeated the great army of the sons of Danu ;³

(L 4)—the grandson of Ranavikrama, whose valour was insuperable, the dear son of Kirtivarman, whose renown was extensive, (*and*) the dear younger brother of Saty[ā]śraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja, who had subdued the circle of the whole earth by the triad of (*regal*) powers,

(L 6)—the devout worshipper of Bhagavat, the very pious one, who meditated at the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—Śrī-Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja, who by the edge of his own sword humbled the circle of all the vassals, who by the splendour of his own beauty, virtues and youthfulness far surpassed Cupid,⁴ who (*was surnamed*) Vishamasiddhi because he had obtained success (*siddhi*) in impassable straits (*vishama*) on land, on sea, *etc*, who was a cow of plenty (*kāmadhēnu*) constantly yielding milk to suppliants, (*and*) who was the [Tri]vikrama (Vishnu) of the world of men because his valour surpassed (*that of all*) mankind,

(L 11)—has granted four thousand *nivartanas*⁵ in the fields on the eastern side of the village named Kumūlūra in the Paḷaki district (*vishaya*), having portioned (*them*) off, to forty Brāhmanas of various *gōtras*, residing in [Potunūnka], belonging to the school of the Chhandōgas observing the greater and smaller rules, engaged in the six duties, (*and*) familiar with the Vēda

No 51 — SARNATH INSCRIPTION OF KUMARADEVI

By STEN KONOW

The slab on which the inscription published below is incised was found during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in Sarnāth, in March 1908. It was dug out to the north of the Dhamēkh *stūpa*, to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period. The writing covers almost the whole of the surface of the stone, *viz* 21" × 15½", and it is in a perfect state of preservation. The average size of the letters is ½"

The characters are Nāgarī, of a very ornamental type, and the engraving has been done with considerable skill. Of individual letters, the form of the cerebral *ṭa* in *-bhatah* and *kāndapaṭikah* in line 8 is worthy of notice. There are comparatively few orthographical peculiarities. *ṽ* is used for *ṭ* throughout, and *na* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *sudhānśōs-*, line 11. There are some few miswritings such as *harmmā-* for *dharmmā-*, l. 6, *prakshātō* for *prakhyātō*, l. 8, *vishmayakarō* for *vismaya-* and *-ashmādrisaih* for *=asmādrisaih*, l. 13, *=nēnrābhīrāma-* for *-nētr-*, l. 15, *nri-* for *tri-*, l. 22; *mahābhūjah* for *mahābhujah*, l. 19, *etc*. The forms *Kumaradēvi*,

¹ For other instances in which *naptṛ* has this meaning, see above, Vol IV p 329 and note 2

² *I.e.* the god of war

³ *I.e.* the Dānavas or demons

⁴ Literally, 'the bearer of the *makara*-banner.'

⁵ This would give 100 *nivartanas* for each of the 40 donees

ll 11 and 22, and *vihâro* in ll. 23 and 26, on the other hand, are vouched for by the metre *Kumara* instead of *kumâra* is common in Mâhârâshtrî Piâkrit, and a form *Kumaravâla* for the usual *Kumârapâla* occurs in Hêmachandra's *Dêsnânamâlâ*, I 104, 88¹ And *vihâra* instead of *vihâra* is justified by Pânini VI, 3 122.

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation to *Vasudhârâ* in l 1, the whole of the inscription is in verse There are altogether twenty-six verses Of these thirteen (Nos 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23 and 24) are in the *Śârdûlavikrîdita*, five (Nos 1, 10, 14, 15 and 20) in the *Mâlinî*, four (Nos 4, 16, 22 and 25) in the *Vasantatilakâ*, three (Nos 8, 9 and 26) in the *Anushtubh*, and one (No 2) in the *Sragdharâ* metre

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihâra* by *Kumaradêvi*, one of the queens of *Gôvindachandra* of Kanauj The wording of verses 21-23, in which her gift is mentioned, is not quite clear We are first told, in verse 21, that a *vihâra* was constructed, which apparently contained an image of the goddess *Vasudhârâ* The following verses are not quite clear *Rai Bahadur V Venkayya* has suggested the following explanation, which I think is a very plausible one *Jambukî* drew up a copper-plate, in which she represented to *Kumaradêvi* that the *Dharmachakra-Jina* originally set up by *Dharmâsoka* required to be repaired or set up again This copper-plate must have contained information about the original setting up of the *Dharmachakra-Jina* and further details about its maintenance and repairs *Kumaradêvi*, who was apparently a stranger to the country round Benares, accepted her representation and raised her to the rank of "the foremost of *pattalikâs*"² Moreover, she restored the *Jina* or set up a new one and placed it in the *vihâra* built for *Vasudhârâ*, or in another one constructed for the purpose, and the wish is expressed that, after having been placed there, he may remain there for ever. It seems necessary to infer that the *Śrîdharmachakra-Jina*, which is said to have existed in *Dharmâsoka's* time, was an image of the Buddha, and that the *vihâra* built by the orders of Queen *Kumaradêvi* for him, was a shrine, a *gandhakufî*. It is difficult to explain the wish that he, i.e. the image, may reside there for ever, under any other supposition.

The inscription can be divided into four parts After an invocation of *Vasudhârâ* (v 1) and the moon (v 2) vv. 3-6 give some information about some rulers or generals of *Pithî* or *Pithikâ* We learn that, in the lunar race, there arose a chief called *Vallabharâja*, the lord of broad *Pithikâ* (v 3) The following verse introduces the lord of *Pithî* *Dêvarakshita*, without saying anything about his relationship to *Vallabharâja* He is described as the full moon of the lotus of the *Chhikkôra-vamsa*, and we are told that he even surpassed *Gajapati* in splendour *Dêvarakshita* is again referred to as the lord of *Pithî* in the second part of the inscription, and it therefore seems necessary to interpret vv 5-6, which apparently refer to a son of his (*tasmâd-âsa*, etc) as an explanation of his relationship to *Vallabharâja*, who would then be his father

The second part of the inscription, vv 7-13, contains the information that *Devarakshita* was defeated by *Mahana*, the maternal uncle of the *Gauda* king, who thus firmly established the throne of *Râmapâla*, and subsequently bestowed his daughter *Śankaradêvi* on the *Pithî* lord Their daughter was *Kumaradêvi*, in whose praise the present inscription was written

The third part, vv 14-20, then contains the genealogy of the *Gahadavâla* family, to which *Kumaradêvi's* husband *Gôvindachandra* belonged It agrees with the list given in most inscriptions of this latter king, but does not carry us further back than to his grandfather We are first introduced to *Chandra*, the *Chandradêva* of *Gôvindachandra's* inscriptions His son

¹ See *Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* § 81

² *Pattalikâ* is the feminine form of *pattalaka*, which occurs in the *Buguda* plates of *Mâdhavarman*, above, vol III, p 44, l 53, in connexion with *vaishvâsika*

was Madanachandra, elsewhere known as Madanapāla, who again was the father of Gōvinda-chandra. He is said to have saved Benares from the wicked Turushka-soldier.

The fourth part of the inscription (verses 21-23) specifies the gifts of Kumaradēvi, and her praise is sung in verse 24. Verses 25-26 then inform us that the inscription, which is here called a *prasasti*, was composed by the poet *śrī*-Kunda, and engraved by Vāmana.

Gōvindachandra is the well-known king of Kanauj, whose inscriptions are dated between A.D. 1114 and 1154. Our inscription teaches us that he guarded Benares against the Turnshkas, i.e. the Muhammadans. We do not know of any Muhammadan expedition against Benares in Gōvindachandra's time. In A.D. 1033 a Muhammadan army under Ahmad Nīltingin arrived at the town, but only stayed there for a day,¹ and there is no indication of a permanent settlement. We know, on the other hand, that Mussalman settlers remained in the country about the Jamna from the days of Mahmud and down to the end of the 12th century.² It seems probable that Gōvindachandra took some action against such settlers, and the term *turushkadanda*, which occurs in many of his and his predecessors' inscriptions, gives us a hint as to the nature of this action. The word *turushkadanda* has been variously translated as "tax on aromatic reeds" and "Muhammadan amercements."³ The information furnished by our inscription seems to show that it was in reality a tax on Muhammadans, the exact nature of which cannot, however, be determined.

Our inscription introduces us to a new queen of Gōvindachandra, Kumaradēvi, the granddaughter of Mahana. Three other queens are already known from inscriptions, viz. Nayanakēlī-dēvi,⁴ Gōsaladēvi⁵ and Dalhanadēvi.⁶ While Gōvindachandra was himself an orthodox Hindū, his fourth wife Kumaradēvi was a Buddhist. According to information kindly supplied by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstrī, the king had still another Buddhist wife Vāsantadēvi, who is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Ashṭasāhasrikā* in the Nepal Darbar Library (No. 331 of the third collection). The colophon runs—*śrī-śrī-Kānyakubj-ādhipaty-asīpati-gajapati-narapati-rājya-trayādhipati-srīmad-Gōvindachandrādēvasya pratāpavaśatah rājñī-śrī-pravara Mahīyāna-yāyinyāh paramopāsikā-rājñī-Vāsantadēvyā dēyadharmamō=yam*.

It is possible that Vāsantadēvi and Kumaradēvi are one and the same person, one of the meanings of *vāsanta* being "youth" = *kumāra*. It is, however, more probable that they are two different persons.

Some information about Mahana, the father of Kumaradēvi's mother, and about the lord of Pithi, her father, can be gleaned from Sandhyākara Nandi's *Rāmacharita*, which work has been brought to light by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstrī.⁷ We are there told that Mahana was the maternal uncle of the Gauda king Rāmapāla. Vīgrahapāla, the father of Rāmapāla, made a successful war against the Chēdi king Karna of Dīhāla, of whom we possess an inscription dated Kalachuri Samvat 493=A.D. 1042.⁸ Karna's reign probably extended over a long period.⁹ We cannot, therefore, determine when the war against Vīgrahapāla took place. We have an inscription of the time of Vīgrahapāla's grandfather Mahīpala, dated A.D. 1026,¹⁰ and Mahīpala's son Nayapāla reigned at least 15 years.¹¹ Vīgrahapāla's accession cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than A.D. 1041. His son Rāmapāla, who was preceded on the throne by two brothers Mahīpala II and Śūrapāla, was a contemporary of

¹ See H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II 1869, pp. 112 and ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 250 and ff.

³ See Führer, *Journal Bengal Society*, Vol. LVI Pt. I p. 113.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV p. 103.

⁵ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, Nos. 127 and 131.

⁶ See Führer, loc. cit. p. 115, l. 19.

⁷ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1900, pp. 70 and ff.

⁸ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 407.

⁹ See Kielhorn, above, Vol. II pp. 302 and ff.

¹⁰ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 59.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 642.

Śaṅkaradēvi, the mother of Gōvindachandra's queen Kumaradēvi. It therefore seems probable that Vīgrahapāla's accession should be placed about A.D. 1050, and Rāmapāla's reign in the last part of the eleventh century. Mahana, Śaṅkaradēvi's father, would then be a contemporary of both of them. The *Rāmacharita*, which calls him Mathana or Mahana, states that he was a Rāshtrakūta, and the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. It therefore becomes probable that Vīgrahapāla married a Rāshtrakūta princess in addition to the daughter of the Chēdi king Karna who was, according to the *Rāmacharita*, given to him after the war alluded to above. Mahana was Rāmapāla's right hand, and was of great assistance in the war against Bhīma. Among the feudatories of the Pāla king in that war, the *Rāmacharita* mentions Viraguna, the *rāja* of Pithī who is described as the lord of the south. Dēvarakshita of Pithī is also mentioned, but not as a feudatory. He must be identical with the Dēvarakshita of our inscription, and it becomes probable that the Pithī ruler Viraguna had originally stood on Rāmapāla's side, while Dēvarakshita later on rose against him. He hailed from Pithī or Pithikā, which according to the *Rāmacharita* was situated in the south. Now *pithi* or *pithikā* is synonymous with *pitha*, and it is therefore possible that Pithī is identical with Pithāpuram.¹ We know that a branch of the Eastern Chalukyas reigned in Pithāpuram in the second half of the twelfth century, and that the town had already been conquered by Pulikēśin II. No historical information is forthcoming about the earlier Chalukya princes of the Pithāpuram branch. The real history of the family only seems to begin with Vijayāditya III, whose coronation took place A.D. 1158.² It should also be noted that the genealogy given in the Pithāpuram inscriptions hardly can be correct. Mr. Sewell has drawn my attention to the fact that only four generations are enumerated between Bēta, who reigned in A.D. 925, and Vijayāditya III, who was crowned in A.D. 1158.

Before this branch became established in Pithāpuram, the place was one of the strongholds of the Vēngi province of the Eastern Chalukyas. In the last part of the 11th century, the reigning king was Kulōttunga Chōḍadēva, who first was ruler in Vēngi but who in A.D. 1070 was anointed to the Chōḍa kingdom. Vēngi was then ruled by viceroys, first by his uncle Vijayāditya VII then by his sons Rājarāja (1077-78) and Vira Chōḍa (from 1078). Mr. Venkayya suggests that this latter viceroy may be identical with the Viraguna of the *Rāmapālacharita*. Dēvarakshita was then probably a general under the viceroy of Vēngi. He is said to have surpassed even the glory of Gajapati. As this epithet is used by some of the Eastern Gangas, it is possible that it here refers to Anantavarman Chōḍaganga. The *Kalīngattu Parani*³ describes an expedition undertaken by Kulōttunga I against this king, and Dēvarakshita may have played a rôle in it. We do not know anything about the Chhikkōra family, to which Dēvarakshita belonged.

The marriage of Dēvarakshita's daughter to king Gōvindachandra perhaps accounts for the relationship between the Chōlas and the Gāhaḍavālas commented on by Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report for 1907-08, para 58 and ff. An incomplete Gāhaḍavāla inscription has recently been found immediately after a record of Kulōttungadēva of A.D. 1110-11, in Gangaikondachōlapuram, which it is tempting to bring into connexion with Gōvindachandra's marriage. Mr. Venkayya carries the acquaintance of the Gāhaḍavālas with the Chōla kings farther back to the expedition of Rājendra Chōla towards the kings on the banks of the Ganges, mentioned in the Thiruvālangādu plates, and it seems very probable that this expedition led to the establishment of friendly relations with the north. Among the princes conquered by Rājendra Chōla was Dharmapāla of Dandabhukti, and the lord of Dandabhukti figures amongst the feudatory kings who, according to the *Rāmapālacharita*, assisted Rāmapāla in his war against Bhīma.

¹ Compare the forms Pithapura and Pithāpurī, above, Vol. IV p. 37, 357 Note 4.

² See Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 223.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 329 ff.

The relationship between the various persons mentioned in our inscription will be seen from the table which follows —

Vallabharāja of Pithī	Mahana, of the Rāshtrakūta family	Ohandra, of the Gahadavāla family.
Dēvarakshita, married	Śankarādēvi	Madanachandra
	Kumarādēvi, married	Gōvīndachandra

According to verse 25, the inscription was composed by Kunda, who describes himself as a lion to the *tīrthika*-elephants, a Rōhana mountain, full of the splendid gems of poetical composition, a poet in eight *bhāṣhās*, and an intimate friend of the king of Vanga. He is not elsewhere known. His name does not occur in the *Saduktikarnāmrta*,¹ nor, so far as I know, in any other anthology. The engraver was the *śilpī* Vāmana.

TEXT.

- 1 ओं नमो भगवत्यै आयंवसुधारायै ॥ ³समवतु वसुधारा धर्मपीयूषधारा-
प्रशमितवहुविश्वोद्दामदुःखोदधारा । धनकनकसमृद्धिं भूर्भुवः श्वः⁴ किरन्ती
तद-
- 2 खिलजनदैन्यान्याजयन्ती जगन्ति ॥ [१*] ⁵नेत्रैरुत्कण्ठितानां चरणमुपनयन्वा-
रुचन्द्रोपलानाम्मानग्रन्थिमिभिन्दन् सह कुसुदवनीमुद्रया मानिनीनाम् ।
दग्धन्दग्धेश्वरेणा[सृ]-
- 3 तनिकरकरैर्जीवयन् कामदेवं कान्तोयं कौसुदीनां स जयति जगदालोकदीप्र-
प्रदीपः ॥ [२*] ⁶वंशे तस्य नमस्यपौरुषजुषि प्रस्फारकीर्त्तिविषि द्राक्
शौचेन सु[राय]-
- 4 गामदमुषि प्रत्यर्थिलक्ष्मीरुषि । वीरो वल्लभराजनामविदितो मान्यः स
भूमीभुजां जेतासीत्यृधुपीठिकापतिरतिप्रौढप्रतापोदयः ॥ [३*] ⁷छिक्कोरवंशकु-
सुदोदयपूर्ण-
- 5 चन्द्रः श्रीदेवरचित इति प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् । पीठोपतिर्गजपतेरपि राज्य-
लक्ष्मीं लक्ष्म्या जिगाय जगदेकमनोहरश्रीः ॥ [४*] ⁸तस्मादास पयोनि-
घेरिव विधु-
- 6 क्षीवण्यलक्ष्मीविधुर्नेत्रानन्दसमुद्रवर्द्धनविधुः कीर्त्तियुतिश्रीविधुः । सौजन्यैकनिधिः
स्फुरद्गुणनिधिर्गाम्भीर्यवारान्निधिर्हर्षाद्वैतनिधिः⁹ स च[ण्डि]म-
- 7 निधिः शस्त्रैकविद्यानिधिः ॥ [५*] ¹⁰दीनानामभिवाञ्छितैकफलदः प्रत्यक्ष-
कल्पद्रुमो दृष्यद्वैरिगिरीन्द्रमेदनविधौ दुर्वारवज्रश्च यः । कान्तान[१*]मद-

¹ Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. III. pp 134 and ff ² Expressed by a symbol

³ Metre Mālinī.

⁴ Read स्व

⁵ Metre Sragdharā

⁶ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ Metre Vasantatilakā

⁸ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁹ Read क्षमाद्वैत

¹⁰ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

- 8 नन्वरोपशमने सिद्धौषधीपल्लवो वाङ्मयस्य वभूव भूतलभुजामन्तश्चमत्कारिणः
॥ [६*] ^१गौडेद्वैतभटः सकाण्डपटिकः चत्रैकचूडामणिः ^२प्रक्षातो
- 9 महणाङ्गपः क्षितिभुजाम्भान्योभवन्मातुलः । त(तं) जित्वा युधि देवरक्षि-
तमधात् श्रीरामपालस्य यो लक्ष्मीं निर्जितवैरिरोधनतया देदीप्यमानो-
दयाम् ॥ [७*] ^३कन्या महण-
- 10 देवस्य तस्य कन्येव भूभृतः । सा पीठीपतिना तेन तेनेवोढा स्वयम्भू(भु)वा
॥ [८*] ^४ख्याता शङ्करदेवीति तारेव करुणाशया । व्यजेष्ट कल्पहृद्वाणं
क्षता दानीयमेन या ॥ [९*] ^५अ-
- 11 जनि कुमारदेवो हन्त देवोव ताभ्यां शरदमलसुधाङ्गोश्चारुलेखेव रम्या ।
दुरितजलधिमध्याक्षोक्तमुद्धर्तुकामा स्वयमिह करुणार्ता तारिणीवावतीर्क्षा ॥
[१०*]
- 12 ^६याम्रेधाः प्रविधाय शिल्परचनाचातुर्यदर्पं व्याघाद्यद्वक्त्रेण जितस्तुषारकिरणो
द्वीणः स खस्योभवत् । रात्रावुद्गममातनीति मलिनो जातः कलङ्को ततस्त-
- 13 स्याः सुद(सुन्द)रिमा स ^७विषयकरो वाच्यः ^८किमस्मादृशैः ॥ [११*] ^९चित्र-
श्चक्षुलदृक्कुरङ्गमवधूवन्धस्फुरद्वागुराम् विभ्राणा तनुसम्पदम्प्रविलसत्कान्त्याभिकान्त-
त्रिया ।^{१०}
- 14 खेलक्षीरसमुद्रसान्द्रलहरीलावण्यलक्ष्मीसुषं मोषं शैलसुतामदस्य दधती सौभाग्य-
गर्वेण सा ॥ [१२*] ^{११}धर्माद्वैतमतिर्गुणाहितरतिः प्रारब्धपुण्याचिति-
- 15 दानोदारष्टतिर्मतङ्गजगतिर्नेत्रा(त्रा)भिरामाकृतिः । शास्त्रन्यस्तनतिजनोदितनुतिः
^{१२}कारुण्यकेलिस्थितिनित्यश्रीवसतिः कृताघविहतिः स्फायद्गुणाहङ्क-
- 16 तिः ॥ [१३*] ^{१३}जगति गहडवाले चत्रव(वं)शे प्रसिहेजनि नरपतिचन्द्रचन्द्र(मा)-
नामा नरेन्द्रः । यदसह्यनृपाणाङ्गामिनीवाष्पवाहिः(हैः) शितितरमिदमासीद्या-
मुन(नं) तू(नू)नमम्भः ॥ [१४*] ^{१४}नृ-
- 17 पतिमदनचन्द्रश्चण्डभूपालचूडामणिरजनि स तस्माद्भिन्नदेकातपत्र[म्*] । धरणि-
तलमनल्पप्रौढतेडो(जो)नलश्रीः श्रियमपि च मघोनः स्वश्रियाघो दधानः
॥ [१५*] ^{१५}वाराण-
- 18 सीं सुवनरक्षणदक्ष एको ^{१६}दुष्टान्गुरुष्कसुभटादवितुं हरेण । उक्तो हरिस्त्र
पुनरत्र वभूव तस्माद्गोविन्दचन्द्र इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥ [१६*] ^{१७}वत्साः
कामदुहां कणा-

^१ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^४ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.^७ Read विषय.^{१०} The sign of interpunction has been engraved in the beginning of next line.^{११} Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^{१२} Metre: Māhāt.^{१३} Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^२ Read प्रख्यातो^५ Metre: Māhāt.^८ Read नस्मादृशै^{१२} Read नविजं. स्थितिर्नि^{१३} Metre: Vasantatilakā.^३ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.^६ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^९ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^{१४} Metre: Māhāt.^{१७} Read दुष्टाङ्ग.

- 19 नपि पयःपूरस्य ¹पातु न ते चित्रं प्रागल्भन्त याचकमनःसन्तोषनित्यव्ययात् ।
त्यागैर्यस्य ²महीभूजः प्रमुदिते तद्याचकानाञ्चये स्वच्छन्दाहितनित्यनिर्भरपयः-
- 20 पानीत्सवैरासते ॥ [१७*] ³यद्विद्वेषिमहीभुजां पुरवरे प्रभ्रष्टहारावलीव्याधास्तन्मृग-
पाशवन्धमनमा गच्छन्ति नैव भ्रमात् । व्याधाः सस्तुसुवर्षकुण्डलमहि-
भ्रान्त्या
- 21 तदत्यायतेर्दण्डैर्द्रागपसारयन्ति च भयप्रोक्तमिहस्तसजः ॥ [१८*] ⁴यस्योत्सन्नवि-
रोधिभूपतिपुरप्रासादपृष्ठोपरि प्रत्यग्रस्फुरदुग्रशप्यकवलव्यालोलवाजि-
- 22 व्रजः । आदित्यस्त्वभवत्स मन्यररथश्चन्द्रोपि मन्दोभवत् घासग्रासविरूढलोभहरिणः
रचन् पतन्तन्ततः ॥ [१९*] ⁵अहह कुमरदेवी तेन र[१*]ज्ञा प्रसिद्धा नि-
(त्रि)जगति
- 23 परिगोता श्रीरिविहाच्युतेन । प्रविलसदवरोधे तस्य राज्ञोङ्गनानां नियतममृत-
रश्मिलेखिका तारकासु ॥ [२०*] ⁶वीहारो नवखण्डमण्डलमहीहारः कृतोय-
न्तया
- 24 तारिण्या वसुधारया ननु वपुर्विभ्राणयालङ्कतः । यं दृष्ट्वा प्रविचित्रशिल्परच-
नाचातुर्यसीमात्रयं गोर्वाणैः सुदृश[च्च] विस्मयमगाद्वाग्विश्वकर्मापि सः ।(॥)
[२१*] ⁷श्रीधर्मचक्रजि-
- 25 नशासनमन्निवहं सा जम्बुकी ⁸सकलपत्तलिवाग्रभूता । तत्ताम्रशासनवर(रं)
प्रविधाय तस्यै दत्त्वा तया शशिरवी भुवि यावदास्ताम् ॥ [२२*]
⁹धर्माशोकनराधिपस्य समये श्रीध-
- 26 म(र्म)चक्रो जिनो यादृक् तन्नयरक्षितः पुनरयश्चक्रे ततोप्यद्भुतम् । वीहारः
स्थविरस्य तस्य च तया यत्नादयङ्गारितस्तस्मिन्नेव समर्पितश्च वसतादा-
चन्द्रचण्डद्युति ॥ [२३*] ¹⁰तत्कीर्तित्य-
- 27 रिपालयिष्यति जनो यः कश्चिदुर्वीतले सा तस्याद्भियुगप्रणामपरमा यूय जिनाः
साक्षिणः । तस्याः कश्चिदनिश्चितो यदि यशोव्यालोपकारी खलः तं
पापीयसमा-
- 28 शु शासति पुनस्ते लोकपालाः क्रुधा ॥ [२४*] ¹¹एकस्तीर्थिकवादिवारणघटा-
सदृष्टकण्ठीरवः साहित्यो[ज्*]ज्वलरत्नरोहणगिरियो ह्यष्टभाषाकविः । ख्यातो
वङ्गमहीभजः ¹²

¹ Read पातु⁴ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁷ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita¹⁰ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita² Read °भुजः.⁵ Read °मवहास° °रुढलीभहरिण⁸ Metre Vasantatīlaka¹¹ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁶ Metre Mālinī.⁹ Read °पत्तलिका°.¹² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹³ Read °भुज, the final visarga has been engraved in the beginning of line 29

29 प्रणयभूः श्रीकुन्दनामा कृती तस्याः सुन्दरवर्णगुम्फरचनारम्यां प्रशस्तिं व्यधात्
॥ [२५*] ¹ एषा प्रशस्तिरुत्तीर्णा वामनेन तु शिल्पिना । राजावर्त्तस्य
सापत्न्यन्दधाने प्रस्तरोत्तमे ॥ [२६*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail Obeisance to the exalted noble Vasudhârâ

(V. 1) May Vasudhârâ protect the worlds, who abates the broad stream of unlimited misery in the manifold universe by the nectar stream of *dharmâ*, who pours out riches of wealth and gold over earth, skies and heaven, and who conquers all the misery of man in them.²

(V. 2.) Victorious be that lover of the lotuses, the flashing torch for the illumination of the world, who causes oozing of the lovely moon-gems and (brings tears into) the eyes of longing people; who opens the knot of pride in haughty damsels and also the closed lotuses; who with his nectar-filled beams revives the god of love, who was burnt to ashes by Îşvara, (who had been) smitten (by him)

(V. 3.) In his (the moon's) lineage, which enjoys a valour worthy of homage; which is resplendent with shining fame, which speedily annihilates the pride of the river of the gods by its purity; which destroys the splendour of its adversaries, was a hero, known by the name of Vallabharâja, honoured among princes, the victorious lord of broad Pithikâ, of increasing mighty prowess.

(V. 4-5.) The full moon expanding the lotuses of the Chhikkôra family, known on earth as *śrî-Dêvarakshita*, the lord of Pithî (who) surpassed even the splendour of Gajapati by his splendour, whose glory alone ravished the hearts of the world, was descended from him (Vallabharâja), as the moon from the ocean, a (veritable) Vishṇu (Vidhu), to the Lakshmi of beauty, a (veritable) moon in causing the rise of the ocean, viz. ocular pleasure (as the moon raises the ocean), a second moon, the lustre of whose light was his fame (or, a second Vishṇu with Śrî in the shape of the lustre of his fame), an incomparable treasure of goodness, a treasure of resplendent virtues, an ocean of profundity, a peerless store of religion, a store of energy, the only depository of the lore of arms,—

(V. 6) Who was the veritable celestial tree in bestowing desired objects on supplicants, who was an irresistible thunderbolt in accomplishing the splitting of the mighty mountains, viz. his haughty foes, a marvellous man, whose arm was like a sprout of a marvellous herb in healing the fever of Cupid in enamoured women, and death to kings

(V. 7.) In the Gauda country there was a peerless warrior, with his quiver,³ this incomparable diadem of *kshatriyas*, the Āṅga king Mahana, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered Dêvarakshita in war and maintained the glory of Râmapâla, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed.

(V. 8) The daughter of this Mahanadêva was like the daughter of the mountain (i.e. Pârvatî), she was married to the lord of Pithî as (Pârvatî) to Svayambhu,

(V. 9.) She was known as Śankaradêvi, full of mercy like Târâ, and she excelled the creepers of the wishing tree in her efforts to make gifts

(V. 10) To them, forsooth, was born Kumaradêvi, like a *dêvî*, lovely like the charming streak of the spotless autumnal moon, as if Târini herself, prompted by compassion, had descended to earth with a wish to free the world from the ocean of misery.

¹ Metre - Anuṣṭubh

² Mr Venkayya suggests to read *danyât-tyâjayanî*

³ The meaning of *kândapaṭaka* is uncertain. The word is usually translated 'screen.' But this meaning does not suit the context

(V 11.) After having created her, Brahmā was filled with pride at his own cleverness in applying his art, excelled by her face the moon, being ashamed, remains in the air, rises at night, becomes impure and subsequently full of spots, how can this her marvellous beauty be described by people like us ?

(V 12) She, who in a wonderful way possesses a beautiful body, which is a glittering net for entrapping female antelopes, viz. the moving eyes, and which robs the wealth of beauty of the dense waves of the playful milky ocean by her brilliant charm of lovely splendour, who does away with the infatuation of the daughter of the mountain (i.e. Pārvatī) by her proud grace

(V. 13) Her mind was set on religion alone, her desire was bent on virtues, she had undertaken to lay in a store of merit, she found a noble satisfaction in bestowing gifts, her gait was like that of an elephant, her appearance charming to the eye, she bowed down to the Buddha, and the people sang her praise, she took her stand in the play of commiseration, was the permanent abode of luck, annihilated sin, and took her pride in abundant virtue

(V 14) In the royal Gahadavāla lineage, famous in the world, was born a king, Chandra by name, a moon (*chandra*) among rulers. By the streams of tears of the wives of the kings who could not resist him, the water of the Yamuna forsooth became darker

(V. 15) The king Madanachandra, a crest jewel amongst impetuous kings, was born from him, the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valor being great and mighty, and who even lowered the glory of Maghavan by his glory

(V. 16) Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Vārānasi from the wicked Tarushka warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Gōvindhachandra.

(V. 17) Wonderful, the calfs of the celestial cows could not formerly get even drops of the milk stream to drink, on account of its continuous use for satisfying the hearts of supplicants, but after the multitude of these supplicants had been gladdened through the liberality of that king, they sat down to the feast of drinking the milk which is always plentiful and applied according to their wishes.

(V. 18) In the excellent cities of his adversaries, hunters by mistake do not pick up fallen necklaces, thinking them to be nooses for the deer in it, and hunters quickly remove the fallen gold ear-ring with sticks, the garlands in their hands shaking with fear, mistaking it for a snake on account of its large size

(V 19) The chariot of the sun was delayed because its span of horses were greedy after the mouthful of fresh, shining, thick grass on the roofs of the palaces in the towns of his uprooted foes, and also the moon became slow, because he had to protect the gazelle (in his orb), which was falling down, having become covetous after the grass

(V 20.) Kumaradēvi, forsooth, was famous with that king, like Śrī with Viṣṇu, and her praises were sung in the three worlds, and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

(V. 21) This *vihāra*, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments, was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasudhārā herself in the shape of Tārini, and even the Creator himself was taken with wonder when he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of) gods.

(V 22) Having prepared that copper-plate grant, which recorded the gift to śrī-Dharma-chakra Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her, that Jambuka was made (?) the foremost of all *pattalākās* by her (Kumaradēvi)

(V. 23) This Lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmāsōka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully, and this *vilāra* for that *sthavira* was elaborately erected by her, and might be placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (onduro).

(V. 24) If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet You Jinās shall be witnesses But if any fool robs her fame, then those *lōkapālas* will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath

(V. 25) The poet in eight *bhūshās* known as the trusted friend of the Banga-king, Śrī-Kunda by name, the learned, who was the only lion to attack the crowds of the elephant-like heretics, who was a Rōhana mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her, charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

(V. 26) This *prastā* has been engraved by the *śilpi* Vāmāna on this excellent stone which rivals the *rājāvarta* (i.e. Lapis Lazuli).

No 52 — KRISHNAPURAM PLATES OF SADASIVARAYA SAKA SAMVAT 1489

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The temple of Śrī Vēṅkatāchalapati to which this set of copper-plates belongs, is situated in the middle of Krishnapuram, a village six miles south-east of Tinnevely. The temple has some fine sculptures and a few inscriptions of later times. The copper-plates were kindly secured for us by Mr. N. Gōpālasvāmi Ayyangār, B.A., B.L., Deputy Collector, Kollāḡāl, and we now edit them from impressions prepared under our supervision.

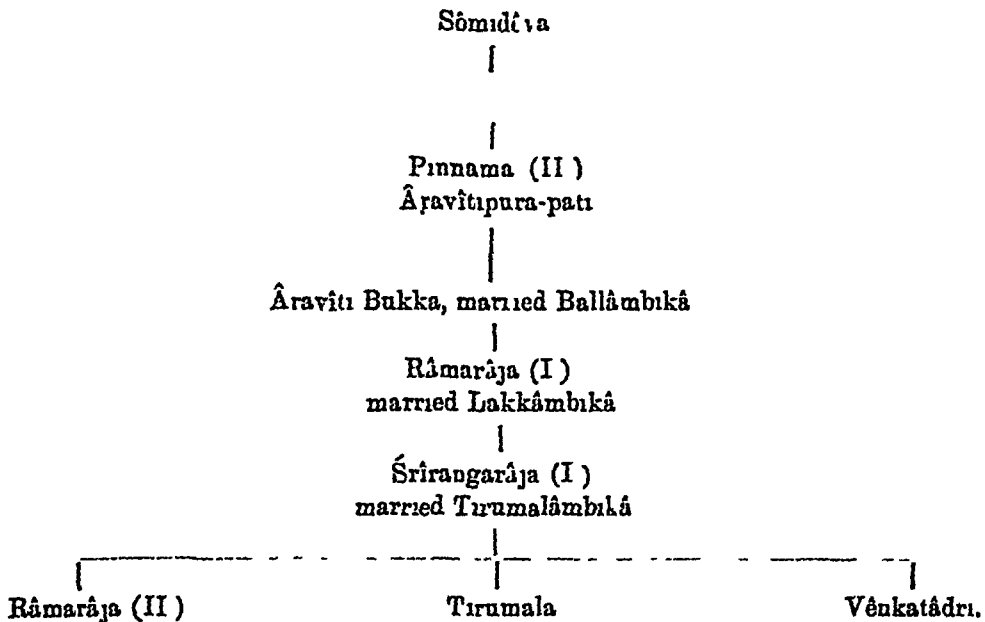
The plates are five in number, bound together by a ring, which has also a seal loosely strung to it. The upper half of the surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing boar facing the proper right, near its face is a dagger placed with its point downwards, and over it are cut out the figures of sun and moon. The lower half has a design not uncommon to the Vijayanagara seals. On the top of the first plate and immediately above the inscription is engraved the *Śrīvaiṣṇava nāmam* (of the Tēngalai sect) flanked on either side with the conch and the discus (of Viṣṇu). The plates (except the first) are numbered in Kannada-Telugu numerals engraved on the right-hand corner of the first side of each plate. The rims of the plates are raised, and the first and last plates are engraved on one side only.

The characters are Nandināgarī, and the language, excepting the obeisance to Ganapati at the beginning, is Sanskrit verse. The signature at the end is, as usual, the name of the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings, *Śrī Virūpākṣa*, and is written in the Kannada alphabet. There are a few orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The long vowel *ē* is represented by the usual sign for *ē* with a secondary *ē*-stroke on the top. This new long *ē*, as employed in our record, is the same as the vowel *ai* as written at the present day, but in the present inscription, this latter sound is represented by an ordinary short *e* with two secondary *e* symbols on it e.g. *Ālāvalipura*- occurring in line 114, *Ānākula*- in line 145, *Ēbirudarāyara*-, in line 191, and *Īkawa* in line 210. The Davidian rough *r* is represented, as in other Vijayanagara plates written in the Nandināgarī alphabet, with a secondary *r* on the top of a common *r*, e.g. *Māru*- occurring in line 94, *-Savalakkāram*- in line 141, *-pāra*- in line 146, *Śrīyā*- in line 150, and *-Āravīṭṭi*- in line 159. There are several minor errors in the inscription.

such as omissions of letters, and of the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*, wrong repetitions of the same words and phrases, etc., these are noticed in footnotes under the text. The *birudas* of the king and of the chiefs are known from other sources

The inscription belongs to the reign of Sadāśivarāya of Vidyānagarī. It records that at the request of Tirumala, who was in his turn requested by Krishnappa Nāyaka or Krishnabhūpati as he is called in the inscription, Sadāśivarāya granted a number of villages to the god Tiruvānkatanātha set up at Krishnapuram by Krishnappa Nāyaka. The first part of the inscription gives in detail the genealogy of king Sadāśiva which is identical with that given in the British Museum plates of the same king published by Prof. Kielhorn¹ and No 58 of the Nāgamangala taluk of the Mysore District, published by Mr. Rice². Herein also Sadāśivarāya is described as being installed on the throne by the chief ministers at the instance of Rāmarāja, who is here, as in the other plates,³ called his sister's husband. Later on (vv 84-95) the inscription details the pedigree of the family to which Tirumala belonged.

The genealogy begins with Nanda, who is said to have been born in the race of the moon. In his race was born Chalikka and in the latter's Bijjalēndra Sōmidēva, who captured seven forts, was born in his line. His grandson was Pinnama "lord of Āravitipura". His son was Āraviti-Bukka, whose wife was Ballāmbikā. Their son was Rāmarāja who married Lakkāmbikā. To them was born Śrīrangarāja (I) and his wife was Tirumalāmbikā. Their sons were Rāmarāja (II), Tirumala (I) and Vēṅkatādri. Tirumala is styled in the plates a Bhōja in poetry. Appended below is a genealogical tree of Tirumala's family —



We learn from the British Museum plates that Rāmarāja II, Tirumala and Vēṅkatādri belonged to the same family, from which Kondarāja of that grant was descended (see table above, Vol IV, p 4). Tirumala bears (vv 98-101) the family *birudas* of *antembavaragamda*,

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p 1

² *Ep. Carn*, Vol IV, p 219 of the Romanised text portion

³ Compare the British Museum Plate Inscription, above, Vol IV, p 3 f, No 7 of the Hassan taluk, *Ep. Carn*, Vol V, Part I, and No 186 of Chennapaṇṇa, *Ep. Carn*, Vol IX. Compare Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the meaning of "sister" in this connection

srīmandalīkaganda, *birudamañniyavibhāḷa*, *dharanīvarāḥa*, *Kalyāṇapurānātha* and *Vēṅga-tribhūṇanimalla*¹ At the time at which the present grant was made, Rāmarāja, the powerful general and minister of Sadāśiva, and his brother Vēṅkaṭāḍri had both been dead two years, they having fallen in the famous battle of Tālikōṭa on the 23rd January A.D. 1565. Tirumala, the second brother of Rāmarāja, now became the minister and commander and was the *de facto* king. In the course of the same or the beginning of the next year he was to become eventually the *de jure* king and founded the third dynasty of Vijayanagara.

Krishnappa Nāyaka, at whose request the present grant was made, is described as the grandson of Nāgama Nāyaka and the son by Nāgamā of Viśvanātha Nāyaka² He has the *birudas*, *Kāñchīpuravarādhīśvara*, *Mōḷālipaṭṭavardhana*, *Samayadrōharaganda*, *Samayaśōḷāhala*, *Aḷavāḷipuravarādhīśvara*, *Pāṇḍyahulasthūpanāchārya* and *Dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati* (vv. 49-52).

In connection with the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country by the kings of Vijayanagara, we might notice that Narasa or Narasā Nāyaka, as he is more commonly called, is said to have subjugated Mānabhūsha, the king of Mādura³ We know that Narasā Nāyaka lived about the last quarter of the 15th century⁴ and that Mānabhūsha or Aikāsaṃ Parāhrama Pāṇḍya began his reign in 1422 A.D.⁵ and ruled for at least 42 years, i.e. till about 1466 A.D.⁶ It is quite likely that this Pāṇḍya king was the one referred to as defeated by Narasā Nāyaka.

Our inscription is dated (vv. 44-45) in the Śaka year 1489, computed by the *nīdhis* (9), *vāraṇas* (8), *vēdas* (4), and *indu* (1), in the year Prabhava, on the Makara samkrānti corresponding to the new moon *tithi* of the month Pushya, on a Monday. Sadāśivarāja was then encamped on the island of Śrīrangam and made the grant in the presence of the god Ranganātha. The last known date for Sadāśivarāja is 1567 A.D.,⁷ some ten months earlier than that of our record, and hence it is likely that the king, after the disaster that befell him at Tālikōṭa two years previously, was spending his last years, Srīvaṇṇa as he was, at the sacred shrine of Śrīrangam. Of all Śrīvaiṣṇava places of pilgrimage, Śrīrangam is the most sacred, and the Tuluva kings of Vijayanagara, at least those beginning with Krishnadēvarāja, were very staunch Śrīvaiṣṇavas⁸ Achyutadēvarāja, during his expedition against the Tiruvadi kingdom, is described, in the *Achyutarāyābhīyudayam* of Rājauāthakavi, as having halted at Śrīrangam and sent the son of one Sagalarāja⁹ to conquer the Tiruvadi rājya¹⁰ Hence it might not be wrong to suppose that Sadāśivarāja ended his days in Śrīrangam, but we have not any positive proofs to support our surmise.

¹ Compare verses 144-146 of the British Museum plates, where Koṇḍarāja of this family wears similar *birudas*, above, Vol. IV, p. 21.

² Verses 58-54.

³ Verse 11. The word has been treated as an ordinary noun by Profs. Hultzsch and Kielhorn.

⁴ The Dēvulapalli plates give Ś. 1427 as a date falling in the reign of Immadi-Nṛsiṃha; hence Narasa must have lived prior to this. See also footnote 7, above, Vol. VII, p. 79. [It should be noted that Immadi Nṛsiṃha was a Śāliṇya, and not a Tuluva like Narasa — S. K.]

⁵ *Śendambal*, Vol. IV, p. 117, and above, p. 229.

⁶ *Śendambal*, Vol. IV, p. 117.

⁷ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 43-46, p. 70.

⁸ The Śāliṇya kings were the disciples of Tātāchārya. See *Prapaṇḍamṛitam*. Krishnadēva wrote *Amalātmāyada*, *Viśṇuchittiyam*, works relating to the life incidents of the Śrīvaiṣṇava saint Periyālvār and his daughter Āṇḍāl.

⁹ This Sagalarāja was the father-in-law of Achyutadēva and father of his wife Varadāmbā. See *Achyutarāyābhīyudayam*, Canto III, verse 48. The printed copy of this work reads the name as Salagarāja; see p. 77, but Mr. T. S. Kuppasāmi Śāstri reads it as Sagalarāja, and we follow him in calling the father-in-law of Achyuta, Sagalarāja.

¹⁰ See *Achyutarāyābhīyudayam*, Canto V, verse 64.

Krishnappa Nāyaka constructed a temple in the village of Krishnāpuram and built a *prākāra* round it and a tower as high as the Mandara mountain over its entrance. In front of the shrine he erected a *rangamandapa*, standing on pillars containing exquisite sculptures and decorated with rows of beautiful creepers. In this newly constructed temple he set up the image of the god Tiravēnakatanātha. He built a big car for the deity and surrounded the temple with broad streets with a view to provide an easy circuit for the car. It was for the conduct of the daily *pūjā*, for offerings, lighting, for incense, flower-garlands, etc., and for the annual celebration of the car and the floating festivals, that he requested and got from Sadāśivaiāya the villages mentioned in the grant.

Though the Nāyakas are believed to have usurped the throne of the Pāndyas, they still call themselves 'the establishers of the Pāndya dynasty'. In corroboration of the claim of the Nāyakas of Mālura to the title of *Pāndyaśūlasāhāpanāchāryas*, we see several hundreds of inscriptions belonging to the later Pāndyas, scattered over the country believed to have been ruled over by the Nāyakas, showing that they were also ruling simultaneously with the Nāyakas. One of the later Pāndyas, named Śrīvallabha, is described, in the Pudukkōttai plates of Ativirarama Pāndya,¹ as having established the Pāndya kingdom. This Śrīvallabha must have been a contemporary of Narasā Nāyaka, for he is the brother of Mānabhūsha defeated by Narasā.² How he established the Pāndya kingdom and under what circumstances, is not apparent. But we see as a matter of fact the Pāndyas ruling in a semi-independent condition over their ancestral kingdom till at least 1585 A.D., what political relationship existed between them and the Nāyakas, we do not know.

At the end of the inscription, it is mentioned that Sabhāpati Svayambhū was the composer of the *śāsana*, and Viranāchārya, son of Virana, was the engraver.

The places mentioned in the record are —

Kilavēmbu *nādu* in the Pāndya *mandalam*, Śrīvallamangalachāvari in the above *nādu*, Ardhatintrini (Arappuli?), Villamarāyan Nedungulam, Śavalakkāran kulam, Puliyangula-ōdai, Pirāyankulam, Bhūsuratātāka (Parpagulam, a corruption perhaps of Pāppānkulam), Kallikulam, Vēlamkulam Sundarapāndyan pudukkāl, Aṭṭiyāṇṭākkulam, Śrikulam, Ēryāru Peryālangulam, Kokkantāmpārai (modern Kongandāmpārai), Paṇayangu- lam, Muttūr hill; Puttanēri, Āriyakulam, Kōdikulam, Kuttukkāl, Muttūr, Rāmangulam, Ittampāttu, Śiriyālangulam, Pāttakulam, Murappunādu, Ālikudi and Śrī-Krishnapuram.

Of these Vēmba-nādu comprises the northern portions of the Native State of Travancore and of the District of Tinnevely, and in the former state there is a large backwater lake known by the name of Vēmba nādu-*kāyal* indicating the ancient name of the country where it is situated. We find the following names in the list of villages belonging to the Tinnevely tāluka of the same district and situated near Krishnāpuram — Pirāyānkulam, Pāppānkulam,³ Vēlamkulam, Sundarapāndyan kāl, Kongandāmpārai, Panayānkulam, Muttūr, Āriyakulam, Murappanādu, and Krishnāpuram. The other places we are unable to identify.

TEXT 4

First Plate.

1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमस्तुंगशिरशुर्विचंद्रचामर-

2 चारवे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तभाय शमवे ।(॥) [१*] हरेर्लीलाव-

¹ Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1906, p. 72

² [The Pudukkōttai grant mentions Mānābharana as the brother of Śrīvallabha, and, besides, Mānakavacha, whom Mr Venkayya identifies with Arikēśarin Parākrama Pāndya. The identification of Mānabhūsha with any of these two is far from being certain —S. K.]

³ It now goes popularly by the name Pāppānkulam. This name means "the Brāhman's tank," and it has been translated into Sanskrit in the record.

From inked impressions prepared by Mr T. A. Gopnatha Rao

- 3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस्य पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्र(त्र)ग्रि-
 4 यं दधौ ।(II)[२*] कल्याणायस्तु तद्वाम प्रत्यूहतिमिरापहं । यद्गजोप्य-
 5 गजोद्भूतं हरिणापि च पूज्यते ।(II)[३*] अस्ति चीरमयादेवैर्मध्यमाना-
 6 न्महाबुधेः । नवनीतमिवोद्भूतमपनीततमो महः ।(II)[४*] तस्यामीत्त-
 7 'नुयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्धनामा बुधः पुण्येरस्य पुरुरवा भुजव-
 8 [ले]रायर्द्धिषां 'निघ्नतः । तस्यायुर्नहुपोस्य तस्य परुषो युक्ते यया-
 9 ति[*] चितौ । ख्यातस्तस्य तु तुर्वसुर्वसुनिभः श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ।(II)[५*] तदंगे
 10 देवकीजानिर्हिदीपे तिमभूपतिः । यशस्वी तुर्वद्रेपु यदोः क्षण
 11 इवान्वये ।(II)[६*] ततोभूद्भुक्कमाजानिरोश्वरचितिपालकः । अत्रासमगु-
 12 णभ्रंशं मौळिरत्नं महीभुजां [II७*] सरसादुदभूतमन्नरसावनिपा-
 13 लकः । देवकीनंदनात्कामो देवकीनंदनादिव ।(II)[८*] विविधसुकृ-
 14 तोहामे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे 'मुहुर्मदितहृदय स्थाने स्थाने व्यधत्त य-
 15 थाविधि [I*] बुधपरिवृतो नानादानानि' यो भुवि षोडश त्रिभुवनज-
 16 नोद्गीतं स्कीतं यशः पुनरुक्तय [II९*] 'क्वावेरीमाशु बध्वा(डा) यहळजल-
 17 रयां तां विलंघ्यैव शत्रुं जीवयाहं गृहीत्वा समिति भुजबला-
 18 तंचराज्यं तदीय [I*] कृत्वा श्रीरंगपूर्वं तदपि निजवशे पट्टणं
 19 यो बभासे (I) कीर्त्तिस्तुभं निखाय त्रिभुवनभवनस्तूयमानापदा-
 20 नः ।(II)[१०*] चेरं चोळं च पांड्यं तमपि च मधुरावत्तम मानभूष वीर्यो-
 21 दय तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपति चापि जित्वा तदान्यान् । आगं-
 22 गातीरलंकाप्रथमचरमभूत्तटांतं नितांतं ख्यातः क्षोणी-
 23 पतीनां स्रजमिव शिरसां शम्भनं यो व्यतानीत् ।(II)[११*] तिप्पाजीना-
 24 गलादेव्योः कौसल्याश्रीसुमित्रयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहेद्रात्तस्मा-
 25 त्पंडिरथादिव^१ ।(II) [१२*] वीरौ^२ विनयो^३ नाम[म]लक्षणाविव नादनी^४
 26 जातौ वीरनृसिंहेद्रक्षणायायमहीपती ।(II) [१३*] रंगक्षितींद्राच्युतदे-
 27 वरायौ रक्षाधुरीणाविव नंदसौ^५ । श्रीबांबिकायां नरसच्चि-

Second Plate ; First Side

- 28 तींद्रादुभावभूतान्मुरगेन्द्रसारौ^{१०} ।(II)[१४*] वीरश्रीनारसिंहस्य
 29 विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नीत्या निरस्यन्नुग-

^१ Read °नय °

^२ नि^{१२} corrected from ति.

^३ Read °पति°.

^४ Read with the British Museum plates रामक्षणी

^५ The British Museum plates read °भूताम् रगेन्द्र°

[I would suggest °तामुरगेन्द्र°.—S. K.]

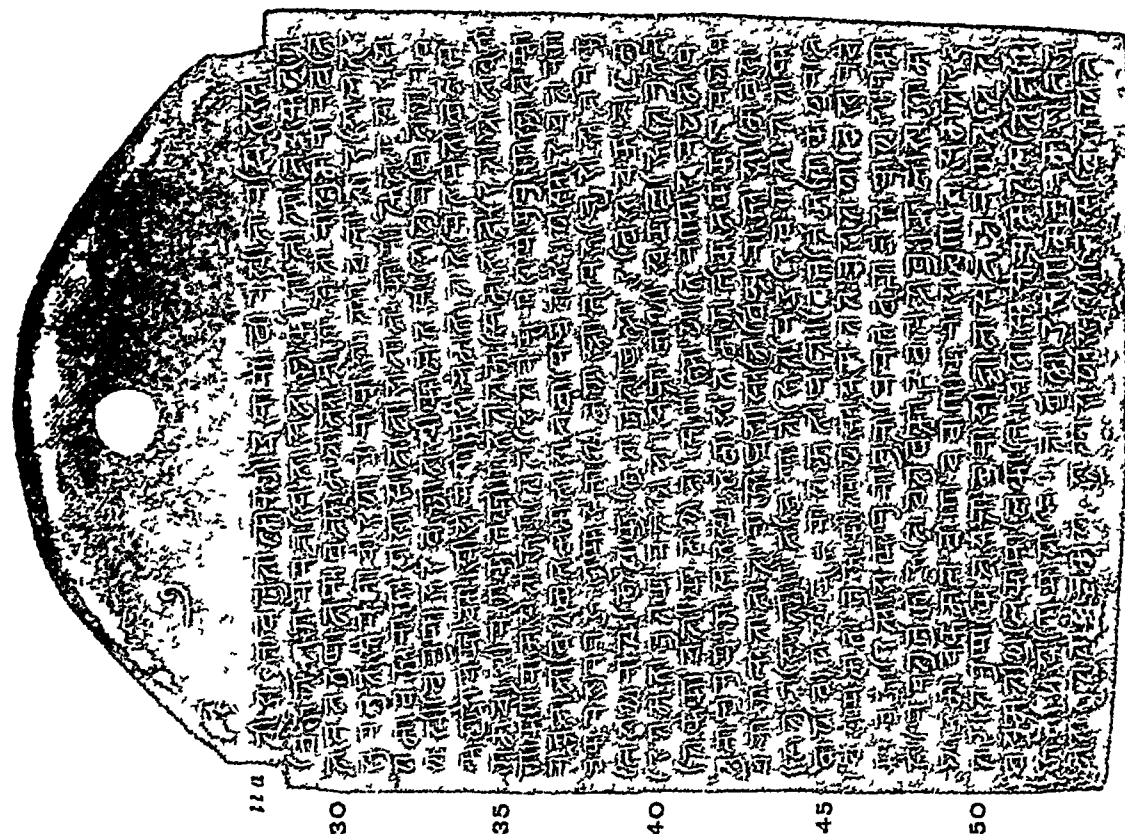
^२ Read °रायर्द्धिषां

^३ इ looks like तु.

^४ Read न् in the conjunct consonant क्वा, with the previous य.

^५ Read विनयिनी रामलक्षणाविव°.

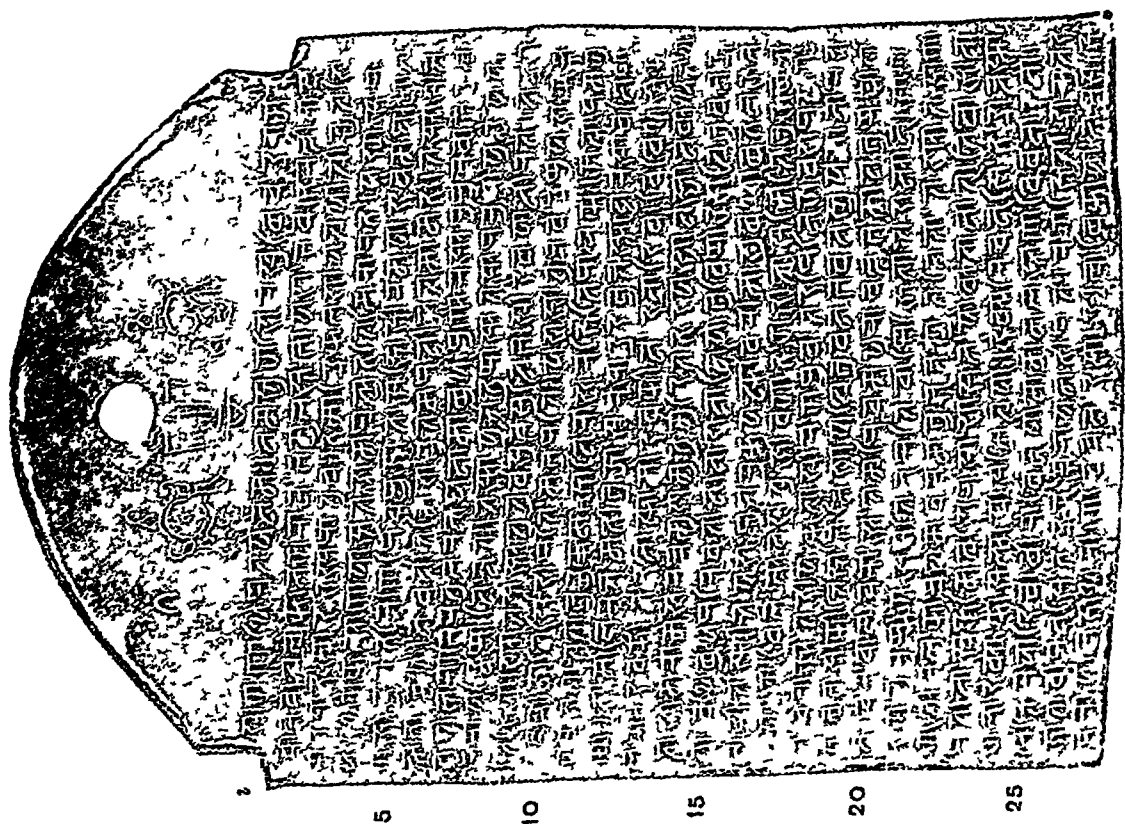
^६ Read नदनी.



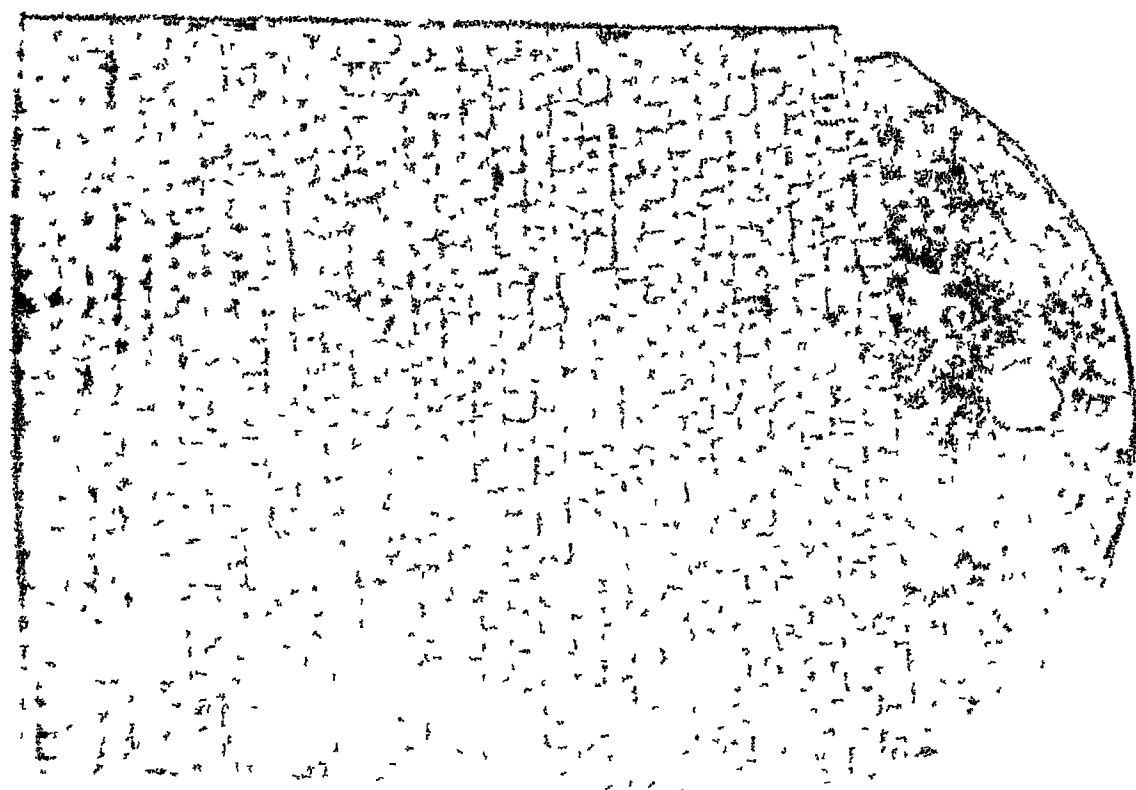
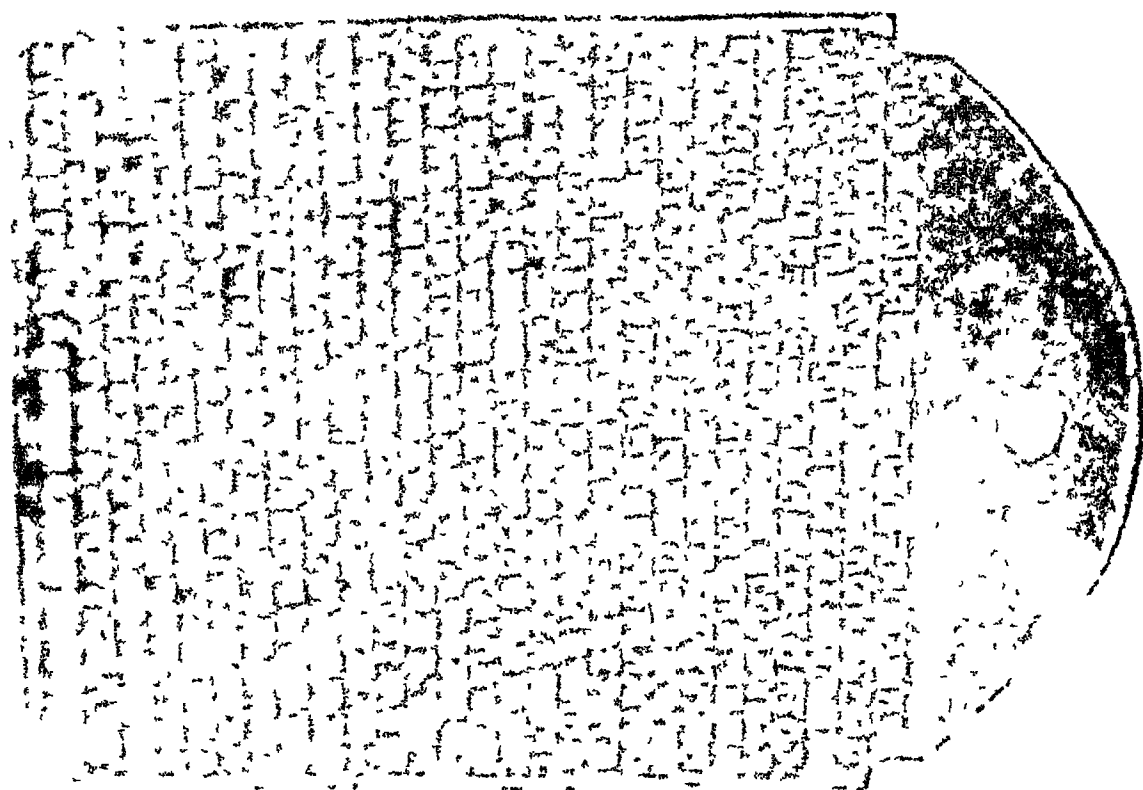
W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

HALF SIZE

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T A GOPINATHA RAO M A



STEN KONOW



- 30 नकनहुषानप्यवन्यामथान्यान् । आ सेतीरा सुमेरीरवनि-
 31 सुरनुतः खैरमा चोदयाद्रे (I) रा ¹[पा]श्वात्वाचलांतादखिलहृद-
 32 यमावर्ज्यं राज्यं शशास ॥(II)[१५*] नानादानान्यकार्षीत्किनकसदसि
 33 यः श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकाकहस्तीशितुरपि नगरे वै-
 34 कटाद्रौ च काच्यां । श्रीशैले शोणशैले² महति हरिहरेहोवळे स-
 35 गमे च (I) श्रीरगे कुंभकीणे हततमसि महानंदितोर्थे निवृत्तौ ॥१६*]
 36 गोकर्णे रामसेतौ जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्यस्थानेष्व-
 37 रत्ननानाविधवह्ममहादानवारिप्रवाहैः । यस्योदचत्तुरंग-
 38 प्रकरखुररजशुभदभोधिमग्नक्ष्माभृत्यक्षच्छिदोद्यत्तर(त्तर)कु-
 39 लिशधरोत्कठिता कुंठिताभूत् ॥(II)[१७*] ब्रह्माड विश्वचक्र घटमु-
 40 दितमहाभूतकं रत्नधेनु (I) सप्तावोधी³ कल्पक्षितिरुहल-
 41 तिके काचनीं कामधेनु । स्वर्णक्ष्मां यो हिरण्याश्वरथमपि
 42 तुलापूरुषं गोसहस्र (I) हेमाश्वं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं प-
 43 चलांगव्यतानीत् ॥(II) [१८*] प्राज्यं प्रशास्य निर्विघ्नं राज्यं द्यामिव शा-
 44 सितुं [१*] तस्मिन्गुणेन विख्याते क्षितेरिद्रे दिव गते ॥(II)[१९*] ततोप्य-
 45 वार्यवोर्य[१*] श्रीकृष्णरायमहोपतिः । विभर्त्ति मणिकेयूरनि-
 46 र्विशेषं महीं भुजे ॥(II)[२०*] कीर्त्या यस्य समततः प्रगृतया⁴ विश्वं रुचै-
 47 क्य ब्रजे(I)दित्याशंक्य पुरा पुरारिरभवद्भाळेक्ष[१*] प्रायशः [१*] पद्मा-
 48 क्षोपि चतुर्भुजोऽजनि चतुर्वक्त्रोद्भवत्पद्मभू⁵ (I) काळी खड्गम-
 49 श्याद्रमा च कमल वीणां च वाणी करे ॥(II)[२१*] शत्रूणां वासमेते दद-
 50 त इति स्था किं ⁶न् ⁷सप्तांबुरासेन्नानासेनात्तरगतृटित-¹⁰
 51 वसुमतीधूक्किपाक्किभिः । सशोष्य¹¹ खैरमेतत्पतिनिधि-¹²
 52 जलधिश्चेष्टिका यो विधत्ते (I) ब्रह्मांडस्वर्णमेरुप्रमुखनिज-
 53 महादानतोदैरमेये¹³ ॥(II)[२२*] स्तुत्यौदार्यसुधीभिस्त विजयन-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 54 गरे रत्नमिंहासनस्थः क्ष्मापालान्कृष्णरायक्षितिपतिरध-
 55 रीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादोन् । आ पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तक्षितिधरकटकादा
 56 च हेमाचलांतादा सेतीरर्थिसार्थत्रियमिह बह्वक्कोक्त्य कीर्त्या

पा looks like प्रा

Read प्रसत⁹

⁷ Read °घादसा

Read °बुरगदुटित¹⁰

°दा¹¹ looks like °च.

² श is corrected from ल

³ The व of प्रव looks like च

Read व instead of न

¹¹ Read सशोष्य

⁵ Read °भीषी⁹

⁶ Read भ instead of ह

⁹ Read °शी¹⁰ instead of °सौ¹¹

¹² Read °त्यति¹³

- 57 वभासे ॥॥[२३*] कृतवति सुरलोकं कृष्णराये निजाशं तदनु तदनुज-
 58 न्ना पुण्यकर्माच्युतेन्द्रः । अखिलमवनिलोक स्वांशमेत्यारिजेता
 59 वि[ल]सति हरिचेता विद्वदिष्टप्रदाता ॥॥[२४*] अभोदेन निपीयमान-
 60 सलिलोगस्त्येन पीतोभित्तस्तप्तो^१ राघवसायकाग्निशिखया सं-
 61 तप्यमानः सदा । अंतस्थैर्वडवा(वा)मुखानलशिखाजालैर्विशुष्को
 62 [ध्रु]वं (॥) यद्दानांबुधनांबुरंबुधिरयं पूर्णः समुद्योतते^२ ॥॥[२५*] समज-
 63 नि नरपालस्त्यधर्मप्रतिष्ठो विजयनगरराजद्रुसिंहा-
 64 सनस्थः [१*] नृगनऊनहुषादीन्नीचयन्नाजनीत्या^३ निरुपमभुज-
 65 वीर्यौदार्यभूरच्युतेन्द्रः ॥॥[२६*] क्षितिप्रतिष्ठापितकीर्तिदेहे प्राप्ते पदं
 66 वैष्णवमच्युतेन्द्रे । अध्यास्य भद्रासनमस्य सूनुवीरो बभौ वेंकट-
 67 देवरायः ॥॥[२७*] प्रशास्य राज्य प्रशवास्त्ररूपे^४ विद्वन्निधौ वेंकटरा-
 68 यभूषे [१*] अभागधेयादचिरात्प्रजानामाखडलावासमथाधिरू-
 69 ढे ॥॥[२८*] तिमांबावरगर्भमौक्तिकमणो रगच्छितींद्रात्मजः क्षत्राल-
 70 करणेन पालितमहाकर्णाटराज्यश्रिया । शौर्यौदार्यदयावता
 71 स्वभगिनोभर्त्ता जग[त्ता]यिना^५ (॥) रामक्ष्मापतिनाप्यमात्यतिलकैः
 72 क्लृप्ताभिषेकक्रमः ॥॥[२९*] श्रीविद्यानगरीललामनि महासाम्राज्यसिं-
 73 हासने (॥) संतानदु[रि]व स्फुरन्सुरगिरौ संहृत्य [वि*]वेदिणः^६ । आ से-
 74 तोरपि चाहिमाद्रि रचयन्नाज्ञो निजाज्ञाकराम्भवा^७ पालय-
 75 ते सदाशिवमहारायश्चिराय क्षमां ॥॥[३०*] विख्यातविक्रांतिन-
 76 यस्य यस्य पट्टाभिषेके नियतं प्रजानां । आनदवाण्पैरभिशि-^७
 77 च्यमाना देवीपदं दर्शयते धरित्री ॥॥[३१*] गोत्रोद्धारविशारदं कुव-
 78 लयापीडापहारोद्भुरं सत्यायत्तमतिं समस्तसुम[न*]स्तीमावनै-
 79 कायनं । संजातस्मृतिभूरुचिं सविजयं संनदकश्रीभर^८ (॥) यं
 80 शंसति यशोदयांचितगुणं कृष्णावतारं बुधाः ॥॥[३२*] विख्यातं बहु-

Third Plate, First Side

- 81 भोगशृंगविभवैरुद्दामदानोद्भुरं धर्मेण स्मृतिमाचतो-
 82 पि भुवने दत्तं प्रजारक्षणे । प्राप्तां यस्य भुजं भुजंगमहिभृ-
 83 द्विदंतिकूर्मोपमं (॥) पातिव्रत्यपताकिकेति धरणी^९ जानंतु स-
 84 र्वं जनाः ॥॥[३३*] यत्सेनाधूकिपाकी शकमशकसमुच्चाटने धूमरेखा

^१ Read °विभो° instead of °विं°.

^२ Read प्रस^७.

^३ Read °निपिच्य°.

^४ Read समुद्यो^८.

^५ Read °तायिणा°.

^६ Read सन्न^८.

^७ नी is corrected from त्य

^८ Read विवेदिणः.

^९ Read धरणी.

- 85 रोमाक्री कीर्तिवध्वा इव भुवनमिदं सर्वमतवेहत्याः । [वि]-
 86 णी नाणीयसीव प्रकटितविह्वतेर्वीरलक्ष्या रणाग्रे (।) शां-
 87 त्ये जीमूतपर्द्धिः¹ किल ²शकलखलस्तोमदावानलानां [॥३४*] तुंगा-
 88 मेव दया पदावुजयुग शोण च क्षणा तनुं रक्ता(क्ता) नीलशिता³
 89 त्रिवेणिसनवां वोक्षा गिर नर्मदां [।⁴] तीक्ष्णानीति⁴ [स]मावहृत्य-⁵
 90 वयवैः शेषाद्विवासी विभुः प्रायो यस्य विशेषभक्तिमुदितः
 91 पट्टाभिषेकश्रिये ।(॥)[३५*] ⁶वोपधिपत्युपमायितगडस्तोषणरूप-
 92 जितासमकांडः [।⁷] ⁸भाषगेतपुवरायरगडः पोषणनिर्भरभू-
 93 नवखडः ।(॥)[३६*] राजाधिराजविरुदो राजराजसमांहतिः । खा-
 94 राजराजमानश्री[.°] श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः ।(॥)[३७*] मूर्खरायरगडांको
 95 मेरुलघियशोभरः । शरणागतमदारः ⁹पर[रा]जभयकरः ।(॥)[३८*]
 96 करदाखिलभूपालः परदारसहोदरः । ह्रिदुरायसुरक्षान्ति-
 97 धुराजगभीरधि⁹ ।(॥)[३९*] विष्टपत्रयविख्यातो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः ।
 98 श्रीभगंडमेरुंडो हरिभक्तिसुधानिधिः ।(॥)[४०*] वर्धमानापदानश्री-
 99 रङ्गनारीनटेश्वरः । इत्यादिवरुदैर्वदितत्वा¹⁰ नित्यमभिष्टुतः ।(॥)[४१*]
 100 ¹¹कांभोजभोजकाकिंगकरहाटादिपार्थिवैः¹² । सौविदक्षपदं प्रा-
 101 स्मिन्मदशितनृपोपट् ।(॥)[४२*] सोयं नोतिविशारदः सुरतरुस्फूर्जाल-¹³
 102 विद्याणनस्सर्वोर्वीशनतस्सदाशिवमहारायक्षमानायकः ।
 103 बाह्यावगदनिर्विशेषमखिलां सर्वसहसुहृद्वन्विदक्षानप-
 104 रायणो विजयते वीरप्रतापोन्नतः ॥ [४३*] निधिवारणवेदैदुग-
 105 णिते शकवत्सरे । प्रभवे वत्स[रे°] मासि पौषे मकरसप्तमे ।(॥)[४४*]
 कृष्णपक्षे च पु-
- 106 ख्यायाममायां सोमवासरे । कावेर्याः पावने¹⁴ तीरे रगनाथस्य
 107 सनिधौ ।(॥)[४५*] काश्यपान्वयरत्नेन शश्वतातुलकीर्तिना । शश्वदाराध-
 108 नाह्वष्टविखनायार्पितश्रिया ।(॥)[४६*] धर्ममर्मविदा चाणकर्मठेन मनीषि-
 109 णा । दुर्मदारिमहा(ही)पालशर्मदारिभुजौजसा ।(॥)[४७*] सत्यादृतांतरं-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 110 गेण सत्कृत्याय्यशोभिना । सहितेनाधिक भूत्या सर्व-
 111 जग(गु)णशालिना ।(॥)[४८*] श्रीमत्कांचीपुरवराधीश्वरांकोपशो-

¹ Read °पक्ति .

⁴ Read तीर्था°

⁷ Read भाषगे°

⁹ इष्टदशशिखामणि in the British Museum plates

¹¹ Read काबीज°

¹⁴ Originally पावनी was written.

² Read सकल°

⁵ स is corrected from perhaps न

⁸ °रा° is corrected from another letter

¹² Read °पार्थि°

³ Read °सिता

⁶ Read श्रीपधि°

¹⁰ Read °विरुदै°.

¹³ Read °ख°.

- 112 भिना । भोकालिपट्टध्वनविख्यातविरुद्विता ।(॥)[४८*] समयट्टोह-
 113 रगंडव्यातिना मनुनीतिना । प्रख्यातसमयकोलाहलचिह्नेन
 114 भास्वता ।(॥)[५०*] ऐलावकीपुरवराधीश्वरांकेन धीमता । मा[द्या]ति-
 115 रुवटिच्छापसप्तांगहरणीजसा ।(॥)[५१*] यशस्विना^१ पाद्यकुलस्था-^२
 116 पनाचार्यकीर्त्तिना । मानोन(न्येन) दक्षिणमहासमुद्राधीश्वरेण च ।(॥)[५२*]
 117 नागमच्छापपौत्रेण नळनाभागकीर्त्तिना । श्रीविश्वनाथभूपा-
 118 लसिंधुशीतकभानुना ।(॥)[५३*] सुशीलनागमागर्भशुक्तिमुक्ताफलात्म-
 119 ना । कृष्णभूपतिना पुण्यकीर्त्तिना करु[णा*]न्विना ।(॥)[५४*] परितः प्रण-
 वाकारप्र-
 120 कारवलयांचित । कमनीयशिलास्तंभकदंभोत्तंबितांवर^३ ।(॥)[५५*] विश-
 121 कटविटकाकीविराजद्रंगमंष्टपं । विधाय विपुलोत्तुंगगोपु-
 122 रं देवमंदिरं ।(॥)[५६*] विशालां रथवती^४ च स्यंदनं मंदरोपमं । तत्र प्रति-
 123 ष्ठातार्यश्रीतारकब्रंक्षरूपिणे^५ ।(॥) [५७*] करुणारचकलोलवरुणालयचक्षु-
 124 से(त्रे) । शरण्यागतगी[र्वा]णभरणाधीनचेतसे ।(॥) [५८*] कालचक्रघटीयंत्रक-
 125 ल्यनाशिल्यकारिणे । कैवल्यकल्पलतिकाकंदक्रीपपन्नकीर्त्तये ।(॥) [५९*] कौस्तुभा-
 126 रुणपायोजपा[श्च] लीनाक्रिमोलया^६ । वनमालिकया चारुवक्षसे हतर-
 127 क्षसे ।(॥)[६०*] इंदिराया 'जगन्मातुर्मंदिरायितवक्षसे ।^७ च्छंदसामादिकंदाय
 128 चंपकद्युतिवासरे(से) ।(॥)[६१*] शरण्याय वतामिंदुतरण्याकरचक्षुसे^८ । हिरण्या-
 129 सुरसंघत्रे^९ धरण्या गृहमेधिने ।(॥)[६२*] ^{११}कशादिविवुधारातिहिंसाविधपटी-
 130 यसे । संसारसागरौर्वाय पुंसामानमतां सतां ।(॥)[६३*] नवनीतमुग्धे^{१२} नंदर-
 131 मणीशिचणीयतां । अभिनीतवते शश्वदपनीतनतार्तये ।(॥)[६४*] निरलो-
 कवचो-
 132 मूलसुरकीमधुरारवै । तरकीकुर्वते गोपीस्मरलीलापराङ्मुखीः^{१३} ।(॥)[६५*] अ-
 133 ^{१४}श्मिन्कृष्णापुरे पूर्णसा(सां)निष्ठ ससुपेयुषे । तिरुवेंकटनाथाय विष्णवे प्रभ-
 134 विष्णवे ।(॥)[६६*] धूपदीपसुधाहारनानापूपनिवेदनैः^{१५} । नानापुष्पोपहारैश्च नै-
 135 कदीपप्रदीपनैः ।(॥)[६७*] नृत्तगीतमहावाद्यच्छत्र(त्र)चामरवैभवैः । नित्यनैमि-
 त्तिका-

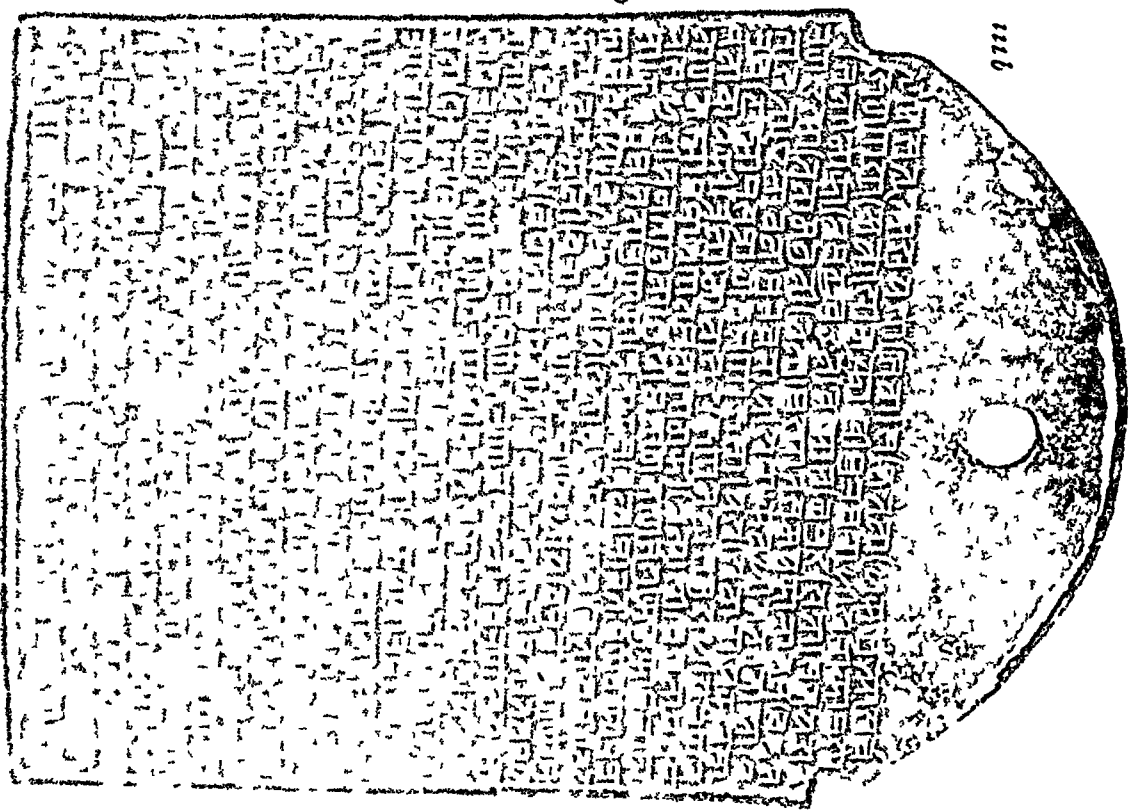
^१ Read यशस्वि°.^२ Read °वीथी°.^३ Read °मंदिरा°.^४ Read °चक्षुषे°.^५ Read °हृत्त्रे°.^६ R and गोपीस्मर°.^७ Read पाद्य°.^८ Read °ष्ठित° and °ब्रह्म°.^९ Read छंदसा°.^{१०} Read °कदयो°.^{११} Read °मासया°.Could it be that the passage should be read as शरण्याय सतामिंदुतरण्याकरचक्षुषे^८^{१२} Read कसादि°.^{१३} Read °मुग्धे°.^{१४} Read अस्मि°.^{१५} The second ना looks like न् .

111b

110

115

120

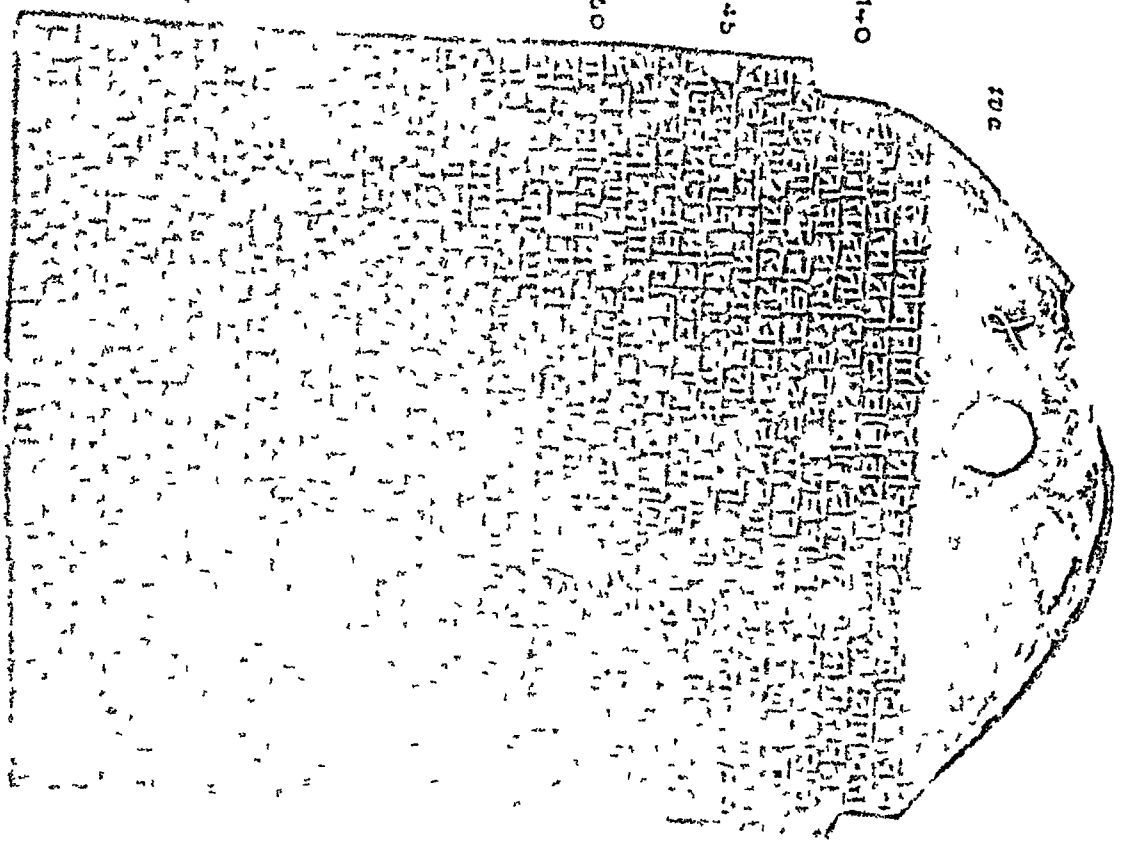


10c

1-0

1-5

1-0



- 136 नंतपूजां कर्तुं विशेषतः ।(॥)[६८*] प्रतिवर्षं समारम्भरथोत्सवसमृद्धये^१ । श्रीस-
 137 प्लवोत्सवायापि रम्ययात्रोत्सवाय च ।(॥)[६९*] श्रीकीर्त्तवैप्र(पु)नाडौ च प्रख्यातं प[१]-

Fourth Plate , First Side

- 138 छामंडले । तां(ता)मपणीनदीतीरे पावने वासमाश्रितं ।(॥)[७०*] श्रीव-
 139 ल्लमंगलख्यातचावटावपि विश्रुतं । ख्यातार्द्धतित्रिणीवृक्षा-
 140 दिमार्गेशान्यतां श्रितं ।(॥)[७१*] धर्माद्विल्लमरायस्य ख्यातादपि नेडु-
 141 कुलात् । प्राच्यं श्रीशिवकृष्णार्कुकसीमांचलादपि ।(॥) [७२*] पुळि-
 142 यंकुळोडैकुलपिरायन्कुलतोपि च । भूसुरतटागसीमांच-
 143 लानाग्नेयता^२ श्रित ।(॥)[७३*] श्रीमत्कळिकुक्कुरामसीमातादपि दक्षि[णं] [१*]
 144 श्रीवेलकुक्कुल्याया नैरुतीं दिशमाश्रित ।(॥)[७४*] सुदरश्रीपांड्य[पूतु]-
 145 कुल्यायाश्चापि पश्चिमं । ऐनाकुक्कसीमांताद्वायवीमाश्रितं दिशं ।(॥) [७५*]
 146 श्रीकुक्कैर्यारुपेर्यालकुक्कसीमांचलोत्तरं । कोळतांपारंपनयंकु-
 147 क्योरुभयोरपि ।(॥)[७६*] अपि सुत्तुर्मलाभिख्यागिरेरीशान्यतां श्रितं । पु-
 148 त्तनेरिग्रामकेण ख्यातारियकुक्केन च ।(॥)[७७*] कोटिकुक्कुरामकेण कुत्तु-
 149 क्कुरामकेण च । सुत्तूरुग्रामकोपि^३ श्रीमद्रामकुक्केन च ।(॥)[७८] ईत्तपाट्टु-
 150 ग्रामकेण शिरियालंकुक्केन च । युक्तं पाटैकुलेनापि संयुत सस्य-
 151 शोभितं ।(॥)[७९*] सुरप्पुनाडाक्किटिभूत्रयोदशमान्वितं । श्रीकृष्णापुर-
 152 नामानं प्रख्यातं ग्राममुत्तमं ।(॥)[८०*] सर्वमा(नांचतु.स्त्रीमा)न्य चतुःस्त्री(सी)-
 153 मासंयुतं च समंततः । निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाद्वजलान्वि-
 154 तं ।(॥)[८१*] अक्षिण्यागामिसयुक्त^४ देवभोग्य सभूरुहं । वापीकूपतटा-
 155 कैश्च करच्छारामैश्च सयुतं^५ ।(॥)[८२*] अनेन वैकटेशेन भोग्यमाचद्रता-
 156 रकं । दानाधमनविक्रीतियोग्यं विनिमयोचितं ।(॥)[८३*] श्रोतांशो-
 157 र्वशरत्नं समजनि नृपतिर्नदनामाथ जज्ञे तत्सतत्यां चलिक्क-
 158 च्चितिपतिरभवतत्कुले^६ विज्जलेंद्रः । तदश^७ सोमिदेवोलम-
 159 क्तत विमतासप्तदुर्गाणि हृत्वा पौत्रस्तस्यार्वीटीपुरपतिरुदभू-
 160 त्पिनमच्चोच्चिपालः^{१०} ।(॥) [८४*] भूकल्पशाखी प्रति(थि)तारवोटिवुक्कक्षमापो-
 161 भवदस्य सनुः । वल्लाविका तस्य वभूव पत्नी पुरदरस्यैव पुलोमकं^{११}

^१ Read °समृद्धये

^२ Read °दाग्नेय°

^३ The metre demands one more letter in this foot and hence we propose to read the name of this village as ऐ[य०]नाकुळ. [I would prefer to scan *Ayina*.—S K]

Read °मिष्य°

^४ Read °ग्रामकेषापि °

^५ Read °सयुक्त

^६ Read °कच्छारामैश्च सयुत.

^७ Read °भवत्तरकुले

^८ Read तदश

^{१०} Read °चोपि°.

^{११} Read °कन्या

- 162 न्या ॥(॥) [८५*] अस्मादशेषभुवनावनवारिजाक्षाश्चृष्टं(च्छृष्टं)गारराजवदजाय-
 163 त रामराजः । लक्ष्मीसमानचरिता ललनामतस्त्री लक्षांबिका रति-
 164 रिवाजनि तस्य देवी ॥(॥)[८६*] ¹तस्याधिकैसमभवत्तनयस्तपोभिः² श्रीरंगराज-
 165 ³नृपतिशशिवंशदीपः । आसञ्जलत्सु भुजधामसु यस्य चित्रं नेत्राणि वै-
 166 रिसुद्रुसां⁴ च निरञ्जनानि ॥(॥)[८७*] सतीं तिरुमलांबिका(कां) चरितलीलयारु-
 167 धतीप्रथामपि तितिचया वसुमतीयशो रुंधतीं । हिमांशुरिव
 168 रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं सद्गुणैरमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवाप्य
 169 वीराग्रणीः ॥(॥)[८८*] स्वैरं सुदृग्भरणजातस्त्विसुवृत्त⁵ स्वालोकदूरिततमा-
 170 स्तनयस्तदीयः । अत्रासवृत्तिरवदातगुणानुवर्त्तो आ(श्री)रामराज-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 171 नरपालमणिर्विरेजे⁶ ॥(॥)[८९*] यस्मिन् प्रशासति महीं जदे[वै]-⁷
 172 कवीरे भंगो नदीषु पतगेषु च पक्षपातः । वस्त्रेषु पक्षव-
 173 रुचिर्वनितारतेषु नीवीविमोचनमभून्नियतं प्रजानां ॥(॥)[९०*] स-
 174 त्यानुरक्तेरिदरावहेस्मिन् संनके⁸ संभृतसर्वलोके । (श्रीरा)
 175 श्रीरामराजे अतिसत्वसौर्ये⁹ शौरेः पदं शाश्वतमभ्युपेते ॥(॥)[९१*] त-
 176 दनु भुवमशेषां पालयन्ब्राजनीत्या तपनतनयजेता दा-
 177 नरीत्या महत्या । भरतमहितभूमा भाति तस्यानुजन्मा व-
 178 रतिरुमलराजसाहितीभोजराजः¹⁰ ॥(॥)[९२*] स्वैरं ¹¹सहृत्तकंठकी-
 179 थ सुकृतोत्कृष्टं विधायाखिलं भूकेदारसुदारदानसलिलो-¹²
 180 सारैस्समापूर्य च । संवद्धानघ(कीर्त्ति)कीर्त्तिसस्यनिवहं
 181 तत्पालिकां विक्रमश्रीकांतां भुजकायमानसिखरे¹³ धत्ते
 182 हि यस्तेजसा ॥(॥)[९३*] यस्यानुजन्मा विजयैकनर्मा रामाभिराम[७]-
 183 तुलबाहुधामा । वीरो विरेजे¹⁴ भुवि वैकटाद्रिराजः अत्रि-
 184 या निर्जितराजराजः ॥(॥)[९४*] धर्ममर्मविधस्तस्य¹⁵ धरणीक-
 185 ल्यशाखिनः । सोमवशावतंसस्य स्वाधीननयसंपदः ॥(॥)[९५*] श्री-
 186 विश्वनाथभूपालचिरपुण्यफलात्मना । कृष्णभूपतिनाने-
 187 न कृ[पा]कूपारचक्षुषा¹⁶ ॥(॥)[९६*] विज्ञापितस्य विनयाद्धिमतक्षांत-¹

¹ Read °समभव°.

² Read °सुवृत्त°.

³ Read जगदेक°.

⁴ Read °साहिती°.

⁵ Read °शिखरे

⁶ पा is corrected from शा.

⁷ Read °नृपतिशशि°

⁸ The letters विरे are engraved over an orasuro

⁹ A mistake for सपन्न के

¹⁰ Read सद्यत°.

¹¹ Read विरेजे.

¹² Read °धृति°.

¹³ Read °सुदृशां

¹⁴ Read °सर्व शौर्ये.

¹⁵ Read °सलिषा°.

¹⁶ Read °विदस्य.

- 188 भास्वतः । प्राज्यकर्णाठराज्यश्रीस्थापनाचार्यविश्रुतेः ।(॥)[८७*] आ-
 189 चेत्यगोत्रपाथोजमात्ताडस्य मनस्विनः । अतेंववरगंड-
 190 स्य ^१सिध्वंतक्षितिरक्षिणः ।(॥)[८८*] ^२वणितेयशेसो नानावर्णश्रीमंड-
 191 लीकगंडस्य । ऐ(ए)विरुदरायराहुतवेस्यै^३कभुजंगविरुदभ-
 192 रितस्य ।(॥)[८९*] ^४विष्ठा[त]विरुदमनियविभाकलीलस्य विजय-
 193 शीलस्य । विश्वंभराभृतिस्फुटविश्रुतधरणीवराहवि-^५
 194 रुदस्य ।(॥)[९०*] कल्याणपुरनाथस्य शल्यारिसमतेजसः । वेंगचि-
 195 भुवनीमल्ललिगस्त्रिरयशोनिधेः ।(॥)[९१*] श्रीमत्तिरुमलक्ष्मापशे-
 196 खरस्य दयांबुधेः । विन[यी*]दार्प्यशीलस्य विन्नमिसनुपालयन् ।(॥)[९२*]

Fifth Plate.

- 197 परीतः प्रयतै[ः*] स्त्रिगडैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधै-
 198 विंबुधैः शशी(श्री)तपथिकैरथि(धि)कैर्गिरा ।(॥)[९३*] सदाशिवमहारा-
 199 यो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-
 200 न्सुदा ।(॥)[९४*]
 201 सरससदाशिवरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्त्तिधुर्यस्य [।*] शास-
 202 नमिद ^६‘सरासनदामरधेरमितहेमदानरतेः’ ।(॥)[९५*] मृदुपदमिति
 203 तांम्ब(ताम्ब)शासनार्थं महितसदाशिवरायशासनेन । अभणदनु-
 204 गुण वचोमहिम्ना सरसतरेण सभापतिस्त्रयभूः ।(॥)[९६*] सदाशिवमहा-
 205 रायशासनादीरणात्मजः । त्वष्टा श्रीवीरणाचार्यो व्यलिखतां-^७
 206 स्रशामनं (॥)[९७*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छे]योनुपालनं । दानास्वर्ग-^८
 207 मवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ।(॥)[९८*] स्वदत्ताद्दिगुणं^{१०} पुण्यं परदत्तानुपा-
 208 लनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं ^{११}निष्फलं भवेत् ।(॥)[९९*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
 209 वा यो हरेति^{१२} वसुंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि^{१३} विष्टायां जायते क्रि(क)-
 210 मिः॥(॥)[१००*] ऐ(ए)कैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां । न भोज्या न करग्रा-
 211 ह्या देवदत्ता वसुंधरा ।(॥)[१०१*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुनृपाणां^{१४} काले काले
 212 पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवैर्दानभूयो भूयो याच-
 213 ते रामचंद्रः॥ [१०२*]
 214 श्रीविरूपाक्ष^{१५}

^१ Read सिध्वं.^२ Read वणितेयशेसो^३ Read वेस्यैकं.^४ त is corrected from the secondary : of the letter that follows, which was begun wrongly in the place of त.^५ Read विष्टतं.^६ Read सरासनं^७ Read दाशरथे.^८ Read लिखताम्^९ Read दानारस्वर्गं.^{१०} Read दत्ताद्दि.^{११} Read निष्फल^{१२} Read हरेत.^{१३} Read षष्टिं वं.^{१४} Read सेतुनृपाणां.^{१५} In Kannada characters.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes Śambhu, v. 2 the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, and v. 3 Gaṇēśa.

Vv 4-5 trace the genealogy of the family from the Moon

(Vv 6-7.) In his (i.e. Turvasu's) line was born the husband of Dēvakī, king Timma, as famous among the Tuluvas as Kṛṣṇa was among the Yadus. To him was born king Īśvara, a jewelled crown of virtues to kings, (and) the husband of Bukkamā

(V. 8.) To him, the son of Dēvakī, was born king Narasa, as Kāma (was born) from the son of Dēvakī (Kṛṣṇa).

Vv. 9-10 describe his generosity and his conquest of the kingdom of Tamcha (i.e. the Chōla country) and Śrīrangapattana.

(V 11) Conquering the Chōra and the Chōla, Mānabhūṣa, the Pāṇḍya king of Madura, also the fierce Turushka, king Gajapati and others from the Ganges to Lankā, and from the Eastern to the Western mountains, he made all kings bear his commands on their heads as flowers on their crowns

(Vv 12-14) Of Tippāji and Nāgalādēvī, like Rāma and Lakshmana of Kausalyā and Sumitrā to Daśaratha, were born to him two sons Vira-Nṛsiṃha and Kṛṣṇarāya who were brave and modest. To him were also born of Ūbāmbikā two (more) sons able in protecting (the subjects), Rangakṣatindra and Achyutadēvarāya

(V 15) Vira-Nārasimha, seated on the jewelled thrones at Vijayanagara, eclipsing by fame and policy Nṛga, Nala, Nahusha and others of the world, praised by the Brāhmanas from Sētu to Mēru, from the Eastern to the Western mountains, ruled the kingdom pleasing the hearts of all people

(Vv 16-18) His praises

(V. 19) Having ruled his large kingdom without obstacles, the king of the earth, famous for his virtues, went to heaven as if to rule the kingdom of heaven

(V. 20) After him, king Kṛṣṇarāya, of unabated valour, bore the whole of the earth on his shoulders with as much ease as a jewelled bracelet.

(Vv. 21-23.) Praises of Kṛṣṇarāya.

(V. 24.) When Kṛṣṇarāya had taken for his part the world of the *dēvas* (i.e. had died) his younger brother Achyutēndra, doer of good deeds, conqueror of foes, worshipper of Viṣṇu, who made gifts satisfying the desires of the learned, got for his share the whole of this earth.

(Vv. 25-26) Praises of Achyutēndra

(V. 27) When, having set up on earth a body in the form of his fame, Achyutēndra reached Viṣṇu's abode, his brave son Vēnkatarāya ascended the throne.

(Vv 28-30) He who was like the flower-arrowed Kāma, and was ruling his kingdom (well), owing to the bad luck of his subjects, soon went to the city of Indra. The son of Rangakṣatindra and the precious pearl of the sacred womb of Timmāmbā, king Sadāśivarāya, who was like the *santāna* tree on the hill of *dēvas*, was duly installed on the throne that was the jewel of the prosperous town, Śrī-Vidyānagarī, by king Rāma, his sister's husband, the protector of the goddess Śrī of the great kingdom of Karnāta, who was an ornament to all Kshatriyas, who was endowed with valour, nobility and kindness, and by the chief ministers

(Vv 31-43.) Praises of Sadāśivarāya

(Vv 44-45.) On Monday, the new moon *tithi* of the dark half of the month Pausa, during the *Makara-sankramana*, in the year Prabhava, (corresponding to) the Śaka year counted by the *nḍhis* (9), the *vārana*s (8), the *vēdas* (4), and *indu* (1) (i.e. Śaka 1489) on the banks of the sacred river Kāvērī, in the presence of (the god) Ranganātha, (this grant is made).

(Vv. 46-57.) By Krishnabhūpati, of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy, who was the jewel of the family of Kāśyapa; on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Viśvanātha, who was pleased with his devotion, who knew the truth about duty, who was always studying the art of protecting others, who was a wise man, whose mind was purified by truthfulness; who shone by his desire to do good actions, who possessed great wealth; who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man; who bore the title 'the lord of Kāñchīpura,' who was also the recipient of the famous title 'Mōkālīpattavardhana,' who was also known as the 'Samaya-drōhara-ganda;' whose policy was like that of Maṇu, who also shone by the celebrated distinction 'Samayakōlāhala,' who was also entitled 'the lord of Ailāvalīpura,' who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvadi-rājya of the seven (component) parts (of his kingdom); who was famous as the 'Pāndyakulasthāpanāchārya,' who was the revered lord of the great Southern ocean, who was the grandson of king Nāgama; who was equal to Nala and Nābhāga in fame, who was the cool moon of the ocean named king Viśvanātha; who was the pearl of the oyster, *vis* the womb of the virtuous Nāgamā,—was built a temple at Kṛṣṇāpura, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *pranava* and a broad and lofty tower 'It has' a large *ranja-maṇḍapa* raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts (?). He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Viṣṇu set up there (*i.e.* in the temple),

[(Vv. 58-66) Praises of the god set up in the temple of Kṛṣṇāpuram]

(Vv. 67-69) (For the worship of the god Viṣṇu) who shone in this place under the name of Tiruvēnkatanātha, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, *etc.*, by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris*, on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year, for the floating festival during the hot season, and for the *yātrōtsava*,

(Vv. 70-82) The excellent village known by the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇāpura, resplendent with cereals,—including the villages known as Puttanēri, Āriyakulam, Kōṭṭikkulam, Kuttukkal, Muttūr Rāmaṅgulam, Ittampattu, Śrīyālangulam, Pātakkulam together with thirteen *bhū* in Muṇṇappu-nādu (and) Ālikudi, which is situated in the Kījavēmbu-nādu belonging to the Pāndya-maṇḍala, on the banks of the pure river Tāmraparṇī, in the *chāvadi* known as Śrīvallamangalam, and which is situated to the north-east of the road commencing with the Arddhatmtriṇī tree, *etc.*, east of Villamarāya's charity and the famous Nedungulam and of the extreme limits of Śrī-Śaṅkakkāṇṭh-kulam; south-east of Puliyanguia-ōḍai, Kulappirāyankulam and of the extreme limits of Bhūtsura tatāka; south of the extreme limits of Kallikkulam, south-west of the Vēlangula channel, west of Śrī-Sundara-Pāndya's new channel; north-west of the extreme limits of Ainākulam; north of the extreme limits of Śrīkulam, Ēryāru-Peryālangulam and of Kokkantāmpāra and Panayankulam; and north-east of the hill known as Muttūrmala—is to be enjoyed by (*this god*) Vāṅkatāśa as a *sarvamānya*.

(Vv. 96 and 102 to 104.) Having been requested by Krishnabhūpati, the fruit of the long penance of Viśvanātha, whose eyes are the ocean of mercy, Tirumala Rāja respectfully requested Sadāśivarāya, the respected of the learned men, who, surrounded by his staunch friends, priests, followers, all kinds of learned men, and ambassadors and by their advice, made this gift joyously with gold and pouring of water.

Vv. 105-106 mention that Sabhāpati Svayambhu wrote the *sāsana*.

V. 107 mentions that Vīraṇāchārya, son of Vīraṇa, engraved the document.

Vv. 108-112 the usual imprecatory verses.

Line 214. The signature 'Śrī Virāpākṣa' in the Kannada alphabet

No. 53.—ARANG COPPER-PLATE OF BHIMASENA II.

GUPTA-SAMVAT 282.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

This copper-plate was found by me with Śrī Kṛṣṇa Mālguzār of Ārang on my visit to this place on the 31st May 1908. Ārang is 22 miles east of Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattisgarh Division in the Central Provinces. It contains several ancient remains¹ and it was there that another plate in box-headed characters belonging to Mahā-Jayadēva² was found. There is also another mutilated inscription at the place on a stone in characters like those in which the inscriptions of Sirpur,³ which is 15 miles from Ārang, are engraved. The details as to the exact find-spot of our inscription are not available, as Śrī Kṛṣṇa told me that it was found long ago by one of his ancestors, and as no Pandits could read it, it was stowed away, so that being out of sight, it got out of mind. He, however, assured me he had heard from his ancestors that it was dug up in Ārang itself and that it was not brought from any other place. There is only one plate with an uncut ring passing through a round hole, its ends being soldered to a round seal. The plate measures $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$ and has irregular edges and an uneven surface, partly corroded. In spite of this, the letters are all visible except two or three (ll 6 and 11) which have been much worn out and are difficult to decipher. The seal is a little brittle and has in bas-relievo a lion in a sitting posture as the family crest, beneath which are inscribed in raised letters *Śrī-mahārāja-Bhīmasēnasya*.

The inscription contains 13 lines, 9 on the obverse and 4 on the reverse side. The average size of letters is $\frac{3}{16}''$. The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets of the type, which, according to Dr. Fleet, "may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India from towards the end of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century A. D."⁴ There are also numerical symbols for 200, 80, 2, 10 and 8, the last being doubtful. The language of the record is Sanskrit prose except the imprecatory verse in ll 11 and 12. In respect of orthography, we have to notice the use of the dental nasal instead of the anusvara before *s* in *vanśyāsi* (l. 10) and instead of the class nasal before a guttural in *pidān-kuryāt* (in the same line). Letters with a *répha* have been mostly doubled. The vowel sign for *i* occurs in *srī* (l. 2) and *ā* is sometimes denoted by a short vertical stroke after the consonant to which it is joined, at other times by a top curve, especially when combined with *sa* or *pa* (ll. 2, 3, 5, 10 and 12). Final forms of *m* occur in ll. 6, 7 and 11.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village named Vatapallikā in the district of Dēndā by the Mahārāja Bhīmasēna II. to two Brāhmins Harisvāmin and Bappasvāmin, both of the Bharadvāja-gōtra and students of the Rīgvēda. The charter was issued from the Suvarnanaḍī (river), where apparently the donor had gone to bathe on some festival. The genealogy of Bhīmasēna is given for six generations, thus —Bhīmasēna (II), son of Dayitavarmman (II), son of Bhīmasēna (I), son of Vibhishana, son of Dayita (I), son of Śūra; but it is not clear to which particular dynasty they belonged. They are stated to have been born of a family celebrated for its dignity like that of royal ascetics (*rājārshitulyakula*).⁵ From this it

¹ Cunningham's Reports, Vol. XVII p. 20 et seq.² Gupta Inscriptions, p. 191.³ Cunningham's Reports, Vol. XVII p. 23 et seq.⁴ Gupta Inscriptions, p. 117.

⁵ This probably refers to the Gupta family. In the Udayagiri cave inscription (vide Gupta Inscriptions, p. 35) Chandragupta II is called "*rājādhirājārshi*," which implies that he combined in him both regal and religious qualifications, an ideal to which the feudatory chiefs would be prone to liken their own families. In reference to his sovereign lord, Bhīmasēna could not arrogate the title of *rājārshi* to his family and that seems to be the reason why he inserts the word *tulya* (like). For similar reasons it appears their northern feudatories called themselves *Parivrajaka*, which means 'a religious mendicant.'

may be inferred that they were something like the Parivrājaka Mahārājas of Dabhālā (Jubbulpore country) and were like them vassals of the Early (or Imperial) Guptas in whose era our inscription is dated.¹ The Parivrājaka inscriptions range from 475 to 528 A.D., and ours belongs to the Gupta year 282 or A.D. 601. Our inscription introduces us to another similar family under the overlordship of the Guptas, which apparently continued to be acknowledged, at least in Chhattisgarh, up to so late a date as the commencement of the 7th century A.D. It was in the middle of the 4th century that Samudra-Gupta conquered the Mahākṣāla (Chhattisgarh) country, by defeating the then ruling king Mahēndra, of whom we know nothing beyond his name and so have no materials to establish any connection between him and the dynasty of our inscription. We know that Mahēndra was not ousted. He was liberated,² and his dynasty must have continued to rule for about 100 years, if Bhīmasēna's family was a different one. The first king Śūra of the latter line must have flourished in the middle of the 5th century, to judge from the number of generations which intervened between the two. In Chhattisgarh several dynasties have ruled and many inscriptions have been found, but ours is the only one among them which is dated in the Gupta era. In other parts of India, too, inscriptions referring to the Guptas have been discovered, and their era remained in use even after their imperial power had come to an end. That is, in the words of Dr Fleet, though the direct line of the Early Gupta-dynasty itself may have become extinct, Gupta dominion still continued, and the name of the Gupta kings was still recognised as a power down to A.D. 601. Prior to the discovery of our inscription, the latest date expressly given in the Gupta era was only 528 A.D.³ It is true that the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings shew that the Gupta era continued in use in Kāthiawād and some neighbouring parts of Gujaraṭ, at least as late as A.D. 766,⁴ but the era has not been specifically named after the Guptas in them.

The exact date of our inscription appears to be the 18th of the Bhādra month of the Gupta year 282. It does not admit of verification, as the week day is not mentioned. Its English equivalent, as calculated by Mr Gokul Prasād, Tahsildār of Dhamtari, is Tuesday, the 22nd August 601, on the assumption that the Gupta era began on 26th February 320 A.D. which is taken as the coronation day of Chandra Gupta I.⁵ The accuracy of the above calculation cannot, however, be relied on, owing to the uncertainty as to whether the date is really the 18th, the figure for 8 being doubtful. Again, there is the question of intercalation⁶ and the alteration of the commencement of the year by the Valabhi kings who put it back 7 months, which may also interfere with the reckoning. So much, however, is certain that our inscription was recorded in the year 601 A.D. With regard to geographical names, Suvarṇanadī is apparently the Sōn, which rises from the Amarkantak hills and after a course of about 40 miles in Chhattisgarh finally joins the Ganges. It has been identified with the Sonos of Arrian as also with his Erannochoas, the other Sanskrit name of the Sōn being Hīranyavāha or Hīranyavāhin. The Sōn is frequently mentioned in Hindū literature, in the *Rāmāyana*s of Vālmīki and Tulsidās,

¹ [Cunningham describes (*Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 26) two silver coins of a certain Bhīmasēna, who must have belonged to a dynasty which succeeded the Guptas. The peacock device of the Guptas is continued on these coins, but the faces of the obverse are turned to the left as if to denote a change of dynasty.—Ed.]

² *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 12

³ *Ibid* Introduction, p. 8 [The Tezpur inscription dated Gupta 510 is of a different kind.—See Kielhorn, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1905, pp. 465 and ff.—S. K.] [The Gañjam District plates of Śaśāṅkarāja are dated in the Gupta year 300 corresponding to A.D. 619-20 (above, Vol. VI p. 143)—V. Venkayya.]

⁴ *Ibid* p. 13. The Veraval inscription is dated in Valabhi-Samvat 945 or 1264 A.D., thus extending its use to a period 500 years still later (see *Indian Antiquary*, 1891, p. 385).

⁵ Smith's *Early History of India*, 2nd Edition, p. 266

⁶ For a discussion on this subject, see Dr Kielhorn's postscript to my article on the Beṭṭī plates (above, Vol. VIII. p. 286).

⁷ See *Indian Antiquary*, 1902, p. 257

the *Bhāgavata* and other works. There are numerous legends about it, one of the most picturesque assigning the origin of the Sōn and Narmadā to two tears dropped by Brahman, one on either side of the Amalkantak range. Its waters possess great sanctity, the performance of *sandhyā* on its banks ensuring absolution and the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brāhman.¹ This must therefore be the river, the third in India, as recorded by Arrian, whence Bhīmasēna issued his charter, and not another Sōn flowing in the south of the Bilāspur district, falling into the Borna which joins the Mahānadi. As for Dōndā and Vatapallikā, the latter of which must be looked for in a form such as Badapālī or Barapālī, there are so many places in Chhattisgarh bearing these names that it is difficult to say which particular ones were meant. The nearest Dōndā or Dundā, as we now find it, is one situated 25 miles west of Ārang, where the plate was found, and the nearest Barapālī is 30 miles east of Ārang and about 50 miles east of Dundā. It is included in the present Kandiā Zamindari on the other side of the Mahānadi. It would then appear that Ārang also was in those days included in the Dōndā district, and the donees, if they were residents of Ārang, lived half-way between the headquarters of the district and the village granted to them.

TEXT.²

Seal.

Śrī-mahārāja-Bhīmasēnasya

First Side

- 1 Ōm³ svasti [||*] Suvarnnanadyāh [sa]rvva⁴-sadhūjarshu-tulya-kula-prabhāva-kirtīh
śrī-mahārāja-Śūrasya praputrah prajā-
- 2 dayitasya śrī-[ma]hārāja-Dayitasya putrah prauata-sāmantasya-ārātī-vibhīshasasya
śrī-mahārāja-Vibhīsha-
- 3 nasya putrah śakti-siddhi-sampannō dharmma-vijayī nyāy-ōpārjīt-ānōka-ratna-
gō-bhūmi-suvarnna-hirany-ādi-pradah śī-
- 4 mahārāja Bhīmasēnah tasya putrah ta[oh-cha]i[ti-ānukā]i sadbhur=mmahadbhis=ch=
ādhyushitasadah⁵ śrī-mahārāja-Dayitavarmanā
- 5 tasya pu[tra]h tat-pād-ānuddhyātō-tya[uta]-dēva-gu-ā-brāhmana-bhaktah śrī-mahārāja-
Bhīmasēnah kusali Dōndā-
- 6 vaishayika-Vatapallikāyām [brāhma]nādīn=pra]tivāsinah [ku]śalam=uktvā samājñā-
payaty=ēsha grāmō mayā
- 7 bhadra-bhōgēn-aiva mātāpiti-ōr=ātmanas=cha punyā-bhivriddayō Bharadvāja-
sagōtīābhyām Bahvricha-Harīsvāmī-Bappasvāmibhyām
- 8 sarvvapratyāyavān=mahāpālaya-kā[l-ā]vasthā[py-ā]grahāō dattas=tad=bhavadbhur=
anayōr=ājñā-śravana-vidhōyair=bhūtvā samuchita-
- 9 m=āya⁶ suvarnna-hirany-ādi-pratyōy-ōpanayah kartavyah [||*] yas=ch=ātra [ka]śchid=
ubbaya lōka-nirapēksah san=dasa-

¹ See article on Sōn in the new Imperial Gazetteer² From the original plate³ [I read *pārvva* —S K]⁴ Expressed by a symbol⁵ Read =ch=ādhyushita^o⁶ Read *mēva* [or *mēya* as in l 15 of the Broach copper plate of Samgasasimha (J. Bo. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX, p. 214, text-line 3)]—S K]

2

4

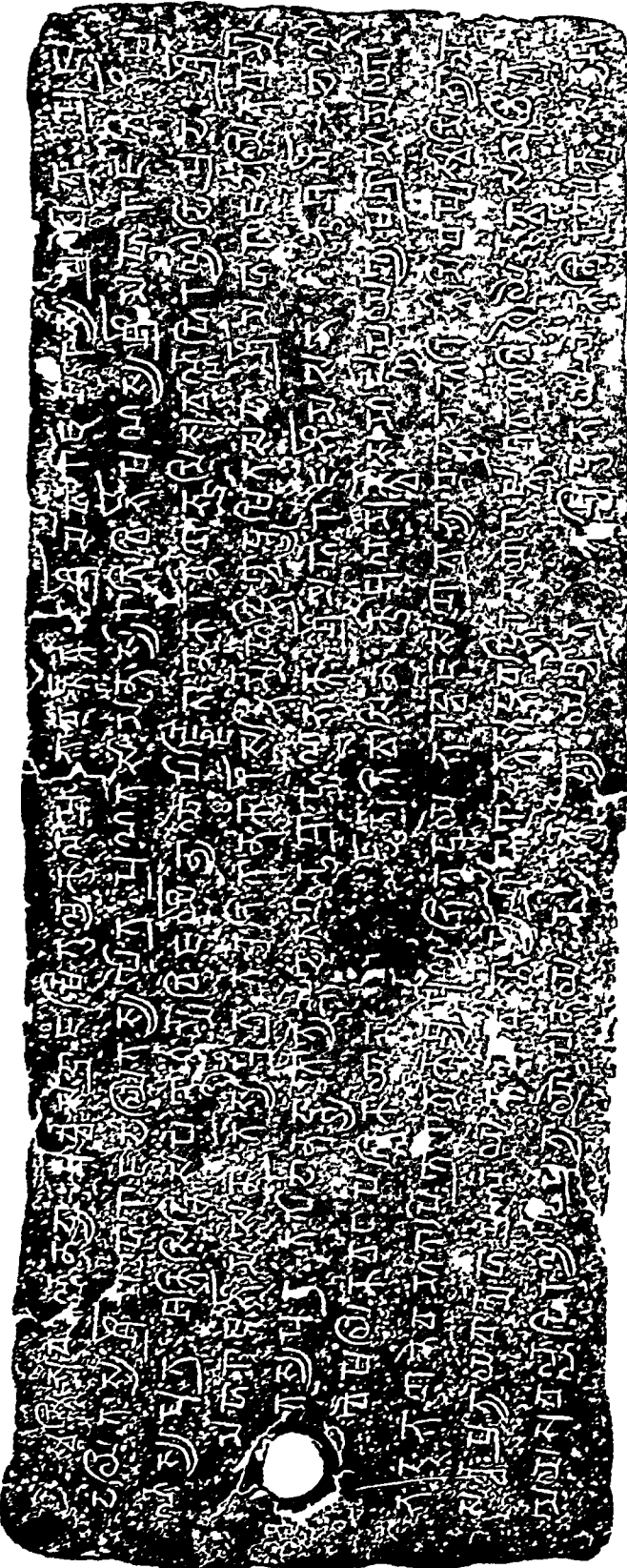
6

8

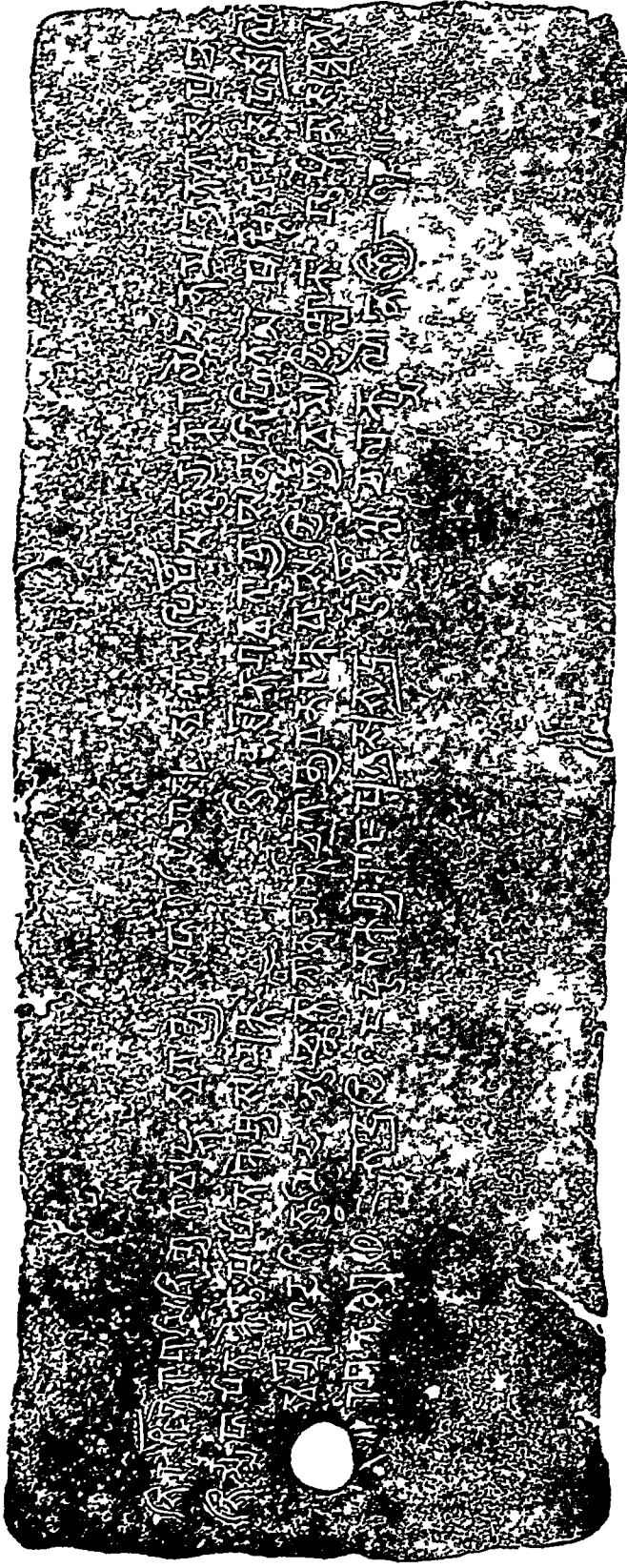
10

12

a



b



Second Side

- 10 bhir=atâtair=âgâmbhiś=ch=aitāvadbhīh svavanśy[ai]h¹ sah=âdhô [y]iyāsuh svalpām=apī
pīdân=ku[ryyâ]t²=kârayêd=anuman̄yêta vâ sa pañcha-
- 11 bhir=mmahâpâtakair=upapâtakais=cha sa[m]yuktah [syât punas=ch=â]sminn=arthê
bhagavatâ Vyâsên=âbhūhitam shashtim varsha-sahasrâni
- 12 svarggê mōdati bhūmidah [i*] śochhêttâ ch=ânūmantâ cha tâny=êva narakê
vasêd=ity=êvamâdi-ślōkâh Guptānam samvatsa-
- 13 ra-śatê 200 80 2 Bhâdra dī 10 8³ dūtakaś=cha rājaputra-Subhadrah
utkirṇnam cha Lakshmanên=êti || ||

TRANSLATION.

(Ll 1 to 4) Om¹ Hail¹ From Suvarṇanadi; the illustrious *Mahārāja* Bhimasēna, possessed of power and success, triumphant with virtue (and) giver of many lawfully acquired jewels, cows, land, gold, precious metals, etc (*was*) the great grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Śūra, (*who was*) equal to all virtuous royal sages in lineage, power and fame, the grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Dayita, beloved of his subjects, the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Vibhishana to whom feudatory kings bowed (*and who was*) terrific to his enemies

(Ll 4 to 6) His son (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja* Dayitavarman, the follower of his (father's) conduct, whose court was attended by great and good (*personages*). His son (*is*) the illustrious *Mahārāja* Bhimasēna, who meditates on his (father's) feet and is extremely devoted to the gods, preceptors and Brāhmins (*He*) being in good health (*and*) wishing good luck to Brāhmins and other (*inhabitants*) of Vatapallikā in the district of Dōṇḍā, orders (*as follows*) —

(Ll. 6 to 8.) This village is given by me, while ruling prosperously, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) mother, father and myself, to Hariavāmin and Bappa-svāmin (*both*) of the Bharadvāja gōtra, (*students*) of the Rīgvēda, as an *agrahāra*,⁴ with all taxes, and lasting up to the time of the great dissolution of the universe

(Ll 8 to 13) Therefore, being obedient to their commands, you should render (*to them*) in proper manner the taxes such as gold and bullion, etc If anybody, being regardless of the two worlds⁵ and wishing to go to hell with ten past and (*a similar number of*) future (*generations*) of his family, does, causes to be done, or assents to even a small harm to this (*charity*), he would become joined with five great⁶ sins and also minor sins Moreover, in this matter it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa. "the giver of land enjoys in heaven for sixty thousand years, (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell," and so forth (*in other*) verses In the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80 2 (*in the month of*) Bhâdra on the day 10 8(?). Prince Subhadra was the *dūtaka* (officer carrying the king's orders) Engraved by Lakshmana

¹ Read °ramfyah² Read pīdām kuryyât³ I am indebted to Dr Konow in helping me to elucidate these somewhat curiously formed figures⁴ A grant made in favour of a god or a Brahmana⁵ I.e. regardless of the consequences which may follow in this and the next world⁶ For these see *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, verse 227 of the Prāyaścittādhyaṃya. They are killing a Brāhman, drinking, theft, visiting a preceptor's wife, and association with any of these offences The minor offences are enumerated further on from verses 234 to 242

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